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HISTORY

OF

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

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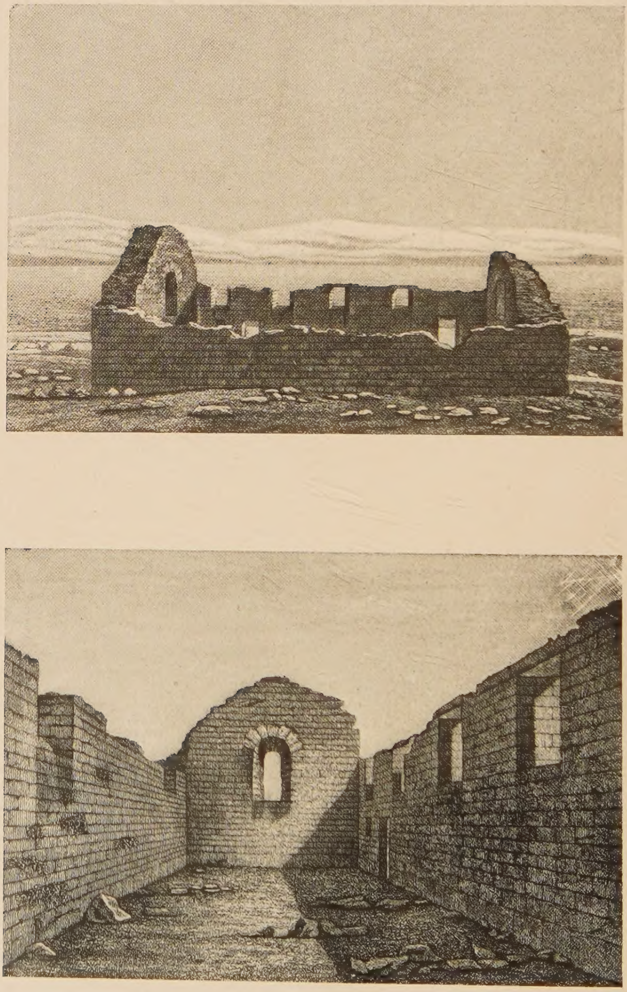

CHURCH RUINS AT KAKORTOK, GREENLAND

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

According to Documents and Approved Authors

BY

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VOLUME II

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

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CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS.

PAGE
Illustration: Church Ruins at Kakortok, Greenland...*apud* iii
Contents.. v
Illustration: Greenland's Östrebygd ....*apud* 1
Illustration: Voyages and Colonies of the Northmen..*apud* 1
Illustration: Scandinavian Vinland ....*apud* 1

CHAPTER I.

ST. BRENDAN'S ISLAND AND LEGEND.

European Information; Vatican Archives................. 1
Yucatan Christianized from Spain in A.D. 711 (?)........... 2
Island of the Septe Ciudades or Antilia.................. 3
Other Fantastic Islands of the Atlantic.................. 5
St. Brendan's Island in the North........................ 5
Migrations of St. Brendan's Island........................ 7
St. Brendan's Island seen and sought 8
St. Brendan's Island in the Northwestern Atlantic......... 9
St. Brendan's Legend...................................... 11
Versions and Translations of the Legend.................. 11
Publications of the Legend............................... 13
The Legend's Mediæval Fantastic Flourish 14
Father Barinthus's Voyage across the Atlantic 16
Western Happy Lands of the Celts 17
Celtic "Imramha" or Tales of the Sea 18
Possibility of Ancient Celtic Voyages to America.......... 18
St. Brendan setting sail.................................. 19
St. Brendan's First Voyage, to the Northern Islands........ 21
St. Brendan's Second Voyage, to the Southwest............ 23
St. Brendan on the American Continent 24
Proofs of the Reality of St. Brendan's Voyage............ 25

37602

CHAPTER II.

THE IRISH ON THE ISLANDS OF THE NORTHERN ATLANTIC.

PAGE
The Ancient Irish were a Sailor Nation.................. 27
St. Cormac and other Irish Monks sailing on the Northern Atlantic.. 27
The Irish on the Northern Islands in Early Times......... 31
The Irish Papas, the First Christian Missionaries of the North Atlantic coasts.................................. 31
Irish Monks convert the Orkneys and the Shetlands........ 33
The Faroes first settled by Irish Hermits................. 33
Early Voyages between Great Britain and Iceland......... 34
Bede the Venerable and Dicuil speaking of Iceland........ 35
Iceland settled by Christian Irish........................ 37
Voyages to Continental America credited to Winds and Storms.. 38
Early Intercourse between Ireland and America........... 40
The Islands of the Cross or Gunnbjörn Rocks............. 41
European Relics found in Greenland by the Scandinavian Discoverers.. 41
The Sagas' Irish "Vestmenn," from America............... 42

CHAPTER III.

ICELAND AND GREENLAND UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF HAMBURG IN A.D. 831.

Hamburg made the Metropolis of . . . Greenland and Iceland, by Lewis the Pious, in A.D. 831.................. 45
Gregory IV. appoints St. Ansgar an Apostolic Delegate for Iceland, Greenland . . . in A.D. 835.................... 45
The Documents considered as Spurious.................... 48
The Documents accepted as Genuine....................... 49
Genuineness proved from Ancient Manuscripts and Publications.. 51
Ancient Papal Bulls confirming that of Gregory IV........ 52
Papal Bulls, Posterior to Greenland's Discovery by the Northmen, confirming that of Gregory IV............. 54
Diploma of Lewis the Pious confirmed by Emperor Frederic 55
Names of Greenland and Iceland in the Lives of Sts. Ansgar and Rembert.. 56
Adam of Bremen: Greenland . . . suffragan to Hamburg 58
Other Important Evidences............................... 58

PAGE
Objection from Archbishop Adalbert's pretended Ambition refuted.......... 60
Were Iceland and Greenland unknown before the Scandinavian Discovery?.......... 62
Iceland and Greenland were known before the Scandinavian Discovery.......... 63
Origin of Greenland's Name.......... 64
Why Iceland and Greenland suffragan to Hamburg?.......... 66
Discussed names, why omitted in some Copies?.......... 67

CHAPTER IV.

THE IRISH ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

Bishops in Iceland and Greenland before A.D. 900.......... 68
The Irish expelled from the Shetlands and the Faroes.......... 69
The Irish ruined on the Hebrides, exterminated on the Orkneys.......... 70
The Irish driven away from Iceland.......... 71
Did the Irish pass from Greenland to Continental America, or *vice versa?*.......... 72
Early intercourse between Ireland and America.......... 73
Scandinavian Sagas, Mexican Traditions, but no Irish Records.......... 74
Ari Marson in White-Man's Land.......... 76
Ari Marson's Story, no myth.......... 77
Björn Asbrandson leaving Iceland in a Southwestern Direction.......... 79
Gudleif driven from Ireland to Great Ireland.......... 80
Gudleif saved by Björn Asbrandson.......... 82
Gudleif returns to Iceland by Ireland.......... 83
Exploration of the American Coast by Thorvald Ericsson.......... 84
Exploration of America by Thorfinn Karlsefne.......... 85
Information from Esquimaux about White-Man's Land.......... 87
Great Ireland known in Europe.......... 87
Geographical Location of Great Ireland.......... 88

CHAPTER V.

EVIDENCES OF IRISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

Scandinavian Peace- and War-Signals understood by our Aborigines.......... 92
Iron Weapons and Iron Tools in America.......... 93
Architecture in Wild America.......... 94

PAGE
Vestiges of Former Civilization in Florida................ 95
Horses in Great Ireland.............................. 97
Baptism in Great Ireland 98
Great Ireland points to Ireland 99
All Authors admit the Probability of the Irish Discovery of America.. 100
Rafn, Rask, and Others assert the Irish Discovery........ 101
The Northmen award the Honor of American Discovery to their Conquered Enemies.......................... 102
Regular Sailing between Ireland and Great Ireland........ 103
Irish Language spoken in Ancient America.............. 105
Irish Vestiges: Clothing, Way of Reckoning, Fair Features in Central America................................ 106
Coincidences between the Toltecas and the Irish.......... 108
Objection from the Silence of History.................. 109
End of the Irish Colonies in America................... 110
Probable Migration of the Irish Papas into Peru.......... 111
The Irish conquered by Wild Tribes and absorbed by them 114

CHAPTER VI.

CONVERSION OF SCANDINAVIAN ICELAND.

The Northmen ravage all Europe....................... 116
Iceland discovered by Naddod......................... 117
Iceland discovered by Gardar and Anba.................. 118
Iceland discovered by Floke-Rafna 119
Iceland settled by Ingolf and Hiorleif.................. 120
Iceland, a Republic.................................. 122
Christian Slaves, mainly Irish, the First Apostles of Iceland 123
Arrival of Influential Converted Scandinavians........... 124
Bishop Frederic, First Missionary of Iceland............. 126
Other Missionaries of Iceland 126
Formal Conversion of Iceland......................... 127
Missionary Bishops of Iceland......................... 128
First Bishops of Skalholt and of Holar.................. 130
Christian Education in Iceland....................... 132
Monasteries of Iceland 133
Convents of Iceland................................. 134
Catalogue of the Bishops of Skalholt................... 136
Catalogue of the Bishops of Holar..................... 138
Common History of Iceland and of Greenland........... 140

CHAPTER VII.

GREENLAND COLONIZED FROM ICELAND.

PAGE
Gunnbjörn's Skerries 142
Eric the Red discovers Greenland. 143
Eric explores Greenland 144
Greenland colonized 145
Greenland's Location, Northern Lights. 147
Warm Portion of Northern Greenland. 148
Central and Southeastern Greenland, One Glacier. 150
Southeastern Coasts of Greenland once inhabited. 150
Inhabitable Portion of Western Greenland. 152
Climate of Southeastern Greenland 152
Greenland's Temperature sinking 153
Causes of Climatic Changes. 156

CHAPTER VIII.

RESOURCES AND POPULATION OF ANCIENT GREENLAND.

Stone, Driftwood, Coal. 157
Game. 158
Fish 159
Cattle in Ancient and in Modern Greenland. 161
Pastures and Meadows in Greenland 161
Horses, Goats, and Sheep in Greenland 163
Agriculture in Greenland 165
Bill of Fare in Greenland 166
Export. 167
Import. 168
Currency of the Northmen. 168
Ancient Greenland's Population: Settlements and Gaards of the Northmen. 170
Population of Ancient Greenland larger than that of the Modern 172
St. Peter's Pence of A.D. 1327 the only Means of Computation of Greenland's Population 173
Seven Thousand Families in Greenland in A.D. 1327. 175
Relative Population of the Scandinavian Dioceses 176

CHAPTER IX.

GREENLAND CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

PAGE
A Christian among the First Greenland Colonists......... 177
Christian Family of Thorbjörn Vivilson.................. 178
King Olaf Tryggvason sends Leif Ericsson as a Missionary to Greenland.................................... 180
Leif Ericsson discovers Continental America............. 182
Leif Ericsson converts his Relatives.................... 182
Rapid Conversion of Greenland........................... 184
God's Power the Motive of the Northmen's Conversion.... 185
First Churches in Greenland............................. 187
First Christian Burials in Greenland 187
Liberality of the Greenland Converts.................... 189
Lasting Superstition of the Converted Northmen......... 189
Servitude in Ancient Greenland.......................... 191
The God Thor still remembered........................... 191
Prophecy of the Dead Thorstein Ericsson................. 193
First Missionaries of Greenland......................... 195
Olaf, First Bishop of Greenland.............. 196
Albert or Adalbert, Bishop of Greenland................. 197
Steines, the First Episcopal See in Greenland........... 198
Two Dioceses in Greenland (?)........................... 199
Eric Gnupson, Bishop of Greenland....................... 201
Eric still a Regionary Bishop......... 202
Northern Christianities under the Primate of York, of Bremen, of Lund, of Bremen again.................. 203
Primatial Faculty of appointing Bishops 205

CHAPTER X.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF GREENLAND.

Greenland Bishops as Citizens.............. 207
Eric the Red and his Sons, the First Governors of Greenland.. 207
Place of the People's Councils.......................... 208
Greenland, an Independent Republic 209
Greenland Laws 209
Greenland Magistrates and Prosperity.................... 210

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCANDINAVIANS ON OUR CONTINENT.

PAGE
America discovered by Bjarne Herjulfson (?)............. 212
American Islands discovered by Bjarne Herjulfson........ 213
Leif Ericsson, the Discoverer of America................ 214
Leif preparing for Further Exploration.................. 216
Leif discovers Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Nantucket, and Nantucket Sound.................... 217
Leif builds on Mont Haup Bay, Rhode Island............ 219
Astronomical Location of Leifsbudhir.................. 220
Exploration of the Country; Grape-Vines, Timber........ 220
Expedition of Thorvald Ericsson to Vinland.............. 222
Exploration to the South of Rhode Island and to the North 223
Attack by the Natives; Thorvald killed and buried....... 224
Unsuccessful Voyage of Thorstein Ericsson.............. 226
Thorstein lands and dies on Lysufiord.................. 226
Gudrida, Thorstein's Widow, marries Thorfinn Karlsefne... 227
Thorfinn sails for Vinland............................ 229
Furdustrandir or Barnstable........................... 230
Exploration of Nova Scotia 231
The Northmen feeding on Whale Blubber................ 232
Thorhall, Karlsefne's Companion, leaving, and enslaved in Ireland 232
Karlsefne finds Grapes and Cereals, and builds in Vinland 233
Fish, Game, and White Meats in Vinland 234
Features of, and bartering with, the Natives 235
Birth of Snorre Thorfinnson in America 237
Battle with the Natives.............................. 238
Thorfinn departs from Vinland; explores both South and North 239
Homeward Voyage; Information from the Natives 240
Thorfinn sails to Norway; settles in Iceland............. 241
Gudrida, Thorfinn's Widow, visits Rome and becomes a Religieuse in Iceland 242
Mercantile Voyage of Freydisa and of Helge and Finnboge to Vinland 242
Massacre of Helge and all his Crew..................... 244
Freydisa disgraced 245
More Voyages to Vinland during the Eleventh Century.... 246

CHAPTER XII.

LATER VOYAGES TO NORTHEASTERN AMERICA.

PAGE
Why we have no Further Details of Vinland Voyages..... 247
Bishop Gnupson in Vinland; Newfoundland rediscovered; Duneyar 248
Last Recorded Scandinavian Voyage to America..... 249
A Voyage of Frisons 251
Did the Frisons reach America? 252
Greenland-Vinland Intercourse continued 253
Greenland-Vinland Intercourse impaired and abandoned..... 255
Scandinavian Settlers absorbed by the American Aborigines 256
Authority of the Zeno Relation..... 257
Map of the Zeni 259
Name of Frisland,—*i.e.*, the Faroes; its Origin..... 260
Schroeter's Parallel Relation..... 261
Correct and Incorrect Geographical Names of the Zeno Relation 262
Zichmni, not Henry Senckler (Sinclair)..... 263
Zichmni, a Pirate..... 264
Estotiland,—*i.e.*, Newfoundland and Neighboring Coasts of America..... 266
Civilization of Estotiland; Latin Books 267
Faroese Pilots of the Estotilanders..... 268
Distant Journeys of a Faroese on the American Continent..... 269
Zichmni badly received by the Icarians..... 271
Indian Customs with Remains of Former Culture on the American Coasts 272

CHAPTER XIII.

VESTIGES OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHEASTERN AMERICA.

Evidences of Christianity in Northeastern America before the French Occupation 274
Bishop Jón in Vinland (?)..... 274
Bishop Eric Gnupson in Vinland..... 275
Other Scandinavian Missionaries in Northeastern America 276

PAGE
The Cross in Gaspesia before the French.................. 277
The Cross on Cape Breton, in Nova Scotia................ 277
The Cross erected by Cartier.......................... 278
Holy Names of "Jesus" and "Maria".................... 280
Blessed Trinity and Mother of God in Canada............ 280
Latin Hymn, and Civilization in Norumbega............. 281
Evangelization by the Northmen........................ 281

CHAPTER XIV.

TRACKS OF THE NORTHMEN ON OUR CONTINENT.

Scandinavian Settlements on our Continent doubted....... 283
Scandinavian Settlements admitted by American Historians.. 284
Scandinavian Settlements admitted by European Scholars.. 285
George Bancroft's Objections to the Sagas................ 287
Veracity of the Sagas 288
Authenticity of the Sagas............................. 289
Integrity of the Sagas................................ 291
The Sagas neither Mythical nor Vague.................. 292
The Sagas confirmed by other Historical Sources.......... 294
Adam of Bremen and Oderic Vital confirm the Sagas...... 296
Faroese Ballad speaking of Vinland..................... 297
Norumbega from Geography 299
Norumbega from History 301
Remnants of Scandinavian Works in Massachusetts....... 302
Watertown, the Ancient Normanville.................... 303
Minor Relics of the Scandinavians in Northeastern America 303
The Skeleton in Armor 304
An Iron Hilt of a Sword............................... 305
No Scandinavian Monuments in America 306
The Dighton Writing-Rock............................. 308
Interpretations of the Writing-Rock Inscription.......... 309
Scandinavian Interpretation of the Inscription............ 311
Other Writing-Rocks in New England and all over America 313
Newport Old Stone Mill................................ 314
The Mill originally a Baptistery (!)..................... 315
History of the Old Stone Mill 316
Scandinavian Words in Norumbega 318
Principal Localities in Vinland.......................... 319

CHAPTER XV.

OTHER SCANDINAVIAN, AND WELSH COLONIES.

PAGE
Hervador on the Potomac.............................. 321
Scandinavians on the Azores, Canaries, and Madeiras...... 322
Scandinavian Settlements in Brazil..................... 323
Other European Immigrants in Ancient America 324
Voyages of the Welshman, Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd..... 325
Where did Madoc settle? 327
The Latter Part of the Welsh Theory, the Less Credible .. 328
Late Reports regarding the Welsh in North America...... 330
Welsh Aboriginal Tribes 331
The Scotch Language spoken, and Ossian's Poems rehearsed in Ancient America (!)........................... 333
No Ancient European Language nor Institutions, but of the Northmen, found in Post-Columbian America...... 334

CHAPTER XVI.

DIOCESE OF GARDAR.

Kings of Norway caring for Greenland.................. 336
Prosperity of Greenland 337
An Episcopal See at Gardar 338
Endowment of the See of Gardar....................... 339
Einar Sokkeson despatched to ask for a Bishop in Norway 341
Arnold accepts the Episcopate......................... 342
First Canon Law in the North......................... 342
Bishop Arnold consecrated in Lund, A.D. 1124 343
Arnold sails to Gardar 344
Greenland known in Early Geography................... 346
Exaggerated Extent of the Diocese of Gardar............ 347
Various Districts of the Diocese 349
The most Important Parts of the Diocese................ 349

CHAPTER XVII.

GREENLAND PARISHES AND SETTLEMENTS.

Ivar Bardson, Greenland's Chorographer................. 351
Order of, and Authorities for, the Description of the Diocese of Gardar.................................. 352
Herjulfsnes, Skagafiord, Berefjord...................... 352

PAGE
Funkabudhir, Cross Island, Alba, St. Thomas's 354
Helliseyar, Ketilsfiord, Auroos or Krokskirkia, Petersvik, Vatnsdale, Monastery of Canons Regular 354
Hvarf, Drangey, Austfiord, Höfdi, Slettufiord 356
Raven Inlet, St. Benedict's Convent 357
Rafnsfiord, Vog, Foss, Steinesfiord, Thorvalsfiord, Kollufiord 358
Einarsfiord, Thorwaldswig, Gravik, Dalr, Hardsteinaberg, Langanes, Ofundinnfiord, *Gardar*, Vik, Stokkanes, Gamlabygd 359
Einarsey, Langey, Lambey, Hvalseyarfiord, Swaster, Ramstadafiord, Hellustad 361
Eiriksfiord, Dyrnes, Saltfialtzkirkia, Solarfialls, *Brattalidha*, present Kakortok, Leidharkirkja 362
Fossasund, Ydrivich and Innrivich, Oredfiord, Midfiord, Gardanes, Eiriksey, Isafiord, Utibliksfiord, Breidifiord, Larmont Ford, Ice Dorpe 364
Barrens between Östre- and Vestrebygd, Lysufiord, Straumfiord, Steines, Rangefiord, Anavik, Agnafiord, Hop, Anafirth 365
Karlsbudhir, Biarney or Disco, Eysunes, Bear-trap, Himinradz, Greipar: Nordhrsetur 366
Kingiktorsoak, Kroksfjordarheidi 367

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GREENLANDERS' EXPLOITS AND PERVERSION.

Difficulties encountered by Bishop Arnold 369
Arbjörn's Wreck disposed of 369
Özsur violently claims Arbjörn's Ship 370
Özsur threatens and is killed 371
Deadly Affray and Final Settlement of the Brawls 373
Arnold is discouraged, yet remains Twenty Years 374
Northern Explorations to 72° 55′ N. Lat. in A.D. 1135 374
Bishop Arnold leaves Greenland 376
Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Province of Drontheim 376
Archdiocese of Drontheim confirmed 378
Arnold, First Bishop also of Hamar 379
Bishop John I., Knut 379
Supposed Bishops: Henry and Harald 380
Bishop John II., Arnson, surnamed Smyrill 380

PAGE
Fate of the Priest Ingemund 381
Greenland's Eastern Coast explored and possibly colonized 382
Bishop Helgius Augmundson........................ 384
American Co-operation towards the Crusades............ 384
Bishop Nicholas.................................. 386
Abuses in Greenland 386
Decay of Greenland; Deficiency of the Sacrament for want of the Elements.................................. 388
Bishop Olaf 389
Causes of Greenland's Subjection to Norway............ 390

CHAPTER XIX.

GREENLAND UNDER NORWEGIAN SWAY.

Iceland surrenders to Norway 392
Greenland Tributary to the King of Norway............. 393
Bishop Olaf visits Iceland and Norway................. 394
Northern Exploration 395
Bishop Olaf returns to Greenland...................... 397
Scandinavian Apostles' Creed.......................... 398
Principles of Christian Politics 400
Tithes; Difficulty of collecting those of Greenland........ 401
Tithes of Greenland: Walrus-Teeth and Whale-Skin Ropes 403
Supposed Successors of Bishop Olaf 404
Bishop Thord or Theodore............................. 404
Bishop Arnius; He collects a Six Years' Tithe in Greenland 406
Papal Collectors appointed for the Province of Drontheim 407
Tithes of Greenland and their Value in Coin.............. 408
St. Peter's Pence of Greenland 409
Papal Appeal for Help from Greenland................. 410
Bishop John III. Skalle succeeds to Arnius still alive...... 411
Bishop Skalle likely remained in Norway; Provincial Council of Drontheim 412

CHAPTER XX.

RUIN OF THE SETTLEMENTS IN GREENLAND.

Black Death... 414
Greenland almost abandoned.......................... 415
Attacks of the Esquimaux on Vestrebygd............... 416

PAGE
Bishop Skalle transferred to Holar 417
Bishop Alfus 419
A Document of Bishop Alfus......................... 419
Bishop Alfus dies in Greenland........................ 420
Greenland abandoned in her Distress.................... 421
Bishop Henry at the Plenary Council of Viburg; sails to Greenland.................................. 422
Schism of Avignon........ 424
Georgius, Bishop of Gardar 425
Peter Staras, Bishop of Gardar......................... 425
Destructive Royal Monopoly........................... 426
Bishop Henry transferred to the Orkney Diocese 427
Bishop John transferred from the Orkneys to Greenland... 428
Bishop Alverus 429
Bishop Berthold 429
Bishop Peter transferred from Strengnäs in Sweden....... 430
Bishop Berthold continues in Gardar.................... 430
Andrew Andreasson, a Vicar-General in Greenland........ 431
Bishop Eskill, probably the last of Greenland's Resident Bishops 432
Monks and Nuns in Greenland......................... 432
St. Thomas's Monastery heated by Hot Water........... 433
Material and Architecture of the Monks' Buildings........ 434
Fish, Fowl, and Trade of the Friars..................... 435
Greenland Fishing-Boats.............................. 436
Hot-Water Gardening and Well-Paid Mechanical Labor at St. Thomas's Monastery.......................... 436
Latest Information about St. Thomas's Monastery 438
Was St. Thomas's located in Eastern Greenland?.......... 438
Evidences of Settlements in Southeastern Greenland...... 439

CHAPTER XXI.

TITULAR BISHOPS OF GREENLAND.

James Peters Treppe, Titular Bishop of Gardar........... 442
Piracy on the Northern Seas; Zichmni in Greenland...... 444
English and Scandinavian Piracy 447
Greenland devastated by the Esquimaux; its ironical Prosperity.................................... 447

PAGE
Bishop Robert Ryngman........................ 449
Bishop John........................ 450
Bishop Nicholas........................ 450
Bishop Gibelin Volant—transferred to Aalborg........... 450
Bishop John Erler de Moys........................ 451
Bishop Michael........................ 451
Bishop Bartholomew of St. Hippolyte.................. 451
Bishop Gregory........................ 452
Destitution of the Clergy in Iceland; worse in Greenland 453
Information from the Bull of Nicholas V................. 455
The Efforts of Nicholas V. were without Effect........... 458
Bishop Boniface........................ 459
Bishop Andrew, Vicar of Skalholt, Coadjutor of Linkoping in Sweden........................ 460
Bishop James Blaa........................ 461
Bishop Matthew Canutson; Zeal of Alexander VI......... 462
Bull of Alexander VI........................ 464
Voyages to Greenland prevented by Piracy.............. 466
Bishop Zacharias........................ 467
Bishop Vincent Peters Kampe........................ 467
Bishop Kampe at Odense, Roeskilde, Copenhagen, Maribo 468
List of the Regionary Bishops of Greenland............... 470
List of the Regionary Bishops of the American Continent........................ 470
List of the Bishops of Gardar: of Greenland and of the American Continent together.................... ... 470

CHAPTER XXII.

GREENLAND LOST AND FOUND.

Greenland Lost........................ 474
Search for Greenland........................ 475
Archbishop Eric Walchendorff's Efforts to rediscover Greenland........................ 475
Greenland espied by Bishop Paulson of Skalholt.......... 476
Greenland resettled by Hans Egede...................... 478
Remnants of Ancient Scandinavian Settlers.............. 478
Ancient Tombstones........................ 479
Church of Kakortok........................ 480
Smaller Relics of Old Greenland........................ 482

CHAPTER XXIII.

LATER DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

PAGE
The "Almagrurim" Discovery 484
Flemish and Normans sailing to Northeastern America.... 485
John Cousin in Brazil.............................. 486
The Basques in Northeastern America.................. 486
The Corterreals in Newfoundland and Labrador 488
Rediscovery by John Kolno 489
Alonso Sanchez de Huelva discovers San Domingo........ 491
Sanchez's Discovery known among the People............ 492
Sanchez's Discovery denied 493
Sanchez's Discovery generally admitted................. 494
Columbus informed by Sailors 495
Whites in San Domingo shortly before Columbus.......... 495
West Indies known in Spain before Columbus's Discovery 496
Attempts of the English to Discover America............ 498

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

No Genius but Knowledge directed Columbus 500
Columbus knew the Routes, to and fro, of the West Indies 501
Licenses granted to discover Land in the Atlantic......... 503
European Relics found by Columbus in Guadeloupe 505
Did the Icelanders reveal the West Indies to Columbus?... 505
Sources of Columbus's Knowledge 507
Columbus vainly applies to Genoa....................... 508
Columbus deluded at the Court of Portugal, and rebuked at those of England, France, etc. 509
Columbus at La Rabida.............................. 510
Columbus favored by Cardinal de Mendoza............... 511
Columbus at the Council of Salamanca 512
Columbus encouraged by Perez, defeated again........... 513
Columbus's Conditions accepted by Isabella.............. 514
The Discovery reported and celebrated in Rome 515
First Missionaries in the West Indies.................... 517
Announcement of "Beginnings of Christianity in America after the Discovery of Columbus".................. 517

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

DOCUMENT PAGE

XVIII. St. Cormac's Distant Northern Voyage...... 519

XIX. Iceland or Thule known to the Ancients 519

XX. Irish "Papas" in Iceland before the Scandinavians 521

XXI. Solinus and Dicuil knew Iceland to lie about the Arctic Circle...................... 522

XXII. Diploma of Lewis the Pious erecting Hamburg into an Archiepiscopal See, with St. Ansgar, as First Metropolitan of all the Northern Countries,—of Greenland 522

XXIII. Gregory IV. confirms the Act of Lewis the Pious and appoints St. Ansgar his Delegate in all the North,—in Greenland..... 525

XXIV. Anastasius III. confirms the Archbishop of Hamburg in his Jurisdiction over the North,—Greenland 527

XXV. John X. confirms the Grants of Gregory IV., etc. 528

XXVI. Innocent II. restores to Hamburg the Preeminence granted by Gregory IV., etc., over the Northern Countries,—Greenland 529

XXVII. Emperor Frederic I. ratifies the Diploma of Lewis the Pious....................... 530

XXVIII. Greenland's and Iceland's Conversion credited to St. Ansgar 531

XXIX. Greenland converted, ravaged, to be restored 531

XXX., *a*. Benedict IX. confirms to Adalbert, Archbishop of Hamburg, his Rights over the North............................... 533

XXX., *b*. Adalbert secured by Leo IX. in his Jurisdiction over Greenland, etc................ 534

XXXI. Ari Marson sails to Hvítramannaland or Ireland the Great 535

XXXII., *a*. Björn Asbrandson sails to the Southwest from Iceland 535

XXXII., *b*. Björn found in Ireland the Great by Gudleif, who had sailed thither from Ireland...... 536

DOCUMENT PAGE

XXXIII. Information from Esquimaux about Ireland the Great 538

XXXIV., *a*. Location of Helluland, Markland, Vinland, and Ireland the Great 539

XXXIV., *b*. Location of Atlantic Ocean, Vinland, Markland, Deserts, Greenland 539

XXXIV., *c*. European Peace- and War-Signals in Ancient America 539

XXXIV., *d*. Leif Ericsson discovers the American Continent 540

XXXV. Fisheries in Greenland 541

XXXVI. No Cattle in Greenland (!) 542

XXXVII., *a*. No Taxes but St. Peter's Pence from the Province of Drontheim 542

XXXVII., *b*. Innocent III. orders the Collection of St. Peter's Pence in the Province of Drontheim 543

XXXVII., *c*. One-Twentieth of Church Revenues granted to Duke Skulo for transporting Crusaders; Dispensations to Crusaders 544

XXXVII., *d*. John XXI. directs the Appointment of Sub-Collectors for Greenland 544

XXXVII., *e*. Sub-Collectors for the other Dioceses of the North 545

XXXVII., *f*. St. Peter's Pence paid in White Meats and Fish in Parts of Norway devoid of Money 546

XXXVII., *g*. Distances cause Tithes to be postponed 546

XXXVII., *h*. The Clergy of Gardar and Neighboring Islands unable to pay the Tithes in Due Time 547

XXXVII., *i*. Tithes of Greenland paid in Nature to be sold for Gold or Silver 548

XXXVIII., *a*. Pontifical Collectors appointed for Scandinavia 549

XXXVIII., *b*. One-half of the Norwegian Tithes to be given to King Magnus 550

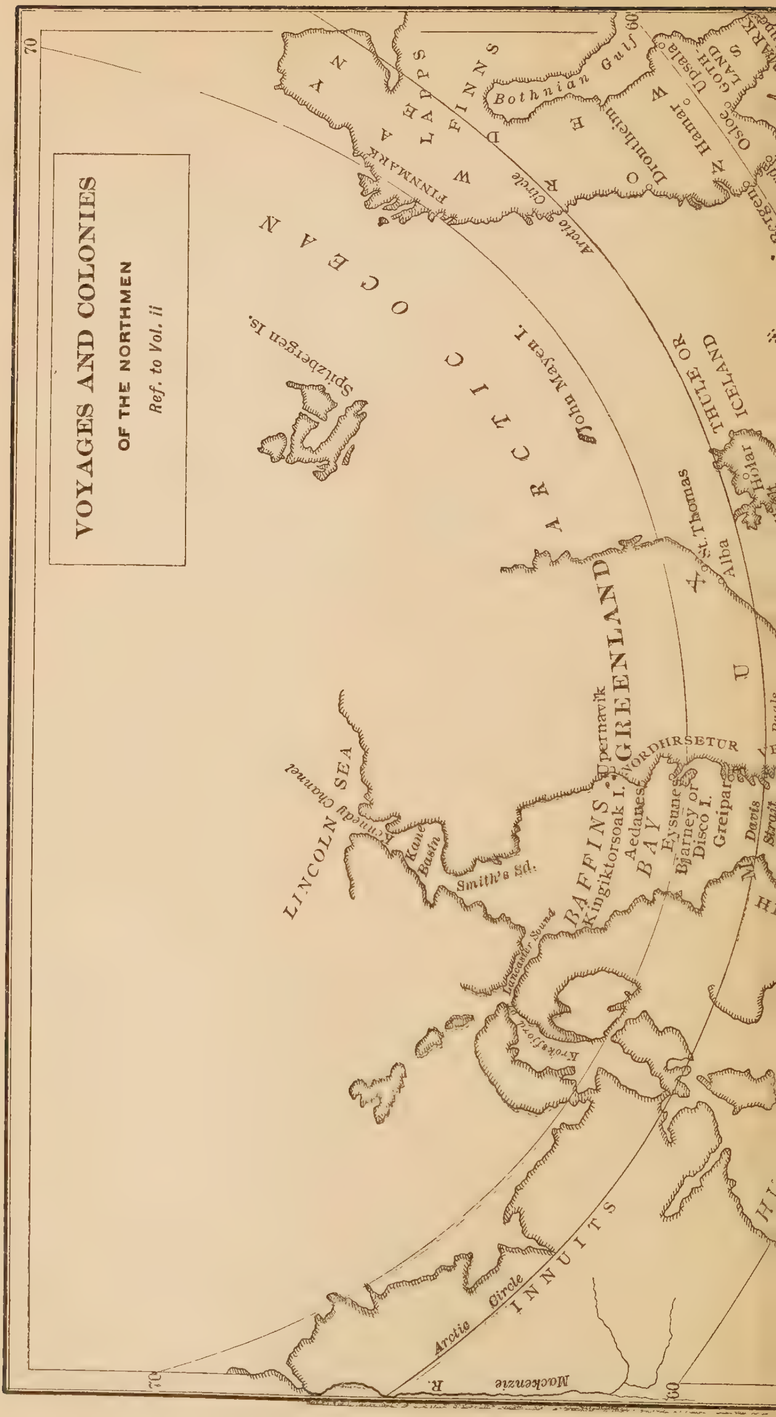
XXXVIII., *c*. Other Dues to be collected in the Province of Drontheim 552

XXXVIII., *d*. St. Peter's Pence ordered to be collected 553

XXXVIII., *e*. John XXII.'s Appeal for Assistance from Greenland 554

DOCUMENT PAGE
XXXVIII., *f*. Faculties to appoint Sub-Collectors given to the Papal Envoys in Norway, John de Serone and Bernard de Ortolis....... 555
XXXIX. Amounts of Tithes in the province of Drontheim,—Greenland.................... 556
XL. Amounts of St. Peter's Pence in the Province of Drontheim,—Greenland......... 557
XLI. Exchanges of Norwegian Money for South-European.......................... 558
XLII. Gregory XI. imposes One Year's Tithes,—also on the Diocese of Gardar.......... 559
XLIII., *a*, *b*. Pontifical Collectors appointed for Drontheim . . . and Gardar................ 563
XLIV. Hymn of a Pioneer Greenlander........... 564
XLV. Leif Ericsson sent to convert Greenland.... 565
XLVI. Leif Ericsson sent to convert Greenland.... 565
XLVII. Converted Northmen relapsing into Former Vices............................. 565
XLVIII. An Instance of Lasting Northman Superstition.............................. 566
XLIX. Foreign Missionaries in Scandinavian Countries............................. 566
L. Lists of Dioceses in the Province of Drontheim.............................. 567
LI. Right of St. Ansgar to appoint Bishops.... 568
LII. Faculty granted to Adalbert of Hamburg to appoint Bishops in all the North,—Greenland.......................... 569
LIII. Bishop Eric Gnupson sails for Vinland..... 570
LIV. Zeno Relation of Northern Voyages....... 570
LV., *a*. Adam of Bremen mentions Vinland........ 584
LV., *b*. Oderic Vital mentions Vinland............ 584
LVI. Faroese Ballad mentioning Vinland and its Kings............................ 584
LVII. Alexander III. limits the Greenlanders' Liberality............................. 586
LVIII. Innocent III. confirms the Authority of the Archbishop of Drontheim.............. 587
LIX. Gregory IX. enforces Priestly Celibacy in Norway............................ 590
LX. Gregory IX. forbids simulating Holy Communion in Churches wanting Bread and Wine 590

DOCUMENT PAGE
LXI. Icelandic Apostles' Creed 591
LXII., *a*. Bishop Alfus gives the Usufruct of a House to his nephew 592
LXII., *b*. Clement VII. appoints Peter Staras Bishop of Gardar 592
LXII., *c*. Transfer of Henry, Bishop of Greenland, to the Orkneys 594
LXII., *d*. Berthold appointed Successor of Alverus as Bishop of Gardar 595
LXII., *e*. Peter, Bishop of Strengnäs, had been transferred to Gardar 596
LXIII., *a*, *b*. James Peters appointed Bishop of Gardar . 597
LXIII., *c*. Appointment of Bishop James Treppe 597
LXIV., *a*, *b*. English and Scandinavian Pirates 599
LXV., *a*, *b*. Bishop Ryngman's Promotion 600
LXV., *c*. Bulls of Bishop Ryngman's Promotion 600
LXV., *d*. Bishop Ryngman obliges himself to the Payment of the Customary Dues 603
LXVI., *a*, *b*. Gobelinus Volant, Bishop of Gardar 603
LXVII. Bishop Volant transferred to Aalborg 604
LXVIII., *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*. John Erler de Moys, Bishop of Gardar 604
LXIX., *a*. *b*. Bartholomew de Sto. Ypolito, Bishop of Gardar 605
LXX. Pecuniary Straits of John, Bishop Elect of Holar 606
LXXI. Destitution of the Clergy in Iceland 607
LXXII., *a*. James Blaa made Bishop of Gardar 608
LXXII., *b*. Resignation of Bishop Blaa, and Promotion of Matthias Canutson to the See of Gardar 608
LXXIII. Alexander VI. orders all Bulls to be expedited free of charge to Matthias Canutson 609
LXXIV., *a*, *b*. Vincent Peters (Kampe), Bishop of Gardar 610
LXXV. Testimonies to the Voyages of the Corterreal 611
LXXVI., *a*, *b*, *c*. Rejoicings in Rome at Columbus's Discovery 612



VOYAGES AND COLONIES
OF THE NORTHMEN
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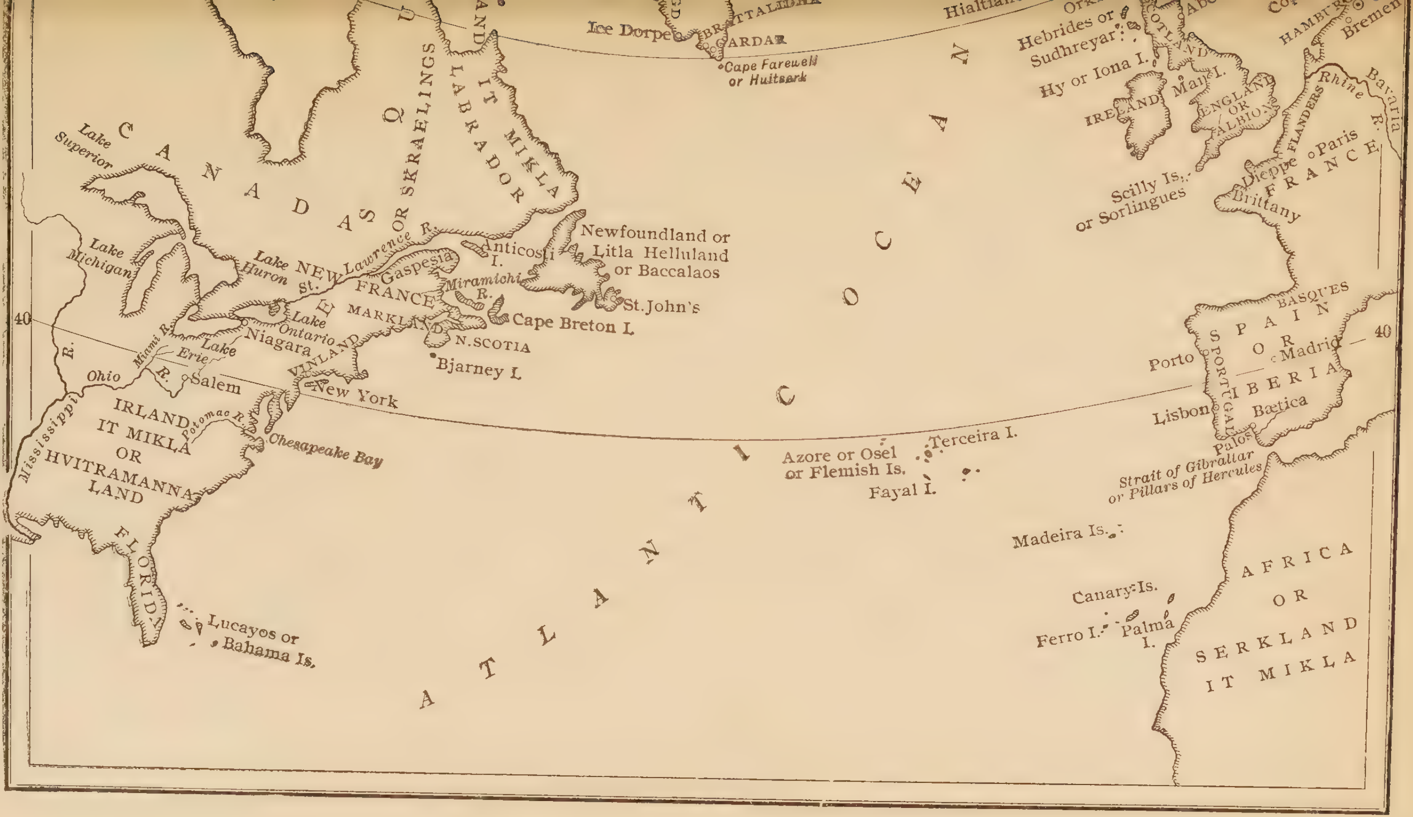
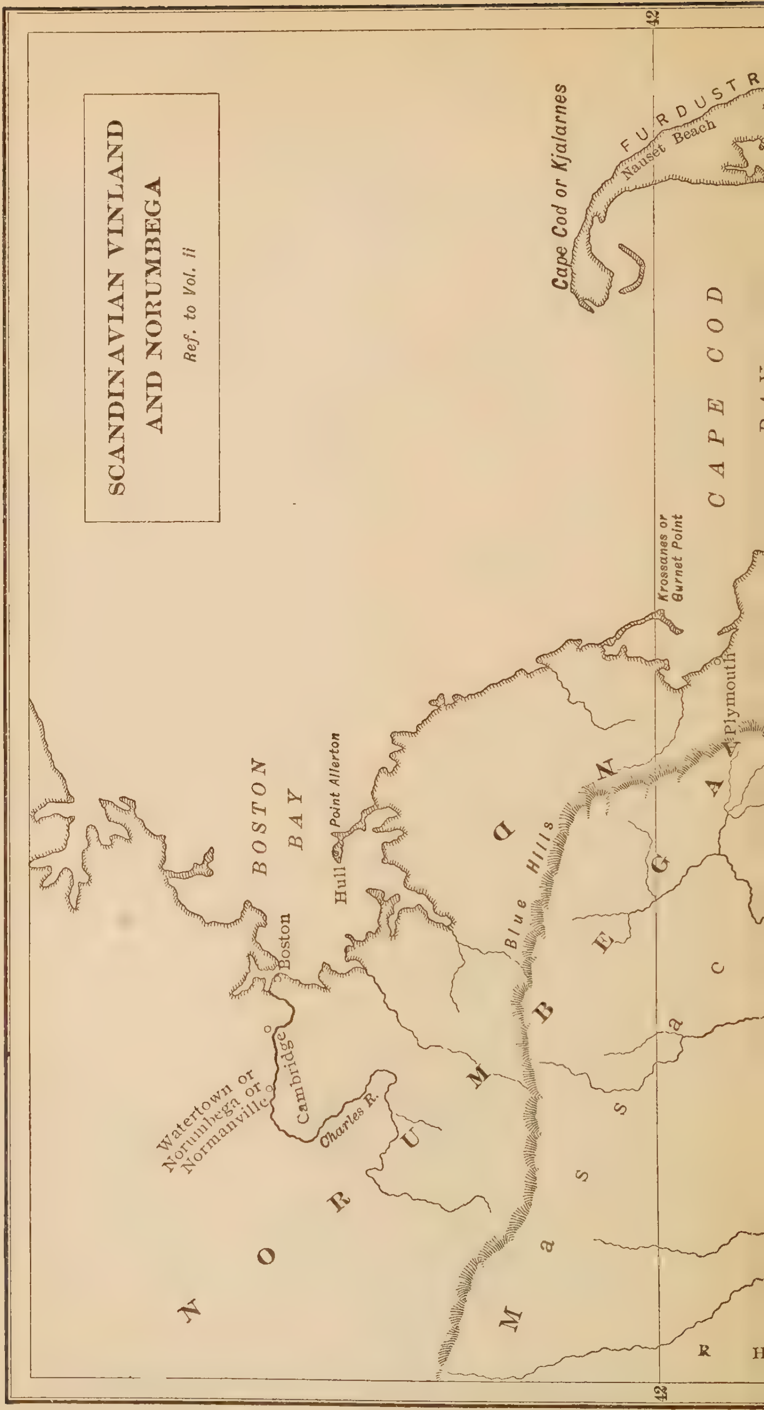
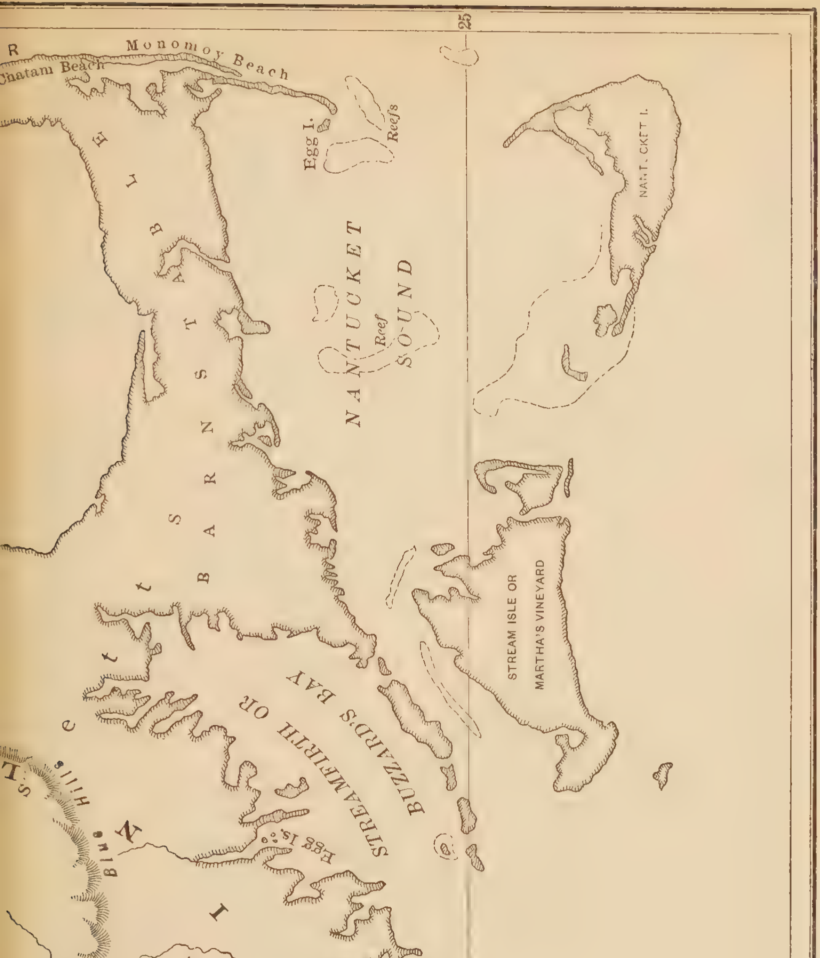


ATLANTIC OCEAN
CANADAS
OR SKRAELINGS
IT MIKLA
LABRADOR
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Niagara
NEW FRANCE
St. Lawrence R.
Gaspesia
Anticosti I.
Miramichi R.
Newfoundland or
Litla Helluland
or Baccalaos
St. John's
Cape Breton I.
N. SCOTIA
MARKLAND
Bjarney I.
VINLAND
New York
Salem
Miami R.
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
IRLAND IT MIKLA OR HVITRAMANNA LAND
FLORIDA
Lucayos or Bahama Is.
40
Ice Dorpe
GARDAR
BRATTALIDHA
Cape Farewell or Huitserk
Hialtland
Orkney
Hebrides or Sudhreyar
Hy or Iona I.
IRELAND
Man I.
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND OR ALBION
Scilly Is. or Sorlingues
HAMBURG
Bremen
Rhine R.
Bavaria
FLANDERS
Dieppe
Paris
FRANCE
Brittany
BASQUES
SPAIN OR IBERIA
Madrid
PORTUGAL
Porto
Lisbon
Bætica
Palos
Strait of Gibraltar or Pillars of Hercules
Terceira I.
Azore or Osel or Flemish Is.
Fayal I.
Madeira Is.
Canary Is.
Ferro I.
Palma I.
AFRICA OR SERKLAND IT MIKLA



SCANDINAVIAN VINLAND AND NORUMBEGA

Ref. to Vol. ii


Monomoy Beach
Chatam Beach
Egg I.
Reefs
NANTUCKET SOUND
Reef
NANT.CKET I.
BARNSTABLE
STREAM ISLE OR MARTHA'S VINEYARD
BUZZARD'S BAY OR STREAMFIRTH
Egg Is.
Blue Hills
Fall River
Tiverton
Leifsbudhir
Swanzey
Dighton
Mont Haup Bay
Thorfinnsbudhir
Bristolneck
Pocasset R.
RHODE I.
Newport
Hop
Narragansett Bay
Conanicut
Point Judith
Providence
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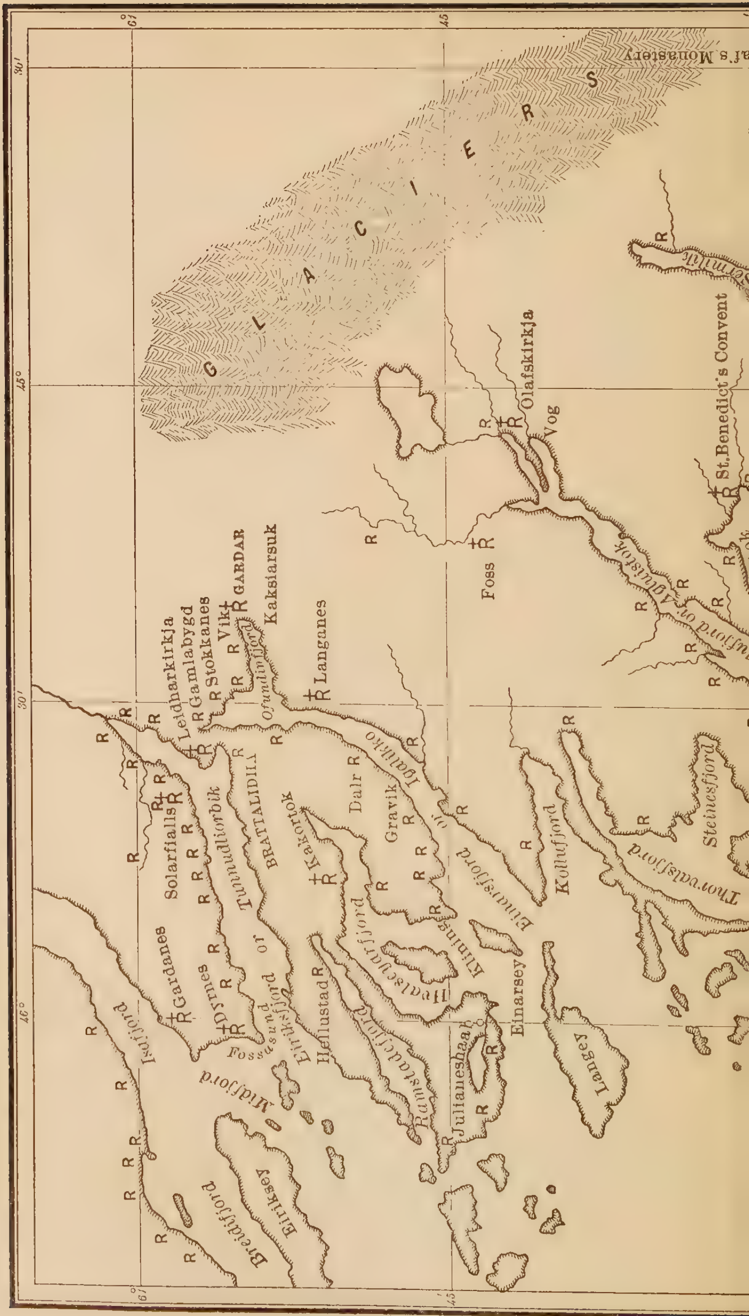
GLACIERS
af's Monastery
Olafskirkja
Vog
St. Benedict's Convent
Foss
GARDAR
Kaksiarsuk
Langanes
Vik
Stokkanes
Gamlabygd
Leidharkirkja
Solarfialls
Ofundinfjord
Igaliko
Dalr
Gravik
BRATTALIDHA
Tunnudliorbik
Kakortok
Einarsfjord
Kollufjord
Steinesfjord
Thorvaldsfjord
Agluitsok
Eiriksfjord
Fossasund
Dyrnes
Gardanes
Isafjord
Midfjord
Hellustad
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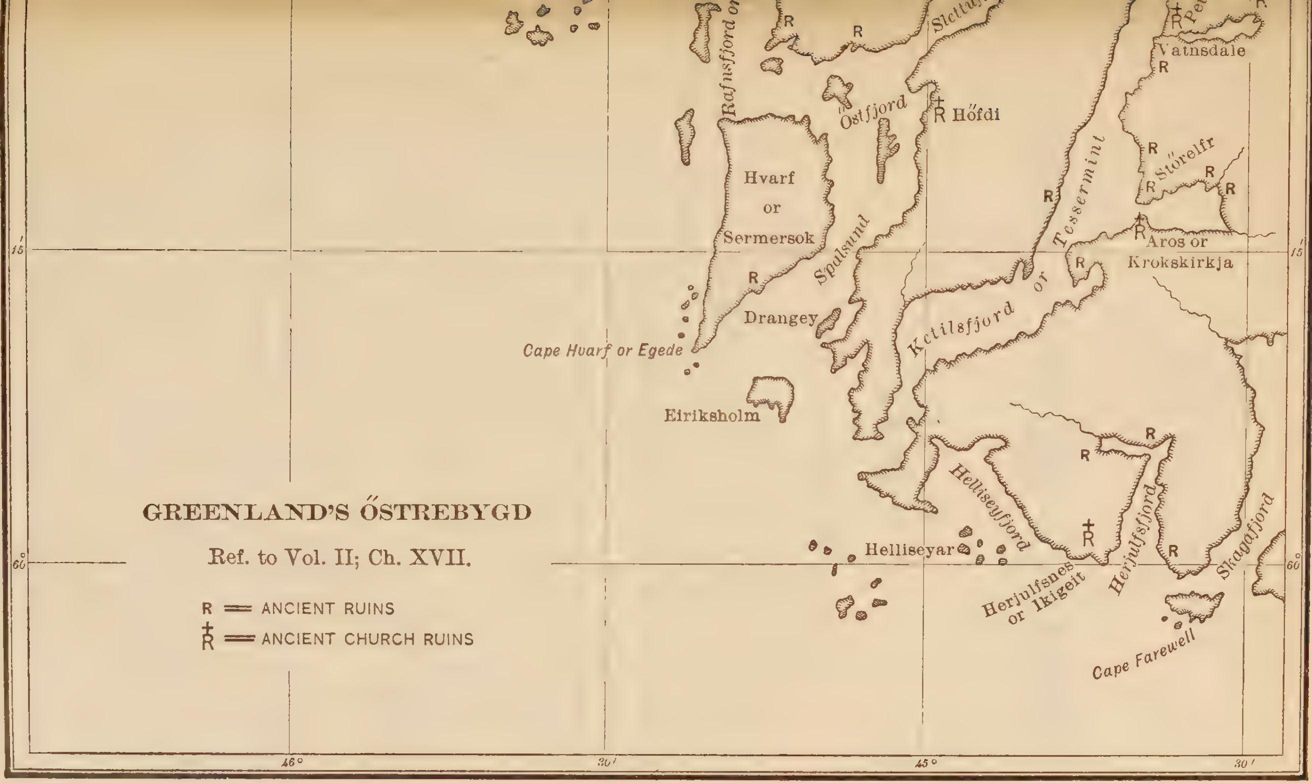

GREENLAND'S ŐSTREBYGD

Ref. to Vol. II; Ch. XVII.

R = ANCIENT RUINS

†R = ANCIENT CHURCH RUINS

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

CHAPTER I.

ST. BRENDAN'S ISLAND AND LEGEND.

THE very nature of the questions which we have proposed to examine, the seeking after the European influences which so largely contributed to shape the religious and social institutions of ancient America, gives us readily to understand that our further study will require, above all, the help of European information.

We have succeeded in obtaining valuable intelligence regarding the history of pre-Columbian America from quite a number of authentic documents, either but little known or yet altogether unpublished. Ancient manuscripts and rare collections of authentic historical sources, besides the writings of venerable historians, also cast a flood of light upon a period of our continent which, until lately, was regarded as simply prehistoric. Yet we must acknowledge that we have not found any information strictly historical anterior to the sixth century of our era in regard to influential communication between Christian Europe and pagan America.

We might have expected to find in the Vatican archives, which form the most complete and most authentic history of the world, the solution of the important questions regarding our ancient history; but this precious collection of documents has been so often dispersed, robbed, and mutilated by barbarous and schismatic nations,[1] that almost nothing can be found there anterior to the eighth century, and but very little prior to the tenth.

As in all other countries, so also in Europe, does every historical branch commence with legends scarcely more reliable than the traditions of our aborigines; yet we feel obliged to notice a couple of these, to give our readers an idea of what even learned men have afforded as an answer to the questions with which we have closed the previous volume.

Although we may slightly depart from chronological order, we shall at once dispose of one of these popular tales ascribing the ancient Christianization of our continent to the same nation which, after Columbus's discovery, was foremost in preaching the gospel of Christ upon American soil.[2]

The finding of crosses in Cozumel and Yucatan was puzzling to the Spanish discoverers. Gomara and others, rather than to admit the devil as the manufacturer of those Christian symbols, had recourse to an ancient Portuguese legend, according to which, after the battle of Xeres de la Frontera, in the year 711, in which the effeminate King Rodrigo was slain by Tarik, and Spain passed under the domination of the African Mahomedans, a great number of Christians, to escape slavery or death, sprang into their ships and confided themselves to the winds and the waves of the Dark Ocean. These fugitives, it was thought, might eventually have landed in Central America, have placed crosses upon their graves, as it was done in their native country, and taught the natives to respect them.[1]

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[1] Especially in the years 409, 455, 456, 475, 847, 1117, 1527, 1796.

[2] Lescarbot, with excusable pride, pretends that his countrymen, the French, discovered America during the first years of, or already before, the Christian era. (Liv. iii. ch. i. p. 228.) The claim rests upon a legend of Postel's geographical chart, telling that the French used to sail, eighteen hundred years ago, to the fisheries of Newfoundland, yet despised to live there because it was but an immense waste. A reader of Cæsar's "Gallic War" will object to the statement, although the Gauls at the time were well fitted to be the ancestors of some of our savage tribes.

Akin to this was another story telling that, at the defeat of Rodrigo, seven bishops, or, more correctly, six bishops and the archbishop of Porto, accompanied by a great number of people fleeing from the fearful persecution, set sail and finally disembarked on a distant western island, where they built seven cities, each one as a new diocese for each bishop. Hence the name of "Island of the Seven Cities, Septe Ciudades,"[2] which was, however, also known by the name of "Antilia," as we may notice from a remark on Martin Behaim's map of the year 1492.

The geographers of the fourteenth century paid no attention yet to the island Antilia or of the Seven Cities, and, as the legend did not specify any definite location for it, the Portuguese, at the first news of the discovery of the Azores, were anxious to find on them the seven cities or their ruins; but, as no trace nor vestige of them was to be seen, they naturally concluded that Antilia must be located somewhere else, farther west.[3] This island first appeared on the map of 1424 preserved at Weimar, and is set forth on the principal charts of the rest of that century, notably on the Bianco of 1436.[4]

---

[1] Solorzano, Politica, lib. i. cap. v. p. 19, and De Indiarum Jure, lib. i. cap. ix. ¶ 46, p. 116.

[2] Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 5; Solorzano, De Indiarum Jure, lib. i. cap. ix. ¶ 46, p. 116; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 174; Peschel, Entdeckungen, S. 101.

[3] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 175.

[4] Winsor, vol. i. p. 49.

The kings of Portugal have on several occasions, and particularly in the year 1486, issued letters patent in favor of hardy sailors who would set out to discover or rediscover the island of the Seven Cities, "be it truly an island, a group of islands, or even a continent." Thus did the Flemish Ferdinand Dulmo request the property of the island, on the condition that he should discover it or have it discovered at his own personal expense.[1] The coveted land must have been found some time, if we can believe the learned geographer Ruysch, who traces on his map of the year 1495, west of the southern Azores and northwest of Hispaniola, a large oblong island, with the appellation "Antilia Insula," and the subjoined circumstantial legend: "This island Antilia has, in times past, been discovered by the Portuguese. People speaking Spanish were found on it, descendants of those, it is believed, who at the time of Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings, fled to this island from the persecution of the barbarians who had invaded Spain at that time. The people here have one archbishop and six other bishops, of whom each has his own city, and for this reason the island is called by many 'The Seven Cities.' The inhabitants live a most Christian life and abound in all the riches of this world. At present, however, this island cannot be found by those who sail in search of it." The Ptolemean map printed in Rome in the year 1508 copies all the same curious information.[2] On the 24th of August, 1497, Raimund di Soncino, embassador of Ludovico il Moro in London, wrote to his master: "A few years ago His Majesty has sent out a Venetian, a distinguished mariner who has a special aptitude to discover new islands. He has returned hale and hearty, after having found again the

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 173.

[2] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. vi., tables.

Seven Cities at a distance of four hundred leagues from England in a western direction."[1]

The entire story of the seven bishops and of the Seven Cities is but a popular myth, as it was considered to be by Solorzano; and yet it was accepted by learned men as a high probability, if not as an historical truth; and it lasted, in spite of modern nautical discoveries, until the year 1582, when Michael Lok still placed the island "Sept Cités" on his map, about the twenty-fifth degree of northern latitude and the twenty-seventh east of the Washington meridian.[2] The island itself was imaginary, so far as its alleged form and location are concerned, yet we shall not deny that some island of the Atlantic Ocean may at some time have been known by the name of Antilia.

This remark can be applied to several other islands of the same ocean which we find located on geographical charts of the middle ages and of a more recent period, under the names of Danmar or Tanmar, Reillo or Royllo, and Satanaxio,[3] of Brezill, of the Birds, and of Hell. Some of them have afterwards been identified with actually existing isles, as were already the "Osels" or "Birds" with the Azores, in the year 1439, by the cartographer Gabriel de Valsequa.[4]

By far the most interesting of all these islands is that of St. Brendan,[5] not only because the learned have paid the most careful attention to it, but also because it bears the name of a remarkable historic personage, and stands in conjunction with a venerable legend founded on fact.

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[1] Gaffarel, Découv. de l'Amér., t. ii. p. 288.

[2] Hakluyt Society, Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, p. 55.

[3] Winsor, vol. i. p. 49.

[4] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 245.

[5] We have found the name of the saint spelled in the following manners: Brendan, Brenden, Brendin, Brennen, Brandan, Brantam, Brantan, Brandann, Brandain, Brandaines, Brandano, Brandam, Brandamis, Brandon, Borondan, Borondon, Blandin, Brengan, Brenghan, Brennan. In the original Irish it is Brenain or Brenainn.

In the sixth century there was a popular persuasion that towards the northwest of Europe there existed an "Island of the Blessed." "This was an echo," says von Humboldt,[1] "of the more ancient traditions regarding the wonders of the Cronian Sea."

In a manuscript of the tenth century, preserved in the library of Turin, we find already located in the Atlantic Ocean certain islands which, nameless yet, will soon be designated as those of St. Brendan.[2] Honorius of Autun writes in the year 1130 that there is in the ocean an island, called the Lost Island, which is more agreeable and fertile than any other land, but after being discovered once cannot be found again. To this isle "Brandan" is said to have sailed, he adds.[3] The World's Map of Jacques de Vitry and the World's Image of Robert d'Auxerre of the year 1265 likewise mention the isle of the Irish saint.[4] On the nautical chart of the fourteenth century, preserved at the library of St. Mark in Venice, we find located, at no great distance from the western coast of Ireland, an island illuminated with gold, and called "St. Brandan's Mountain;"[5] and so also[6] does the Catalaunian map of the year 1375 locate "St. Brandan's" Island at a place where it is called for by the original legend, of which we shall presently speak,—that is, not too far away from, and westward of, southern Ireland. Valsequa, the most famous of Majorcan cartographers, likewise notes on his map of the year 1439, in a southwesterly direction from Ireland, a group of isles which he designates as the "Fortunate Islands of St. Brandan."[1]

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[1] Examen, t. ii. p. 164.

[2] Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 205.

[3] Imago Mundi, fo. 15vo, ap. Peschel, Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, S. 30, n. 1; Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 205.

[4] Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 205.

[5] Ibid., p. 206.

[6] Kretschmer, S. 190.

This twofold appellation was derived from the legend of the holy man, the principal object of whose voyages is said to have been the seeking of the Land of the Blessed. But this important point of the story was misleading for the European scholars, who were familiar with Pliny's and Ptolemy's classic "Fortunate Islands;" and they shifted on their maps the north-western St. Brendan's isle, to confound it with one of the ancient "Fortunatæ," now the Madeira and the Canary Islands.

The giant move was first made during the fourteenth century by Richard Haldingham, who through his Map of the World assures us that the six Fortunate Islands are the Islands of "Brantan;" and by the Venetian geographer Pizzigani, on whose chart of the year 1367, preserved in the library of Parma, the saint is nicely painted, extending his arms to the group of the Canary Islands, here called the "Fortunate Islands of St. Brandan."[2] The same mistake was made on two Italian maps, respectively of the years 1424 and 1426,[3] and by Bartholomew de Pareto, who, in the year 1455, gives the Madeiras and the Canaries the general name of "Fortunate Islands of St. Brandan," while he locates on the southwest coast of Ireland a place also called "St. Brandan."[4] So also does Andrew Benincasa, in the year 1480, confound St. Brendan's Island with those of the Canary group.[5]

When, however, the Madeira Islands, whose location seemed to agree better than that of the neighboring archipelago with the location of St. Brendan's, had been discovered in the year 1420, they failed to correspond with the description of the saint's legend, and St. Brendan's Island, giving way to known reality, politely retired to more mysterious quarters. It actually sailed northward on the Weimer chart of the year 1424, where we find the "Islands of St. Brandan" between Madeira and the Azores.[1] Afterwards—namely, in the year 1453—it was thought that the saint, in a southern course, had doubled the cape Bojador.[2] Martin Behaim, in 1492, very unceremoniously moved St. Brendan's Island sixty-eight degrees to the west of the Canaries, setting it down between the equator and the eighth degree of northern latitude, with the remark that "565 years after the birth of Christ, St. Brandam came with his ship to this island, where he saw many wonders for the space of seven years, after which he went back to his country." The island, however, he called "Antilia or Septeriade."[3]

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[1] "Insules fortunate sante Brandane." (Boletín, t. xxi. p. 244.)

[2] Isole dicte Fortunate St. Brandany; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 170; Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 206; Jomard, pl. 44, 45; Peschel, Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, S. 30.

[3] Kunstmann, S. 10.

[4] Kretschmer, Tafel v.

[5] Peschel, Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, S. 30.

Behaim's direction was right, but his distance from the Canaries was excessive; for, from these islands, where the imaginations are as bright as the mirages, the isle of St. Brendan was at intervals seen in perfectly clear and serene weather; and to some it seemed one hundred leagues distant; to others, forty; to others yet, only fifteen or eighteen. In the year 1526 an expedition set out from the Canaries to sail to it, but in vain. In 1570 the optical illusion was so frequent that, after mature deliberations, another expedition was fitted out on the island of Palma; but it was equally fruitless. Thirty-four years after, or in 1605, the people of Palma sent in quest another ship, commanded by an accomplished pilot and accompanied by the friar Lorenzo Piñedo. St. Brendan, however, refused to reveal his island to either monk or mariner. The last search for the isle was made in the year 1721; and it is useless to say that the vessel returned from her cruise as unsuccessful as her predecessors.[1]

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[1] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 187.

[2] Bem he que alguñs deziam, que passara per ally—cabo Bojador—Sam Brantam. (Azurara, Chron. de Guiné, cap. vii. p. 44, ap. Peschel, Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, S. 30, n. 2.)

[3] Jomard, pl. xv, 1; Kretschmer, Tafel vi. 2; Peschel and Gaffarel, ubi supra.

And no wonder, for, if anywhere, St. Brendan's Island was to be looked for in its original place, in the northwestern regions of the Atlantic. Here it had been kept by the geographers who had wisely preferred to classic lore the information directly bearing upon the geographical question. It was but natural that the holy voyager should have made discoveries and found the monks of his kith and kin on the waters that were washing his native coast, rather than on the distant billows breaking against the African cliffs.

A catalan of the fifteenth century remembers "San Brandan" on his island "Gataforda," north of Ireland.[2] Sebastian Cabot, who had seen much and heard more of the seas north and west of the British isles, adorns his map of the year 1544 with "St. Brandon's" islet, located twenty-four degrees due west of Dublin. The map of Peter Desceliers, drawn in A.D. 1546, which repeats the Christian names given by Cabot to some places of America's eastern coast, represents the island "St. Brandon" half-way between Ireland and the St. Lawrence River.[3] We find, on the rich parchment ordered drawn by Henry II. of France about the year 1550, the small island "St. Brandon" placed on a line between Ireland and Anticosti.[1] Mercator, in 1569, marks "St. Brandain" east of the mouth of the St. Lawrence River,[2] and so does Thevet in his Cosmographie Universelle;[3] while Michael Lok, on his map of the year 1582, agrees with them in placing his "St. Brandam" between Ireland and America, much nearer, however, to the latter.[4] Five years after, Ortelius moves the isle closer to Iceland;[5] but as late as 1605, when numerous voyages should have elucidated the famous legend of St. Brendan, we still find the island located where the reader of the story might look for it, —namely, in the near proximity of Newfoundland.[6] About the same time Honorius Philoponi tells us that the island of "St. Brandon" is situated in the northern ocean, just opposite the Land of Corterreal or New France of North America;[7] and, finally, a rather recent Portuguese map, preserved in the Riccardiana Library of Florence, sets down the island of "St. Brandam" to the west of Ireland.[8]

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[1] O'Donoghue, pp. 291–296; Peschel, Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, S. 30; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 170.

[2] Kretschmer, Tafel iv. n. 8.

[3] Ibid., Tafel xvii.

From all these geographical particulars it would appear that the most learned men of Europe have generally admitted, during these last ten centuries, that the Irish monk, St. Brendan, has been a remarkable explorer of the Atlantic Ocean, and the discoverer of unknown land situated, according to the more plausible opinion of the greater number, in a westerly direction from his native country, close by or on the eastern shores of North America.

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[1] Jomard, pl. xix, 1; pl. xx, 2.

[2] Ibid., pl. xxi, 1.

[3] P. 903, ap. Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 206.

[4] Hakluyt, p. 55.

[5] Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, chart v., ap. Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 207.

[6] Title-page of the book: "Warachtige ende grondige beschryvinge van het groot en goutryck Coningryck van Guiana."

[7] Navigationes Patrum Ord. S. Bened., p. 14, ap. von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 166, n. 1.

[8] Kretschmer, Tafel xxxiii.

This conclusion is singularly borne out by the narrative of the legend of St. Brendan; unless it should be objected that the two arguments are but a single one, from the fact, as Thomas Wright[1] and others reversely assert, that the legend exercised an influence on geographical science down to a late epoch. Such may be the case; but, if it is, we feel justified in attaching to the legend a greater importance than modern criticism accords to it, on the principle that the nearer to the events the fuller the records and the better understood.

It was one of the most remarkable and widely spread legends of the middle ages, and it is highly probable that even Arabian geographers have taken from it some of their Atlantic islands.[2] The number of its ancient copies carefully preserved until this day, its various translations, and its learned commentaries, published of late, sufficiently testify to the lively interest which the "Navigatio" of St. Brendan has excited, an interest such as was never taken, especially by the learned, in a work devoid of important historical truth.

The oldest version of the legend or "Voyage" of St. Brendan that has come down to us is undoubtedly the "Betha Brenainn," contained in the Book of Lismore and other manuscripts; but the incidents of the story are few and baldly related in these copies, while the structure of the tale is rather disjointed and fragmentary, seemingly made up of scraps and fragments from two or more earlier Irish versions which have been lost. It differs considerably in those respects from the Latin "Navigatio." The latter was the most popular version during the middle ages, and even now there is scarcely any large collection of manuscripts in

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[1] Preface to the edition of the Early English Metrical and Early English Prose Life of St. Brendan, ap. O'Donoghue, p. 356.

[2] O'Donoghue, p. 356.

Europe where it is not represented by one or more copies.[1]

The manuscript of the Vatican Library, which Cardinal Moran consulted in preparing his edition of the "Navigatio," in his "Acta Sti. Brendani," is referred by a competent judge to the ninth century.[2] General Butterfield found thirteen copies of the Latin legend in the National Library of Paris, no two of them being written by the same hand. The one he copied and photographed was declared to be of the tenth century, although marked on the catalogue as belonging to the twelfth.[3] Jubinal, who made a special study of the matter, is likewise of the opinion that several copies of the "Navigatio" antedate the eleventh century, to which they are generally assigned.[4] Two ancient transcripts of St. Brendan's legend are kept in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and Mr. Butterfield heard of four others in different places.[5] There also exist various Latin versions, such as those in the "Codex Salmanticensis," preserved in the Burgundian Library of Brussels, that are mere abridgments of St. Brendan's Life, or Voyage.[6]

Metrical versions of the legend, in Latin and Anglo-Norman or Romanz, appeared in England as early as the reign of Henry I., about the year 1125, and are preserved in manuscripts of the British Museum. Translations were also made into primitive French, German, English, and into almost every other language of Europe,[7] both in verse and in prose. The Voyage appeared in German at the end of the twelfth century, in Middle-German less than a hundred years after, and a few years later in Low-German.[1] The library of the archbishop of Nuremberg contains a manuscript copy of the old German translation.[2]

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[1] O'Donoghue, pp. 104, 109; Acta SS. Bolland., ed. Bruxellis, t. vii. Octobris, p. 952, annot. e.

[2] O'Donoghue, p. 109; cf. Winsor, vol. i. p. 48.

[3] New York Freeman's Journal, November 5, 1892.

[4] O'Donoghue, p. 357.

[5] New York Freeman's Journal, November 5, 1892.

[6] O'Donoghue, p. 181.

[7] Ibid., pp. 109, 357.

That the ancient inhabitants of Flanders were not unacquainted with the voyager saint is proved by the modern publication of his legend in the old Titske tongue by the scholarly Mr. Blommaert.[3]

St. Brendan's wonderful Voyage has been published in several languages in the earlier ages of typography, but it seems that at no time of its history has the legend attracted more attention from the learned than in our own age of historical criticism. In the year 1798 Burns made public the Low-German translation.[4] In 1836 the Latin text was published, together with early French translations, by Achille Jubinal,[5] who may give the reader much interesting information for which we could find no space. The story of St. Brendan is given by von Humboldt,[6] D'Avezac,[7] and Gaffarel.[8] An English version was edited by Thomas Wright.[9] The Bollandists lately edited the Latin version of the "Codex Salmanticensis," and Cardinal Moran his "Acta Sti. Brendani," which form the most valuable repertory we have of matters Brendanian.[10] The legend was published again, in the year 1871, in its

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[1] Kretschmer, S. 188.

[2] New York Freeman's Journal, November 5, 1892.

[3] Acta SS. Bolland., ed. Bruxellis, t. vii. Octobris, p. 952.

[4] Alt-Platdeutsche Gedichte, ap. Kretschmer, S. 188.

[5] La Légende Latine de S. Brandaines, avec une traduction inédite en prose et en poésie Romanes, ap. Kretschmer, S. 188, and O'Donoghue, p. 357.

[6] Examen, vol. ii. p. 163.

[7] Iles d'Afrique, ii. 19.

[8] Les Voyages de St. Brandan et des Papæ.

[9] St. Brandan, a Mediæval Legend of the Sea, in English Prose and Verse, London, 1844 ; see Winsor, vol. i. p. 48.

[10] O'Donoghue, pp. 1, 181.

Middle-German garb, by Schröder;[1] and by F. Michel in 1878, according to an Old-French manuscript of the British Museum.[2] Finally, six years ago the parish priest of Ardfert gave to the world his learned and interesting "Brendaniana."

May we not ask here whether it is likely that so much learning, time, and labor should have been spent upon the legend of St. Brendan, if it were nothing but a rhapsodic tale of phantasms, for the creation of which the author's sickly brain had not even the indispensable fragmentary material; if it had not, in its archaic form and with such extravagant flourish as suited the times, conveyed to wondering Europe the intelligence of an actual exploit, which, through its religious character, aroused the enthusiasm of newly converted nations, and through its scientific bearing enlisted the unabated attention of the learned until this day?

It is true that Vincent of Beauvais refused to admit St. Brendan's legend into his Cyclopædia, because, he says, of the fanciful absurdities that occur in it;[3] but his contemporaries accepted it without discussion. James Waren[4] and Usher carefully remark that the story contains prodigious myths; yet they admit, like Colgan, the historical warp of the narrative.[5] They knew better than we that in those ages of faith and of saints, especially in the homes of erudition or monasteries of friars, the standard of criticism was quite different from ours; for, while modern literature is making every effort to drive Almighty God out of this world, the monks of those ages would neither read nor write any composition that was not generally spiced with supernatural commixtures which we now justly call incredible and impossible. In judging, therefore, of mediæval legends, we ought to keep aloof from hypercriticism, as well as from credulity; and this rule has been observed, in regard to the "Voyage" of St. Brendan, by the learned of old and by the greater number of modern historians. Thus is the island of "Saint Borondan" called by the learned von Humboldt not imaginary, but, to speak more correctly, he says, vaguely located.[1] Sheene styles the legend of St. Brendan a pious romance resting on an historical foundation. "No fabulous incidents would have been interwoven with the events of his life if among these there had not been an effort to extend Christianity to distant unknown islands, and of such an undertaking no signs are wanting," he adds.[2] "The whole story of St. Brandan bears neither repetition nor criticism; but, in the midst of much crude fiction, we find occasional touches which have evidently been derived from the reports of genuine voyagers," says Payne.[3] Webb, in his "Compendium of Irish Biography," repeats the opinion of another recent critic, saying, "Although the account of St. Brendan's voyages abound with fables, yet it may be admitted that he sailed, in company with some other persons, towards the West, in search of some island or country the existence of which he had heard of."[4]

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[1] St. Brandan; Erlangen.

[2] Paris, ap. Kretschmer, S. 188.

[3] Speculum Historiale, lib. xxi. cap. lxxxi. (thirteenth century).

[4] De Scriptoribus Hibernis, p. 12.

[5] Cf. Acta SS. Bolland., Maii t. iii., Antverp., De S. Brandano, cap. ii. ¶ 12.

Following the same method of criticism, we shall extract a few statements from the legend, add a few words of explanation, and adduce arguments from other sources that establish their credibility and truthfulness.[5]

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[1] Examen, t. ii. p. 161.

[2] Celtic Scotland, t. ii. p. 76.

[3] P. 106.

[4] Art. Brendan.

[5] St. Brendan was born in the year 483 (O'Donoghue, p. 32), in

The story of the "Voyage" opens with the edifying narrative of a pious visitor at the monastery of Ardfert-Brendan. Father Baruin or Barinthus tells the religious community how, after having received information of his dear son Mernoc, who had left to become a hermit, he went to visit him on an island far away in the western ocean, where he found him to be an abbot of a large community of monks. After some time, Mernoc offered his father to take him farther west, to a country which he called the "Land of Promise of the Saints." They sailed through dark clouds, and finally arrived at the land, spacious and grassy, and bearing all manner of fruits. They walked about for fifteen days, yet could not reach the limits of that country, but on the fifteenth day they discovered a river flowing from the West towards the East. After all, Barinthus had returned full of joy and admiration.

Some authors think that the darkness through which St. Brendan himself had afterwards to pass, immediately before entering the Land of the Blessed, might well be the thick fogs so common yet on the Newfoundland banks. But let us not take up this uncertainty, while Barinthus's tale is fraught with a more important difficulty that claims our attention.

It would appear, indeed, that the islets far off in the western ocean, which can be none other than those along the North American shore, and our continent itself, were not altogether unknown in Ireland at the time of St. Brendan's famous voyage. This statement

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the province Munster, county Kerry, within the townland Fenit, six miles west from Tralee (ibid., pp. 7, 41, 111). He was ordained a priest in the year 512 or 514 (ibid., p. 64); died in the ninety-fourth year of his age, on the 16th of May, 577, in Eanach-duin or Annaghdown (ibid., pp. 261, 264, 269), at three days' journey from Clonfert, in the çounty Galway and province Connaught, where he was buried (ibid., p. 183).

is in itself a serious objection to the credibility of the legend's first chapter.

To answer, we copy an interesting page[1] from O'Donoghue's Brendaniana: "The ancient Celts, in their migrations from the East, brought with them a strong faith, the faith, also, of the ancient Greeks,[2] in the existence of a wide and beautiful land towards the setting sun; and when they settled in Iberia and in western Gaul their earliest traditions tell how they believed firmly that the spirits of their deceased friends took their departure from certain promontories on their coasts towards this happy land, which they called 'Flathinnis,' Noble Island, and 'Yma' or 'Hy-ma,' Isle of the Just or Good. After their westward migration into Ireland they retained their ancestral faith in a still more western 'Land of the Souls,' to which, in the ancient language of the Gaodhal, they gave such names as 'Tir na m-beô,' Land of the Living; 'Tir na n-óg,' Land of Youth; 'Hy-Breasail,' Isle of the Blest, which, under the name of 'Brezill,' has been preserved on the maps until modern times.

"They colonized Ireland and permanently occupied this isle of the West; but beyond it still lay the great western land 'towards the setting sun,' the object of their ancestral belief and ambition. Did those migratory Celts, whose nomadic instincts had urged them from Asia to this western island in the ocean, make no movement farther west during the many centuries of their occupation of Ireland? It is hard to think that such masterful tendencies as actuated the race had spent all their force within the narrow Irish shores. It is very probable that many of them still nursed yearnings and aspirations to seek out the great mysterious western land, and, in obedience to them, made efforts to traverse the ocean that lay between them and the object of their desires; and we may well believe that such daring attempts were crowned with success.

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[1] 308, *seq.*

[2] See vol. i. p. 118, *seq.*

"In a curious legend, given by Macpherson in his Introduction to the History of Great Britain, it is related that a 'Druid of renown,' who dwelt in early ages beside the western sea, often sat on the shore with his face to the West, his eye following the declining sun; and he blamed the careless billows that rolled between him and the distant isle he desired to reach. One day, as he sat musing on a rock, a storm arose on the sea; a cloud, under whose squally skirts the foaming waters tossed, rushed suddenly towards him, and from its dark womb emerged a boat with white sails and banks of gleaming oars on either side; but no mariner was to be seen. Terror seized on the aged druid, and he heard a voice saying, 'Arise and behold the Green Isle of the Departed.' He entered the boat, and at once the wind shifted, the cloud enveloped him, and in its bosom he sailed away for seven days until, on the eighth day, he suddenly heard a cry, 'The isle! the isle!' At once the clouds parted before him, the waves subsided, and his boat rushed into a dazzling light, when before his eyes lay the 'Isle of the Departed.'"

This is a characteristic specimen of those early Celtic "Tales of the Sea," or "Imramha," of which O'Curry says that, though indefinite in their results and burdened with much matter of a poetic or romantic character, there can be no rational doubt that they are founded on facts.

To our surmises it may be objected that the Irish of olden times had no ships of sufficient power to cross the Atlantic Ocean; but Tacitus makes already the remark that "the approaches and harbors of Ireland were better known than those of Britain, by reason of commerce and of the merchants;"[1] from which it appears that Irish vessels, before and after Christ, were seaworthy and of sufficient capacity to cross the Atlantic. We are told by O'Halloran, on the authority of the "Psalter of Cashel," the oldest Irish manuscript extant, of a great naval expedition made by Moghcorb, king of Munster, in the year of our Lord 296, against the king of Denmark. In 367 a powerful fleet was despatched from Ireland to Scotland in behalf of the Picts against the Romans: and in 396 Niall of the Nine Hostages sent another numerous navy for a similar purpose.[2] We will soon notice that, during the very century in which St. Brendan lived, the Irish sailed in every direction on the northern Atlantic, and then or shortly after settled in Iceland, and probably in Greenland and farther south on our coasts.

All these considerations and statements, we acknowledge, do not prove the actual discovery of the American continent by the Irish people, either before Christ or during the first centuries of our era, but they establish its possibility, if not its probability; and we may conclude that there is no reason save our ignorance to disbelieve the voyage reported at the beginning of St. Brendan's legend.

The saint believed Barinthus, and resolved to start himself on a "pilgrimage" to the islands of the ocean, several of which were already inhabited by Irish hermits and cenobites, either to encourage those religious, or, more probably, to convert the pagan natives. He chose, the legend says, fourteen willing companions, with whom, "using iron implements, he prepared a light vessel, with wicker sides and ribs, such as is usually made in that country, and covered it with cowhide tanned in oak-bark, tarring the joints thereof; he put on board provisions for forty days, with butter enough to dress hides for covering the boat, and all utensils needed for the use of the crew. St. Brendan then embarked, and they set sail towards the summer solstice," or the Tropic of Cancer, in a southwesterly direction, according to the "Navigatio" or Latin legend.[1]

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[1] Vita Agricolæ, cap. xxiv.

[2] Beamish, The Discovery, p. 217; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 16; Gleeson, vol. i. p. 212.

There seems to be some confusion here, for it was previously said that "St. Brendan, affectionately taking leave of his monks, sailed forth towards the West with fourteen brethren to the island wherein dwelt St. Enda," that is, to Aran Island, from whence he returned to his native country, and afterwards prepared for his southwestern voyage.

The Irish Life of St. Brendan and the Irish version of his legend afford a conciliatory explanation; for in the Life it is stated that he and his companions "were thus for the space of five years upon the ocean," adding, however, that "they celebrated the festival of Easter, to the end of seven years, on the back of a whale."[2] The Irish version of St. Brendan's voyages concludes the narrative with the statement that "then they reached the land which they had been seeking for the space of seven years, even the Land of Promise." Hence we might conclude that the saint has made two great voyages,—the former commencing in a northwesterly direction, and lasting five years; the latter in a southwesterly course, and of two years' duration; both together completing the traditional seven years' sailing. The Latin Life of St. Brendan confirms this interpretation; for here it is related that, while he had first started in a vessel covered with hides, St. Ita told him "he would never find the land he was seeking from God in vessels made of dead stained skins, for it was a holy, consecrated land;" but that he would find that land later on, in vessels built of wood. And when a large, wonderful vessel had been fitted out he embarked with sixty men, "*but they were not all clerics.*"[1]

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[1] The "Navigatio," translation of O'Donoghue, p. 111, *seq.*

[2] O'Donoghue, Brendaniana, p. 29.

The former voyage of St. Brendan apparently was among the numerous islands west and north of Great Britain. This opinion can hardly be doubted. John a Bosco[2] states that Sts. Malo and "Brandan," with their companions, returned home after having visited the Orkney and the other northern islands, and von Humboldt similarly says that St. "Brandon" and his seventy-five monks returned from their seven years' voyage by way of the Orkneys.[3] "It is well known," he further states, "that St. Brandon, before his distant excursions, had inhabited the still more northern Shetland Islands." This fact seems to be inconsistent with the time assigned by Murray to the first population of these islands, but it has been rendered highly probable by an explanation of Letronne,[4] according to which the Shetland Isles were settled already at the time of the Romans.[5] The most convincing proofs, however, of St. Brendan's apostolic labors in the northern parts and islands of Scotland are the numerous churches dedicated to him in those regions, such as Kilbrennan in Mull and St. "Brengan's" Chapel in St. Kilda. He was patron of Boyndie and Birnie, and venerated at Cullen, Dumbarney, and Balbirnie. St. "Brenghan's" fair was held at Kilbar in Ayrshire, and at Banff. He was the patron saint of the island of Bute. There was St. Brendan's haven at Innerbondy. The church of Eassie in Forfarshire was dedicated to him, and several other churches in Scotland rejoiced in him as their protector. In the calendar of David Camerarius St. Brendan is titled "The Apostle of the Orkneys and of the Scottish Isles." [1]

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[1] O'Donoghue, Brendaniana, pp. 27, 86, 87.

[2] Bibl. Floriac, p. 602.

[3] Examen, t. ii. p. 164.

[4] Dicuil, De Mensura Orbis Terræ, p. 134 and Add., p. 90.

[5] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 166 and n. 2.

The greater number of the incidents of the "Navigatio" evidently belong to the first voyage. The legend tells us that St. Brendan saw many islands on his course, and almost on every one where he disembarked he met with anchorites or religious communities originally from Ireland. Nor is this any wonder if he sailed along the Irish and the Hebrides Islands, a number of which were, already at his time, the homes of hundreds and thousands of Irish monks. He visited the "Sheep Island," the name of which is but a literal translation of the Faroe Islands.[2] It seems, indeed, that the first Irish settlers had introduced sheep into this group, and were disposing of their wool, not only in Norway, but also on the Mediterranean shores.[3]

If the pious seafarers were greatly rejoiced on the "Paradise of Birds" by the plumed singers of God's glory, we might readily presume that the Shetland Isles were then, as later, the dwelling-place of millions of sea-fowl, which, like all other creatures of the Almighty, praise Him in their own peculiar fashion.

The "Hell" from which molten slags of iron were cast at them singularly reminds us of Iceland's Hekla volcano; and the hard "crystal column" around which they sailed is justly considered as an iceberg of the northern seas.

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[1] Maii 16. die: Sanctus Brendanus, abbas, apostolus Orcadum et Scoticarum Insularum.

[2] Far or faer, in the Norse tongue, means sheep, and ey, island; hence "Fareyr," or in modern orthography "Faroe," signifies "Sheep Islands."

[3] Cf. Peschel, Erdkunde, S. 81; Moosmüller, S. 41; Gravier, p. 17.

Fewer are the particulars of the second voyage.

When the large wooden vessel was fitted out, St. Brendan and his companions, to the number of sixty, set sail on a twenty-second day of March, probably about the year 535. Their course lay to the Southwest. They had a fair wind and, therefore, no labor, only to keep the sails properly set; but after twelve days the wind fell to a dead calm, and they had to labor at the oars until their strength was nearly exhausted. The saintly captain relieved them by ordering the oars taken in and the sails unfurled, confiding in Divine Providence for the result.

On such data it would be difficult to locate St. Brendan's vessel at this stage of her voyage, although one might feel inclined to suppose that she may have reached the neighborhood of the Azore Islands.

"Sometimes," the legend continues, "a wind sprung up, but they knew not from what point it blew, nor in what direction they were sailing." After forty days they descried an island, and from this one they sailed, under extraordinary circumstances, to other islands, and to others again. After drifting about for a long time they landed once more on a coast where lived a man who had befriended them before. This time "he said to St. Brendan, 'Embark now in your boat, and fill all the water-skins from the fountain. I will be the companion and conductor of your journey henceforth, for without my guidance you could not find the land you seek,—the Land of Promise of the Saints.' They took provisions for forty days, and sailed to the West for that space of time, during which their guide went on before them. At the end of forty days, towards evening, they were enveloped by a cloud so dark that they could scarcely see one another; but after an hour had elapsed a great light shone around them, and their boat stood by the shore."

We may here make the simple remark that, no matter where their ship had drifted, unless it should have been far away to the East, the contrary of which is rather intimated, they necessarily made the American continent after their last partial voyage of forty days due west.

"When they had reached the shore they disembarked, and saw a land extensive and thickly set with trees laden with fruits, as in the autumn season; and for forty days they viewed the land in various directions, but they could not find the limits thereof. One day, however, they came to a large river flowing towards the middle of the land," or in a westerly direction, "which they could not by any means cross over."

From these remarks it is evident that they were exploring, not some western isle, but a western continent, which can be none other than our own America. And since they were guided directly towards our shores by a faithful friend of theirs, it would seem that Mernoc, Barinthus's son, was not the only Irishman at the time acquainted with the route across the Atlantic Ocean.

Others have speculated upon the "river flowing towards the middle of the land," and have concluded that St. Brendan went as far as the Ohio River. Others have suggested the obvious opinion that the saint, at his return, has left in this country some of his sailors, *who were not clerics*, besides some of his religious brethren, to whom he gave charge to evangelize the natives; and that the zealous efforts of these apostles were soon doubled and multiplied by the arrival of more Irish settlers and missionaries, who in the course of time extended their labors and peaceful conquests even into Mexico, Central America, and farther still.

We, more reserved, will only state that, if the voyage of St. Brendan is not a myth from beginning to end, it is probable, at least, that the saint has crossed the Atlantic Ocean and set foot on the American continent.

That, however, the voyage is no myth is sufficiently established by various collateral testimonies. Not only the legend relates the facts, but every version of St. Brendan's Life or History, which is a quite different composition, gives a synopsis of the incidents of the voyages. Particulars of the "Navigatio" are found also in other records, such as that of the whale on whose back the saint is said to have celebrated Easter in mid-ocean, which is copied in the Life of St. Machutus or Malo;[1] and of the prayer made by St. Brendan for the preservation of his companions in the midst of a fearful storm; which, considerably enlarged, is found in an ancient manuscript in the monastery of St. Gall, as well as in the former Sessorian Library of Rome, where the following rubric is affixed: "St. Brendan, the monk, when seeking the Land of Promise for seven successive years, made this prayer from the Word of God, through St. Michael the Archangel, while he sailed over the Seven Seas."[2] An ancient Irish poem states that St. Brendan sailed with a fleet of three vessels, each manned by thirty mariners.[3] St. Ængus Cele-Dé makes the following invocation in his Book of Litanies, composed before the year 787: "I invoke unto my aid the sixty holy men who accompanied St. Brendan in his quest of the Land of Promise."[1]

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[1] Acta SS. Bolland., Maii t. iii., Antverpiæ, De St. Brendano, cap. ii. ¶ 11, p. 602.

[2] Card. Moran, Acta Sti. Brendani, ap. O'Donoghue, p. 98.

[3] Egerton MS. in British Museum, ap. O'Donoghue, pp. 26, 84.

Should we follow Vincent of Beauvais, who rejected the whole legend, we would have to erase several paragraphs from the Lives of a dozen saints, which plainly refer to St. Brendan's voyage. Thus is it related in the Life of St. Brigid that, at his return, St. Brendan asked the holy nun why the monsters of the ocean had become harmless at her invocation. In the Life of St. Abban, the Leinster saint, in the Codex Salmanticensis, we read that he made special friendship of brotherhood with St. Brendan, and that, "soon after the latter's seven years' pilgrimage on the ocean, he paid him a visit, on the occasion of which the holy voyager related at large to his visitor all the wonderful things he had seen on the waters." St. Molua, in the Life of St. Flannan, appoints the latter as his successor, because "among the many marvellous things the holy Father Brendan had seen and related during his voyage to the islands of the ocean was his prophecy of this succession." Other references to the voyages of St. Brendan are made in the Histories of St. Fintan Munnu, of St. Malo, and St. Ita.[2] The most conclusive argument, however, in favor of the reality of St. Brendan's extraordinary "pilgrimages" consists in the fact that there was in the early Irish Church a special festival in honor and commemoration of the "setting sail of St. Brendan's crew." This feast is fixed, in the Martyrology of Tallaght, for the 22d day of March, and must have been religiously observed long before the year 787, in which the Martyrology was compiled by St. Ængus and St. Moelruin, at Tallaght, near Dublin.

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[1] "Sexaginta qui comitati sunt Stum. Brendanum in exquirenda terra promissionis invoco in auxilium meum," ap. O'Donoghue, p. 84.

[2] O'Donoghue, pp. 85, 247.

CHAPTER II.

THE IRISH ON THE ISLANDS OF THE NORTHERN ATLANTIC.

We should not be astonished at the reality of St. Brendan's voyages, nor even consider them as something very extraordinary for his time. If Tacitus, at the end of the first century of our era, speaks[1] of the well-known approaches and harbors of Ireland, of its commerce and merchants; we may suppose that the Irish at the time shared with the Carthaginians the trade of the Mediterranean Sea, and supplied Rome itself not only with the tin of the Sorlingues, but also with the fish of the nothern Atlantic. We have noticed that its kings of the next following centuries were mightier on the seas than they were in their own land;[2] and it is an admitted fact that, after St. Patrick had converted the Irish, the Isle of the Saints scattered its legions of apostles over the ocean north and west, as well as over the continent east and south. The currachs of the monks rivalled with the merchantmen of their laic brethren; and it is no wonder if Procopius has received information in regard to Iceland, Greenland, and other boreal countries of America from men "who had seen the sun shine for forty successive days and nights."[3]

Adamnan, a fair writer of the seventh century, composed a reliable biography of his predecessor, the abbot St. Columba, who died in the year 595 or 597.

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[1] Vita Agricolæ, cap. xxiv.

[2] Supra, p. 19.

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 322.

In this Life of St. Columba, whose original manuscript was found in a monastery of Bavaria, are recorded several voyages of Irish monks similar to those of St. Brendan. Hundreds of disciples of St. Brendan and St. Columba set out, as their masters, on their nautical "pilgrimages," either to discover solitary spots where they might live, undisturbed, a contemplative life, or to find pagan nations which they might convert to holy religion. Thus we learn from Adamnan that Baitan, a nephew of Niath-Taloirc, asked Columba to bless him before setting sail in quest of an ocean desert.[1]

We translate from the same Life: "At another time, Cormac, a soldier of Christ, tried a second time to find an uninhabited land in the midst of the waves, and left his country with all sails set for the immense ocean. St. Columba happened to reside, at that very time,[2] beyond the Grampian Mountains, and met Brude, the king of Scotland, in company with the chieftain of the Orkneys. And he said to the king, 'Some of our monks have recently started to discover unknown land in the wide water, and maybe they will, after long circumnavigations, arrive at the Orkney Islands. Recommend, therefore, to the earl, whose hostages are in your hands, that he should not allow any harm to be done them within the limits of his dominions.' Thus spoke Columba, because he foreknew that, after a number of months, Cormac would land at the Orkney group. Cormac actually arrived after some time; and, through the intercession of the holy man, the voyagers not only escaped impending death in the Orkneys, but even succeeded in converting many of their pagan inhabitants."[1]

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[1] Acta SS. Bolland., ad diem 9. Junii, ¶ 19, p. 204; Fowler, p. 33.

[2] Perhaps in the year 563, the probable date of the conversion of Brude, king of the Picts, yet before 577. (Fowler, p. 103, n. 3, p. lxxiii.)

From these statements it appears that St. Cormac[2] had sailed from one group of islands to another, all through the Atlantic, north of Great Britain. He made a third voyage, of which Adamnan writes as follows: "The third time that Cormac was laboring on the ocean he met with danger of his life. After leaving land his vessel was hurried under full canvas by a fair southern wind directly to the northern region of the heavens, during the space of fourteen summer days and of the same number of nights. He thus went farther than any man had been known to sail, and his return seemed to be impossible. It happened that, at the tenth hour of that fourteenth day, Cormac and his companions were overtaken with great fear and terror, for certain lands, unknown until that time, came in sight above the waves, and a host of obnoxious little animals attacked the vessel, fore and aft and on every side, with such violence that the sailors were afraid they might perforate the skins with which their craft was covered. They were, as the sailors afterwards related, about as large as frogs, and provided with very offensive stings; they did not fly, however, but swam.[3] They even assailed the blades of the oars. Seeing all this and other wonderful things, Cormac and his companions had recourse to prayer." But it was to the intercession of the great saint, Columba, that their safe return was ascribed.[1]

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[1] Acta SS. Bolland., ad diem 9. Junii: St. Columba, ¶ 76, p. 224; Fowler, p. 116; Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 220, ref. to Fordun, Scotichronicon, iv. 12.

[2] He also is noticed on the catalogue of Irish saints.

[3] It is suggested to the editor—Fowler, p. 117, n. 1—that the creatures referred to must have been the common stinging jelly-fish, *cyanæa capillata.* They are larger than frogs, but their brown color and the fact that the rounded bell of a floating cyanæa above the water is not unlike the rounded back of a frog on the water's surface might have suggested the comparison. The jelly-fish are often a great impediment to rowing, their long tentacula becoming entangled in the blades of the oars; and fishermen know but too well the effect of their stinging filaments when they handle ropes, nets, oars, or anything that has come in contact with the jelly-fish. As to shoals of medusæ in the North Sea, see

We should not neglect observing here that, while it took but eight or nine days to sail between Iceland or Thule and the British Isles,[2] it is more than probable that St. Cormac's voyage, favored with fair winds and lasting fourteen days, had extended to more distant shores than those of Iceland. The remark that the land which he discovered was unknown until then confirms our conclusion, because the island Thule was known all over Europe centuries before.[3] Allowing, therefore, that his course lay somewhat west of north from the island Hii or Iona, we are compelled to admit that he reached the coast of Greenland shortly after St. Brendan had explored the eastern shores of the United States, during the second half of the sixth century of our era.

The loss and destruction of Ireland's most ancient records, caused by almost uninterrupted civil and foreign wars, has deprived us of positive information regarding subsequent voyages of the same character to the New World; but it cannot reasonably be supposed that the Irish monks, so conspicuous for their zeal in the propagation of Christianity, especially from the sixth to the ninth century, should have learned the route to more pagan countries and not have made renewed efforts to enlighten and convert their idolatrous inhabitants. It is rather likely, indeed, that St. Brendan and St. Cormac had many daring and eager followers, as further facts will plainly establish.

Baster, Opuscula Subseciva, 1765, t. ii. p. 60.

[1] See Document XVIII.

[2] Pytheas and Dicuil.

[3] See an extensive note, as Document XIX.

We have, however, more ample and distinct intelligence regarding the continued and regular intercourse between Christian Ireland or Scotia, as it was called at the time, and the various groups of islands in the northern parts of the Atlantic; and it may not be out of place to give a few particulars here, because Iceland and its adjoining islets are geographical dependencies of America, and were the scene of a series of events which afterwards led again to the discovery of both the northern and the eastern regions of the American continent.

During his former voyage St. Brendan met with Irish monks or hermits on almost every island where he touched, and, according to various legends related by Gaffarel, it would seem that several islands of the Atlantic were inhabited by Irish religious shortly after their conversion by St. Patrick.[1] These legendary reports are generally admitted by the learned.[2] Nay, Dicuil, in the beginning of the ninth century, and Adam of Bremen, in the eleventh, attested that the Irish monks were the first discoverers of some of these oceanic solitudes,[3] although, from what we have said before,[4] and from similar remarks of William Reeves, who, in his edition of St. Columba's Life, cites instances of the Irish finding in early times their way to Iceland, the Faroes, and the frozen seas, we should rather think that to pagan Erin, if not to Norway, belongs the honor of more ancient boreal discoveries.[5]

It is beyond all doubt that monks and bishops from

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[1] O'Donoghue, pp. 137, 151, 170, etc; Gaffarel, Découverte, t. i. ch. viii. ¶ 1.

[2] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 273; Peschel, Erdkunde, ed. Sophus Ruge, S. 81, and Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, S. 80.

[3] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 160.

[4] Supra, vol. i. p. 321; vol. ii. p. 27.

[5] Fowler, p. 116, n. 3; Vivier de Saint-Martin, Histoire de la Géographie, p. 230.

Ireland were the first to announce the gospel to the barbarous tribes of the Picts and Finns who inhabited those cold regions for many centuries past.[1] A number of ancient historical authorities and local names, which endure until this day, plainly prove the presence of Irish Christians, both clerical and laic, in all those islands long before the invasions of the pagan Northmen.

These pirates called them Papas, and to their settlements they gave the name of "Papey," "Papil," or some similar appellation.

The learned Pinkerton has clearly proved that the Papas were Irish priests, who had kept in their distant homes the costume, the language, and the manner of life of the clergymen in their native country;[2] and for this reason the Northmen gave them the same name, wherever they found them in the northern archipelagos, —a name, indeed, foreign to their own language, and which the Irish themselves had borrowed from the Latinized πάπας, father, as an honorary title wherewith to address their priests.[3] The Northmen themselves have left no room for doubt; they plainly state that the Papas who were in Iceland at their arrival were Irish and Christians who refused to dwell any longer among the heathen new-comers.[4] It seems that even the laic Irish settlers of the northern islands were designated by the Scandinavians with the same appellation as their priests, because they were of the same nationality and religion and, like them, wore garments of a white color.[1]

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[1] Archivio Storico, serie 4, t. xvi. p. 200; alii passim.

[2] Introductio Histor. Scot., ap. Gravier, p. 15, from Barry, History of the Orkney Islands, p. 115.

[3] Letronne, p. 92. The German "Pfaffe" and probably the ancient Mexican "Paba" or "Papa" had the same origin; so also the Russian "Pope," the Polish "Pop," the Hungarian "Pap," and the Finnish "Pappi."

[4] The Landnámabók calls them "Kristnir" and "Irskar," as also Are Frode, in the first chapter of his Islendingabók. See Document XX.

We have noticed that already St. Brendan and St. Cormac had preached in the Orkneys,[2] and here they were undoubtedly followed soon, not only by St. Columba, but also by Irish or Scottish Papas, who founded Christian communities and likely converted all the inhabitants. Birsay is one of the oldest episcopal sees in the northern countries, and its bishops were suffragans of a Scotch metropolis till long after the invasion of the Northmen.[3] The memory of the ancient Papas is still preserved in the Orkneys by the local names of "Papey," Papas Island, of the "Papa Vestra" and "Papa Stronsa" Islands, and of the two districts "Paplay" or "Pappley" in the eastern islands Ronaldsey and Mainland.[4] Fordun, who composed his famous Scotichronicon about the year 1380, speaks of a "Papeya Tertia," which is not identified now.[5]

We could not defend the opinion according to which St. Brendan dwelt for a considerable length of time in the Shetland group before his American voyage;[6] but here also the Papas are remembered in the names of three islands,—"Papastore," "Papalittle," and "Papa," and in that of the homestead "Papil."[7]

If we can believe the legend of St. Brendan, the saintly voyager visited the Faroe Islands. But in re-

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[1] Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, p. 218, from "Ystoria Norwegiæ," an ancient work discovered in Scotland in 1849, where we read: "Papæ vero propter albas vestes, quibus ut clerici induebantur, vocati sunt; unde in teutonica lingua omnes clerici papæ dicuntur."

[2] Supra, pp. 21, 28.

[3] Gams, p. 240; Pertz, t. vii. cap. ccxliii. p. 384.

[4] Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, pp. 218, 220; Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 268.

[5] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 29.

[6] Supra, p. 21.

[7] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 30, ref. to P. A. Munch, Geographiske Oplysninger om Orknoeerne, in Annaler, 1852; Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, p. 220; Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 268.

gard to this group we have authentic information from the monk Dicuil, who wrote, in the year 825, his precious work, "De Mensura Orbis Terræ" or The World's Measurement. He says, "There are many other islands in the ocean north of Britain, which, from the British isles, can be reached in two days and nights by sailing in a straight line, with a fair wind and all sails set. An honest religious told me that in two summer days and the intervening night he had made one of them in a four-oared boat. Some of those islands are very small, and all are separated from the others by narrow straits. About one hundred years ago"—that is, in 725—"they were settled by hermits who navigated thither from our Ireland. But, as from the beginning of the world they had always been uninhabited, so are they now, on account of the Northman brigands, deserted by the anchorites; but they are stocked with innumerable sheep and a great variety of marine birds. We never saw these islands mentioned in the writings of any author."[1]

The same ancient monk has also left us valuable information regarding an island which, being an integral part of our western hemisphere,—namely, Iceland,—has a claim upon our more special attention.

The earliest known movement northward from Britain was that inaugurated by King Arthur about the year 505. The authority on this subject is Geoffroy of Monmouth, who was bishop of St. Asaph in 1152, and of whom Hume[2] says, "The Bishop of Saint Asaph, who was no poet, may be credited when he states such simple facts as that, about the year 505, King Arthur, after the conquest of Ireland, received the submission of the Orkneys and sailed to Iceland, which he also subdued."[1] Winsor, who admits the statement, adds that, already before, an occasional wandering pirate or adventurous Dane had glimpsed the Icelandic coast.[2] Gunlaug and Odd, in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason, assure us that, according to English books, there existed in the eighth and subsequent centuries a regular intercourse between Iceland and England, and the same remark is made in the Introduction to the "Landnámabók" or Register of the Land-grants in Iceland.[3]

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[1] Letronne, Dicuil, cap. vii. ¶ 3, p. 39. The Faroe Islands formed a diocese from the year 1086 till 1533. (Gams.)

[2] England, i. 38, ed. 1822.

We could not positively assert what English books were meant by the Icelandic sagas, but we may readily presume that those of Dicuil and of Bede the Venerable were counted among them. This learned English saint wrote at the commencement of the eighth century, and states that the island which the books designate as Thule is situated so far towards the world's North Pole that a wintry day dwindles to nothing there, while the night is extremely long, and the reverse takes place in summer.[4] He also relates that the English at his time used to frequent the Icelandic shores.[5]

This record perfectly agrees with the report of Dicuil, who writes: "Jules Solinus says that in Thule, the farthest of the British islands, there is no night when at the summer solstice the sun leaves the sign of Cancer, and likewise no day at the winter solstice.[6] It is now thirty years since the clerics who sojourned in that island from the first of February to the first of

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[1] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 22, n. 1.

[2] Vol. i. p. 60, ref. to MSS. de la Bibliothèque Royale, Paris, 1787, i. 462.

[3] See Document XX., Islands Landnámabók, Prologus, p. 11; Historia Olavi Trygvii, parte i. cap. 110, ap Gravier, p. 20.

[4] Langebek, t. ii. p. 31, from an Icelandic MS.

[5] Hin forna Lögbók, p. xiv, n.

[6] Ed. 1646, cap. xxv. p. 302.

August related to me that, not only at the very summer solstice, but also at a late hour of the days immediately before and after, the setting sun hides himself, as it were, behind a low hillock, so that there comes no darkness for even the shortest space of time; but a man can, as in the sunshine, do any work he pleases, were it so much as catching lice on his shirt; and, had they climbed the mountains of the island, the sun might not have become invisible to them at all. . . . They were, therefore, deceived, and they deceived others,—those who wrote that the sea was congealed all around; and those, also, who pretended that, from the vernal equinox until the autumnal, there reigned a continuous day without night in that island, and, reciprocally, an uninterrupted night from the autumnal till the vernal equinox; for the clerics landed on it during the cold season, and during their sojourn they had alternate days and nights, save at the time of the solstice. Sailing, however, one day to the north of Thule, they found the sea frozen over."[1]

Thus do we know that clerics—likely priests—of Great Britain sailed to Iceland in the dead of winter, in the year 795, and remained there for six continuous months. Several authors conclude therefrom that Irish monks first discovered Iceland in that year; but such is not the statement of Dicuil, and both the season and the length of the friars' sojourn clearly intimate that the island was already then settled by Christian people, eager to receive them and to supply their provisions. They evidently were not in search of snow and ice; but, says Letronne,[2] the Icelandic traditions bear out in a singular manner the opinion that the scope of the clerical voyages was to make a missionary visit to some Christian colonies and to exercise their holy ministry among them.

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[1] See Document XXI.

[2] Pp. 141, 142.

The learned and critical Windsor[1] admits the existence of one small colony of Irishmen in Iceland visited by monks of their native country; and the Icelandic scholar Magnussen, who drew at the fountain-heads of historic information, thinks that Iceland, at the arrival of the Northmen, was simply occupied by the Scots or Hibernians.[2] The nature of the articles which the Irish left behind them, when retiring from Iceland, adds great weight to Letronne's opinion,—namely, that their monks had, long since, one or more monasteries and churches established there.[3] Nor can any objection be found in the silence of Dicuil, because he took no interest in this particular question when introducing his Icelandic clerics simply for the purpose of disproving a geographical error.

"It is a great mistake," Magnussen says,[4] "to hold that Iceland was first discovered by the Norwegians, for the ancient Icelandic historiographer, Are Frode, as well as the author of the registers of Iceland's first repartition among the Northmen, clearly states that the new-comers found in the eastern parts of the island certain Christians, whom they called Papas, and who were Irishmen, as was apparent from the books written in Irish, which, among other things, they left behind at the time of their departure." Such authorities leave no doubt to von Humboldt that, indeed, the Irish were in Iceland, as in the Faroes, the predecessors of the Scandinavians.[5] The Icelandic records mention the very localities of the principal settlements of the Papas,—namely, "Papey," an islet of the eastern district; the domain "Papyli," on the Hornefiord; and "Kirkiubui," one of the warm and fertile valleys that lie near the southern shores.[1] To these may be added the "Vestmannaeyar," the islets off Iceland's southern coast, which remind us of the Papas of the West.

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[1] Vol. i. p. 60.

[2] Grágás, p. xiv.

[3] P. 143.

[4] Hin forna Lögbók, p. xiv, n.

[5] Kosmos, S. 461; see also Document XX.

Several authors consider Iceland as the uttermost limit of the excursions of the Irish monks and of the settlements of their countrymen. Yet, as a consequence of this gratuitous assumption, they are compelled to account by the most unwarrantable of all historical arguments—namely, by pure chance, or by storms imagined in spite of ancient records—for the long series of the first Scandinavian landings on the American continent, while all these westward voyages would appear quite natural if we should pay due attention to the facts which we shall now relate.

Beauvois[2] translates, after Rafn,[3] a remarkable passage of the saga of St. Olaf,[4] as follows: "Mar of Hols married Thorkatla. Their son was Ari, who was driven by a tempest to White-man's Land, which some have called Ireland the Great, and lies towards the West in the ocean, near Vinland the Good, six days' sail west from Ireland,"[5] on the American continent. The original, however, simply states that Ari sailed across the sea to White-man's Land, without so much as alluding to wind or storm.[6] This happened before the year 1000, likely in 983.

Eric the Red was banished from Iceland in the year

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[1] Magnussen, in Grágás, p. xiv, n.; Cooley, The History of Maritime, vol. i. p. 216; Peschel, Erdkunde, S. 82, n. 3; Olafsen and Pavelsen, Bd. ii. S. 124, ap. von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 91, n. 2; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 32, n. 1.

[2] La Découverte, pp. 3, 39.

[3] Antiq. Amer., p. 210.

[4] Or Heimskringla, kap. clxxxix.

[5] We shall, farther on, notice this "six days' sail."

[6] Theirra son var Ari, hann vardh saehafi til Hvítramannalands; that kalla sumir Írland edh mikla, that liggr vestr í haf naer Vínlandi enu gódha, that er VI. daegra sigling vestr frá Írlandi.

983. He might have heard of the uninviting Gunnbjörn rocks, but is supposed to have been wholly ignorant of any other western country. Still, he set sail, with a few companions, in a westerly direction, and happened to strike the mildest, the only inhabitable shore of Greenland.[1]

Because of adultery and murder, Björn Asbrandson had been exiled from Iceland, and had lived for ten years with the vikings of Jomsburg in Denmark. He returned in the year 996, but did not amend his wicked life. To avoid the dangers caused by his crimes, he resolved to expatriate himself again. We would suppose that he should take refuge once more among the brigands, who had honored him for his audacity; but this time he chose a different course, in a direction in which no land was known to exist! He set out with a wind which, that fall, was steadily blowing from the Northeast, and for a long time his ship was not heard of. He had, however, the best luck of the world, not only finding land, but also being made a chief in a fine country of Irish-speaking people.[2]

This happy result of a foolhardy undertaking was witnessed by Gudleif, another Scandinavian mariner, who was also swept by a tempest from the coast of Ireland, in a southwestern direction, to a great country of which he had no idea; but where, for his own safety, he found Björn, his countryman, in all his glory and power, as he was happy to relate afterwards in Iceland.[3]

In a similar manner was Bjarne Herjulfson, who, in the fall of the year 986, was sailing from Iceland to

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[1] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 39; Aa. passim.

[2] Beauvois, La Découverte, pp. 9, 10; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 215.

[3] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 10; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 246, *seq.*; Aa. passim.

Greenland, overtaken by dense fogs and violent northern winds, thrown out of his course, and hurled into sight of Labrador, if not of more southern portions of the American continent.[1] The sad accident still upholds his claim to the immortal glory bestowed upon Leif Ericsson, who, fourteen years later, likewise lost his route between Norway and Greenland, evidently through the action of some tempest, as he was an expert sailor; but was happily driven away far enough to take a view of the spot where afterwards his statue would rise!

These are then six remarkable discoveries of America, made in the space of half a century by natives of the little frozen Iceland, and every one of them directed by contrary winds!

As if the reader's credulity were not yet sufficiently taxed, Beauvois confidently adds that these accidental American voyages were but a few of all those that took place in a similar manner, but were left unnoticed by the sagas as being of small interest. And, indeed, of small interest they were, being voyages of every-day occurrence, made by clerics and laics of Ireland to a country known long before.

It is universally admitted that but few Icelanders sailed to the American continent before the eleventh century, but they were not ignorant of the regular intercourse which existed before that time between Ireland and the New World, as their most ancient records testify in a dozen places.

Should hypercriticism prefer windy explanations to the reports of St. Brendan's and St. Cormac's voyages, arguments would not be wanting to establish the early presence of Irish Christians in America.

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[1] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 39; Aa. passim.

From his theory of American discoveries through the agency of storms Beauvois draws the conclusion that the Irish Papas could not avoid discovering our continent. This sensible conclusion rests, however, on better grounds.

When we consider the seafaring inclinations of the ancient Irish, and the fearless zeal of their monks in quest of ocean solitudes and of souls to be converted, and notice that the coasts of Greenland are distant from the Thule which they inhabited, three hundred and sixty miles only, while favorable winds would carry their vessels in less than three weeks from Ireland to Labrador; we should have reasons to wonder that they would not have attempted to land on our shores, or would have been frustrated in their efforts. We have, indeed, positive indications of such expeditions in the statement of Dicuil, who says that the clerics, from whom he received his information, had sailed a whole day towards the North from Iceland, till they were stopped by the ice.[1]

It is, in all probability, from the Irish that the Icelanders received their first knowledge of more western lands, in particular of the "Krosseyar" or Cross Islands in sight of the Greenland coast, which the learned Finn Magnussen suggests to be the same as the rocks on which Gunnbjörn landed in the year 876.[2]

According to most Icelandic sagas, endorsed by Torfæus, Greenland was first discovered by Eric the Red in the year 983; but, on the other hand, we have some Greenland annals in Danish verse, by the divine Claude Christophersen or Lyschander, who supposes the discovery to have been made before Iceland was settled by the Northmen,—namely, in A.D. 770. His calculation seems to have some foundation in the antiquities and ancient records of the latter island,[1] where we read that the settlers of Greenland, at the end of the tenth century, found, in both the western and the eastern districts, vestiges of former inhabitants,—pieces of row-locks and remnants of stone buildings.[2] These relics are wrongly ascribed to the Skraelings or Esquimaux, who, it is generally admitted, reached these northern latitudes only centuries after, and were at that time known to live, as troglodytes, in caves or dug-outs.[3]

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[1] See Document XXI., in fine.

[2] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 603.

The stone-work would point to Europeans,—the Irish,—as stone-work was not the characteristic of the Skraelings, De Costa says,[4] and the pieces of row-locks were probably of such as were unknown to the northern aborigines, made of a material apt to outlast the more bulky wooden parts of nautical crafts,—namely, of iron, and indicating civilized European owners.

The pre-Scandinavian discovery and settlement of Greenland, if not of the American continent, by the Irish Papas is more directly intimated and clearly established by various other passages of the Icelandic sagas, one of which we present to the reader's notice here. "It is thought," says Iceland's Landnámabók, "that the Christians called Papas, whom the Northmen found in Iceland, had arrived across the sea from western parts, and that, to judge from their relics, they were easily known to be a western people."[1] Such is the plain ancient testimony; but some modern writers have, in spite of all rules of interpretation, understood Ireland with its inhabitants to be the saga's West across the sea with its western nation.

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[1] Crantz, t. i. p. 244; O'Reilly, p. 5; Letronne, p. 140.

[2] Heimskringla, ¶ 6, ap. Reeves, p. 7; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iii. p. 16, ap. Moosmüller, S. 42. "Their fundo thar manna vister baethi austr oc vestr á landi oc kaeiplabrot ok steinsmíthi,"—*i.e.*, They found there human habitations, both east and west on the land, also remnants of boats and stone masonry. (Ari hinn Frode, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 207.)

[3] Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, kap. xi., in Groenland's Histor. Mindesm., t. i. p. 438, ap. Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 21; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 182: "Toku their Karlsefni til sveinana, en hitt komst undan, ok sukku í joerdh nidhr,"—*i.e.*, Karlsefne's companions took the children, and the others got away, and sought refuge beneath the earth.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery, p. 85, n. 2; cf. Moosmüller, S. 42.

To support their interpretation they bring forth the text of the "Islendingabók," where it is stated that the Papas appeared to be Irishmen;[2] but this expression simply bears out the fact that it was the Irish who had settled the western land. Wilhelmi[3] admits, with Wormskjöld,[4] that the Papas of Iceland had come from the American continent. Beauvois[5] disbelieves the fact. De Costa[6] and others pretend that the Icelanders were accustomed to call Ireland by the name of Westland, because it is the westernmost part of Europe. To refute this gratuitous assertion, it might suffice to observe that the old Scandinavian seafarers were as ignorant of our modern geographical divisions as they were, from their very youth, cognizant of every star in the northern sky and of every point on the mariner's compass. The compass was their atlas, and the Icelanders actually called "Austmadhr," Eastman, an inhabitant of Norway, or of the European continent.[7] They gave the name of Sudhreyskr to a man of the South islands,—that is, of the Hebrides, as is attested by the name of Sudor, by which the diocese of the Hebrides is known yet; and we may well conclude that by the appellation of "Vestmenn" the saga designated people who were living to the west of Iceland.

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[1] See Document XX.

[2] Ibid.; Letronne, p. 143.

[3] Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur, S. 132.

[4] Skandinaviske Literatur-Selskabs Skrifter, 1814, pp. 298–403.

[5] La Découverte, p. 31, n. 2.

[6] Precolumbian Discovery.

[7] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. ii. p. 6; cf. von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 274.

This inference could hardly be doubted when we notice how nicely the saga itself distinguishes between the "Vestan" and the "Vestmenn," on one hand, and the "Irskar" and "Enskum," or Irish and English, on the other.[1]

Rafn[2] is inclined to believe that the "Vestmenn" were people from Ireland, because the Irish are so designated by the Norwegians in one or two other sagas. Yet he confesses that the other opinion is not devoid of probability, and that if the expression "komnir til vestan um haf," used by the authors of Olaf Tryggvason's History and of the Occupation of Iceland, should be understood word for word, it must unavoidably be admitted that the Papas of Iceland were none other than Irishmen who had formerly colonized North America and had from there come over to Iceland.

After noticing that several northern antiquaries are of the opinion that the saga's "Vestmenn" had actually come from western countries, von Humboldt judiciously remarks that the Northmen would never have given them the significant name, should the country of their origin have been in the Southeast,—the Faroes, the Hebrides, or any of the British isles. "They were," he says, "Irish transplanted on American territory in early times, and from there had come to Iceland."[3]

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[1] See Document XX. Reusch, vol. ii. p. 294, evidently confounds matters when he writes that Irish priests went to Iceland to convert people that had come from America, and that to America they retired at the arrival of the Northmen.

[2] Antiq. Amer., pp. 201, 202.

[3] Gravier, p. 142, ref. to von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 273.

CHAPTER III.

ICELAND AND GREENLAND UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF HAMBURG IN A.D. 831.

Reserving till farther more explicit evidence from Icelandic historians in regard to the navigation of the Irish Papas between Europe and our western hemisphere, we should here set forth a few documents that prove the discovery and partial Christianization of Greenland, as well as of Iceland, long before any exiled Northmen first set foot on its shores. The Benedictine monks Witmar and Ansgar had, since half a dozen years, preached the gospel in Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula, when, returning early in the year 831, they made, before the general diet of the New Roman Empire, convened in Aix-la-Chapelle, a report of the wonderful success of their missionary labors. The emperor, Lewis the Pious, with all the assembly, gave thanks to God, and, upon the consent of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, appointed Ansgar, as archbishop of all those northern countries, and in particular of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Funen, *Greenland*, Helsingoland, Iceland, and Scritifinnland. He raised the castle of Hamburg to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see, and assigned to it the revenues of the monastery of Turnhout in West Flanders. To secure these transactions he ordered to be drawn up a solemn decree, which, however, was published only on the 15th day of May, 834.[1]

The emperor afterwards despatched the new archbishop to Rome, together with his own delegates, in order to report the proceedings to Pope Gregory IV. and obtain the apostolic confirmation.

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[1] See Document XXII.

His Holiness answered with the following bulls of the year 835:

"Gregory, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God. We want it to be known by all the faithful, that the Most Gracious King Charles, of blessed memory, at the time of our predecessors, inspired by the divine Spirit, subjected the Saxon nation to holy worship and, conquering with the sword ferocious hearts, taught them, even to the confines of the Danes and of the Slavonians, to accept the yoke of Christ, which is sweet and light; and that he had resolved to erect into a diocese by itself the remotest part of his dominions, situate beyond the Elbe and exposed to dangers of death from the pagans; in order that it should not relapse into the superstition of the gentiles, and also because it seemed to be a locality very well adapted for the gaining of more infidel nations. But as death has prevented him from carrying his design into effect, his successor and illustrious son, the august emperor, Lewis, has effectually accomplished the pious wish of his saintly father. The report of these transactions has been laid before Us by the venerable bishops Ratold and Bernold, as also by the count Gerold and another venerable envoy, and their confirmation has been requested.

"We, therefore, recognizing in the whole proceedings an act of providence pleasing to God, and informed by the words of our brother and son Ansgar, consecrated at the hands of Drogo, bishop of Metz, as the first archbishop of the Nordalbingians, have resolved to ratify, after the custom of our predecessors, the holy zeal of the great emperors, as well by the authority of these letters as by the bestowal of the pallium. In order that our aforenamed son, strong with this high sanction, and his successors endeavoring to convert the infidels, be more powerful against the attempts of the devil, We appoint our son himself, the above-named Ansgar, and his successors as our delegates to all the surrounding nations: to the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Funelanders, the *Greenlanders*, the Helsingers, the Icelanders, the Scritifinns, the Slavonians, and to all the northern and eastern nations, by whatever name they may be called.

"And after having bent our head and shoulders over the body and confession[1] of St. Peter the Apostle, We appoint him and his successors as our lieutenants forever, and confer upon them the public faculty of preaching the gospel, and We ordain that the see of the Nordalbingians, called Hamburg, consecrated in honor of the Holy Redeemer and of Mary, his inviolate mother, be a metropolitan church. Until, however, the number of consecrators be increased from among the nations, We, in the meanwhile, intrust to the care of the sacred imperial court the consecration of the priests who are to be the successors. Yet an energetic preacher, qualified for so important an office, ought always to be chosen in succession. In regard to the pious wishes of the revered prince, concerning this charge so important before God, We sanction them all, even delegating him our authority to that effect; and any one resisting or contradicting, or in any way trying to make void these our pious desires, We strike with the sword of excommunication, and, guilty as he is of everlasting punishment, We condemn him to the devil's portion; in order that, as our predecessors used to do, we may more securely fortify the apostolic primacy and those who are piously zealous in the cause of God against our enemies in every quarter.

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[1] That is, the grave.

"And, dearly beloved son, Ansgar, since the divine clemency has chosen you to be the first archbishop of the new see, We confer upon you the pallium wherewith to celebrate solemn Mass; we grant it to be used by you in your lifetime and as a pledge of the established and lasting privileges of your Church. May the Blessed Trinity vouchsafe to preserve you in good health and, after the sufferings of this world, lead you to perpetual bliss. Amen.

"Given, 835."[1]

Few are the words which, in these two documents, relate to our subject, but they are weighty. The names of Iceland and Greenland therein mentioned clearly establish what we learned before in a less satisfactory manner,—to wit, that not only Iceland, but the American great island as well, was in the year 831 known to Christian Europe, and contained already such people as, through their religion, were subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, who confided them to the superintendence of his delegate, St. Ansgar.

This unavoidable conclusion is so startling, however, and seems to be so directly opposed to some data of the venerable Icelandic sagas, that not a few learned men have, upon the slightest reasons, declared both the imperial decree and the pontifical bull to be either forged altogether or, at least, interpolated.

Lappenberg,[2] Klempin,[3] and Dümmler[4] consider the documents as entirely spurious.[5] Their sweeping criticism is condemned by all others; but several writers, while generally admitting the authenticity of the parchments, pretend that the names of "Norwegians, Funelanders, Greenlanders, Helsingers, Icelanders, and Scritifinns" have been intercalated in subsequent copies; leaving as genuine only those of "Danes, Swedes, and Slavonians." They reason *a priori*, and, starting from the supposition that the former nations were wholly unknown to Lewis the Pious, conclude that he could not mention their names.

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[1] See Document XXIII.

[2] Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, i. S. 788, 793.

[3] Pommersches Urkundenbuch, i. S. 2.

[4] Ostfr. Reich., i. S. 264.

[5] Ap. Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 324.

The older and the more important authors who have followed this opinion are Torfæus,[1] Arngrim Jonas, and Theodore Thorlak,[2] who rely on the text of the sagas of Iceland; the Bollandists,[3] Langebek,[4] and Maltebrun,[5] followed by several modern copyists like Gaffarel, who, not suspecting that Christian Irishmen were in "Cronland" before the Scandinavians, adds that the bull, if genuine, would prove the presence of the Northmen in Greenland a century and a half before their actual arrival.[6] Our erudite historian, Justin Winsor, is less positive, though more confused, when he makes the curious remark that "It has sometimes been contended that a bull of Gregory IV., in A.D. 770, referred to Greenland. . . . A bull of A.D. 853, in Pontanus's 'Rerum Danicarum Historia,' is also held to indicate that there were earlier peoples in Greenland than those from Iceland."[7]

The latter portion of Winsor's note is correct, while Pontanus asserts that the emperor, Lewis, in his pious zeal and with the approval of the ecclesiastical senate, made Ansgar archbishop of Hamburg and confided to his care the northern people,—the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, and others more remote than these, namely, the Icelanders and Greenlanders.[1]

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[1] Gronl. Ant., Præf., p. 44.

[2] Letronne, p. 140; Moosmüller, S. 32, 39; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 13.

[3] Acta SS., ad 3 Febr., ¶ xiii. p. 411.

[4] T. i. p. 451, n. z; t. ii. p. 126, n. q.

[5] Letronne, p. 140.

[6] T. i. p. 293. The American Catholic Quarterly Review (vol. xiv. p. 598) charges B. F. De Costa with pronouncing the bull of Gregory IV. as "beyond question a fraud;" but De Costa does not say so, at least not in the second edition of his "Precolumbian Discovery." See p. 25, n. 1.

[7] Vol. i. p. 61, n. 5.

Long before the Danish great historian, the illustrious Trogillus Arnkel assigned the conversion of Greenland to the time of Archbishop Ansgar, and Torfæus testifies already that this opinion had been defended by so many learned men that it had acquired an incontestable authority which it would be rashness to contradict.[2] Other ancient writers, like John Messenius[3] and Bussæus,[4] admit the authenticity of the entire documents.[5] David Crantz writes in his History of Greenland:[6] "The calculation of Lyschander is corroborated by a bull issued by Pope Gregory IV. in the year 835, wherein the conversion of the northern nations, and, in express words, of the Icelanders and Greenlanders, is committed to the first northern apostle Ansgarius, who had been appointed archbishop of Hamburg by the emperor, Lewis the Pious. If this bull is authentic, which we find no reason to doubt, Greenland must have been discovered and planted one hundred and fifty years earlier, about 830 [or earlier yet], by the Icelanders or the Norwegians,"—or, rather, by the Irish.

The genuineness of the bull is demonstrated by such men as Simson,[7] Koppmann,[8] and Dehio;[9] and the great critic Pagi admits Iceland and Greenland as mentioned portions of St. Ansgar's jurisdiction.[1] Peyrère and several more authors, both ancient and modern, rely upon the bull of Gregory IV. to determine the question of Greenland's discovery and colonization in the year 830 or before,[2] whilst Cooley declares that criticism, in considering the Patents as either forged or interpolated, assumes a character so arbitrary that it cannot escape the suspicion of injustice.[3]

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[1] Pontanus, lib. iv. ad an. 833.

[2] Gronl. Ant. Præf., p. 44.

[3] Scandia Illustrata, ed. 1700, t. i. pp. 63, 68, 76; t. ii. p. 87.

[4] In ed. Schedarum Arii Polyhistoris, p. 32; cf. Rafn, Ant. Amer., p. 13.

[5] Moosmüller, S. 32.

[6] Vol. i. p. 244.

[7] Jahrbücher des Frankischen Reichs, ii. 281.

[8] Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamb. Gesch., Bd. v. S. 494.

[9] Erzb. Hamburg-Bremen, Bd. i. S. 65, and Anm., pp. 7, 12; ap. Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 324.

After adducing all such authorities we might dismiss the further discussion of the authenticity of the two documents, but their importance is so great that we consider it our duty to propose a few intrinsic arguments by which the reader may form an enlightened opinion for himself.

The most convincing evidences should be the texts of the ancient manuscript copies of the Diplomas. The parchment preserved among the Hanoverian archives may not be the original bull of Gregory IV.,[4] but it is highly venerable with age, and it reads the names under consideration in the following manner: " . . . Delegates to all the surrounding nations of 'Danorum, Sueonum, Norvehorum, Farrie, *Gronlandan*, Halsingolandan, *Islandan*, Scridevindun, Slavorum,' and . . ." So also are the same names given by the other ancient codices, and in particular by the Hamburghensian and the Budecensian.[5] The text of the Codex of Udalric of Babenberg is: " . . . Danorum, *Gronlandon, Islandon* et omnium . . .;[6] that of the Codex Vicelini: ". . . Sueonum, Norweorum, Farne, *Gronlandan, Islondan*, Scridevindan . . .;" and the Codex Lindenbrog has: ". . . Nortwegorum, Farriæ, *Gronlandon*, Halsingolandon, *Islandon*, Scridevindon et omnium . . ."[1]

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[1] Baronius, t. xiv. ad an. 832; Pagi, ibid., ¶ x.

[2] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 598.

[3] Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 215.

[4] Beauvois, Origines, p. 10, n. 1; Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 324.

[5] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 601.

[6] Ap. Eccard, Corpus Hist., ii. 119; Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 324; Beauvois, Origines, p. 10, n. 2.

The reader has noticed the slight difference of spelling, and the omission of one or two names in one of these copies; but the contested names are faithfully preserved in the manuscripts, and they are duly rendered in almost every one of their publications.[2]

The authenticity of these two important documents not only thus reposes on their own evidence, but is attested also by a number of subsequent papal bulls and imperial diplomas.

The bull of Sergius II. of the month of April, 846,[3] that of Leo IV., dated March, 848,[4] and the one of Agapitus II., issued the second day of January, 952,[5] are set forth by a few authors as objections against the genuineness of Iceland's and Greenland's mention by Lewis the Pious and Gregory IV. But it is easily understood how these popes or their scribes deemed it sufficient to express a few names, taken at random from the document of their predecessor, and to include the other countries in the general term of "all the northern nations," in order to confirm St. Ansgar in the rights which he peacefully enjoyed already. In thus abridging the archetypal documents, they simply acted as other pontiffs afterwards did, when the various countries were perfectly known and long since inhabited by converted Scandinavians. So does, in the year 1044 or

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[1] Rydberg, i. 15; Beauvois, Origines, p. 10, n. 2.

[2] Eccard, Corpus Hist., ii. 119; Lappenberg, i. 15; Hasselbach, Codex Pomeraniæ Diplomaticus, i. 9; Diplomatarium Islandiæ, pp. 19, 22; Rydberg, i. 15; Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, i. 7; Liljegren, t. i. p. 6; Bullarium Romanum, ed. Tomasseti, t. i. p. 279, and ed. Rom., 1739, t. i. p. 174; alibi.

[3] Liljegren, t. i. p. 7; Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 328.

[4] Liljegren, t. i. p. 9; Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 330.

[5] Liljegren, t. i. p. 22; Migne, t. cxxxiii. col. 895.

1045, Benedict IX. determine the extent of the Hamburgian province by mentioning only "Sweden, Norway, and Iceland," yet adding the general expression, "and all the islands adjoining those countries."[1]

Other popes, however, were more explicit.

On the 31st of May, 858 or 864, Nicholas I. likewise confirmed St. Ansgar in his northern legation, clearly expressing the names of Iceland and Greenland,[2] as is proved, moreover, by the "Vicelinsbók," written between the years 1072 and 1120.[3] In November of the year 872 Pope Adrian II. published another bull similar to the one of Nicholas I.[4] In the month of January, A.D. 912, Pope Anastasius III. ratified again the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal see of Hamburg over all the northern nations. He wrote to Archbishop Hoger: "Since you have requested Us to confirm the archdiocese of Hamburg in all the rights granted to it by our precedessors *Gregory* and Nicholas, We also grant and confirm all the same rights generally and specially pertaining to it . . . jurisdiction, namely, over the bishops of the Swedes and Danes, of the Norwegians, Icelanders, Scritifinns, *Greenlanders*, and of all the boreal nations."[5]

When St. Wennus or Unna had been elected archbishop of Hamburg, he, as was customary at the time, begged the Roman See to confirm the ancient authority and the privileges of his metropolis. John X. answered him, on the 29th of October, 920, by sending the pallium and the bull securing him in all the rights conferred upon the Hamburgian archdiocese "by blessed *Gregory*, Nicholas, and others of his predecessors," and, in particular, "over the bishops of the Swedes and Danes, of the Norwegians, of Iceland, Scritifinnland and *Greenland*, as also of the Slavonians between the Eider and the Danube."[1]

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[1] Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 522, ref. to Lappenberg, Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, i. 71; Liljegren, Diplomatarium Islandiæ, p. 55; Migne, t. cxli. col. 1368. See Document XXX., *a*.

[2] Beauvois, Origines, p. 10.

[3] Diplomatarium Island., p. 28.

[4] Liljegren, t. i. p. 15.

[5] Diplomat. Island., p. 43; Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 448; Migne, t. cxxxi. col. 1185. See Document XXIV.

As a matter of course, the authors who reject as forged the bull of Gregory IV. are compelled to deny also the authenticity of all the confirmatory papal documents, in which mention is made of Greenland long before it was discovered by Eric the Red. Nor are these the only diplomas which misinterpretation of the Icelandic sagas is compelled to ignore. Several more should be declared spurious as well, because, although issued after the conversion of the Northmen in Greenland, while expressing the name of this country, they openly state that they simply renew the grants and territorial jurisdiction accorded by Gregory IV. and his nearer successors to the metropolitan of Hamburg.

Of this character is the bull issued on the 29th day of October, 1055, by Pope Victor II., who, when again submitting the bishops of Iceland and Greenland to the Hamburgian archiepiscopal see, solemnly attests that in so doing he follows the decrees of his predecessors Nicholas, Agapitus, Benedict, and Leo.[2]

The most conclusive of all proofs is offered us, however, in a bull of Innocent II., dated May 27, 1133. Notwithstanding the oft-repeated confirmation of the rights of the archbishop of Hamburg, his jurisdiction still continued to be contested and to be assumed by other prelates. As we shall notice farther on, the first

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[1] Beauvois, Origines, p. 10, ref. to Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. pp. 71, 73, and Rydberg, i. 32; Diplomat. Island., p. 43; Liljegren, t. i. p. 20. See Document XXV.

[2] "Sicut a prædecessoribus nostris Nicolao, Agapito, Benedicto, Leone, hujus almæ apostolicæ sedis decretum est." (Liljegren, t. i. p. 37; Beauvois, Origines, p. 29, n. 3.)

Northman resident bishop of Greenland had been consecrated by Adzer, archbishop of Lund in Sweden. Adalberon, the metropolitan of Hamburg, considered the fact as an infringement upon his right and jurisdiction, and entered complaints at the court of Rome. The pontiff was to decide according to the acts of his predecessors. Did he consider as apocryphal the ancient documents naming Greenland as part of the Hamburgian province? He says, "Often, indeed, has our venerable brother Adalberon, archbishop of Hamburg, complained before our predecessors Calixtus and Honorius, and before Us, that Ascerus of Lund and some bishops of Denmark deny the obedience due him as to their metropolitan, in the manner prescribed by the ancient privileges granted by the Roman pontiffs, *Gregory*, Sergius, Leo, Benedict, Nicholas, and Adrian. . . . Therefore, since no man ought to enjoy the fruit of his temerity, We, after mature deliberation with our counsel of bishops and cardinals, place again under your jurisdiction, venerable brother Adalberon, as well the bishop of Lund as the bishops of Denmark. Favorable to the prayers of our beloved son, King Lothair, and, following the text of the diplomas of *Gregory*, Sergius, Leo, Nicholas, Benedict, and Adrian, We confirm that the episcopal sees of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Funen, *Cronland*, Halsingoland, Iceland, Scritifinge and of the Sclavonians, shall be suffragan unto you and, through you, to the Church of Hamburg, their metropolis."[1]

As the Roman pontiffs upheld the bull of Gregory IV., so did Emperor Frederic ratify and renew the letters patent of Lewis the Pious. On the 16th day of March, A.D. 1158, he issued a document in which we read that Hartwic, archbishop of Hamburg, had brought to him the parchment by which the august Emperor Lewis had first established the Hamburgian see, requesting Frederic to add his own lasting authority to the act of his predecessor. "Being thus fully cognizant of the pious action of our predecessor," the emperor says, "we decree what he has decreed, and what he has given we give, and confirm it all with our imperial power. We particularly recall to mind how the illustrious *Emperor Lewis* performed a work well worth the highest encomium, by establishing beyond the Elbe, at the place called Hamburg, an archdiocese including all the churches of the Danes, of the Swedes, of the Norwegians, of Funen, of the *Greenlanders*, of the Halsingolanders, of the Icelanders, of the Scritifinns, and of all the northern countries. The limits which Emperor Lewis drew and, with the advice of the princes, assigned to the said Church, yet somewhat altered according to the circumstances of the times, we preserve and confirm with our authority." The diploma ends with the minute description of the renovated boundaries.[1]

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[1] Migne, t. clxxix. col. 180, from Lappenberg, p. 132; Liljegren, t. i. p. 46. See Document XXVI.

It would require a certain amount of courage to reject as forgeries all these documents and many more sufficiently suggested, which, to an unprejudiced reader, establish beyond all doubt the authenticity of the Diplomas of Lewis the Pious and of Gregory IV., even in their details regarding our hemisphere. But, besides these, there are several more proofs of St. Ansgar's legation having comprised the territories of Iceland and Greenland distinctly expressed.

These names, it is true, do not appear in the life of St. Ansgar by the monk of Corbie, Gualdo, published by the Bollandists.[1] The author could find no convenient place in his metrical Latin lines for the barbarous names of the pontifical bull,—the reason, likely, why the Slavonians themselves are ignored.[2] Neither are Iceland and Greenland mentioned in St. Ansgar's biography published in the year 1642 by Philip Cæsar;[3] but this omission is amply compensated by Cæsar's publication of the life of the first archbishop of Hamburg, as written towards the end of the eleventh century by Vicelinus, in the twelfth chapter of which the names of "Islondon" and "Gronlondon" are conspicuous.[4]

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[1] Liljegren, t. i. p. 59; Diplomat. Island., p. 214, n. 36. See Document XXVII.

St. Rembert, the second metropolitan of Hamburg, has also left us his predecessor's biography, in which he states that Pope Gregory IV. constituted Ansgar, present before him, his delegate among all the northern and eastern nations,—the Swedes, the Danes, the Funelanders, the *Greenlanders*, the Icelanders, the Scritifinns, and the Slavonians.[5]

The life of St. Rembert himself was written by a contemporary of his, before the close of the ninth century, likely by the third archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, Adalgarius, or by a virtuous and learned priest of the time. In the first chapter we read that "Lewis, king of the Franks, established in the northernmost part of the Saxon province an archiepiscopal see, from which the preaching of the word of God should extend to the neighboring nations of the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Funelanders, *Greenlanders*, Icelanders, Scritifinns, and Slavonians, and to all the boreal and oriental nations, whatever their names may be.[1] Langebek thinks that the contested names were afterwards added here also, but both of his reasons are manifestly erroneous.

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[1] In the first volume for February, p. 439.

[2] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 602.

[3] Beauvois, Origines, p. 10, n. 1; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 601.

[4] Diplomat. Island., p. 24.

[5] Pagi, ¶ ix., ap. Baronium, Ann. Eccl. ad an. 832, ¶ vii. t. xiv. p. 177.

Adam of Bremen, when relating the erection of the Hamburgian see, mentions only the Danes, the Swedes, and the Slavonians, but notices farther on that the Icelanders, the Greenlanders, the Goths, and the Orkney islanders came to pay their respects to Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg, and request him to send them priests and bishops, which he also did.[2] This fact clearly proves that Iceland and Greenland were aware of their jurisdictional dependency upon the Hamburgian metropolis; while there is but one pontifical document —namely, that of Gregory IV.—which institutes the same ecclesiastical dependency, all other papal bulls being but confirmatory of the former. It thus establishes in particular that the letter of Victor II. to Archbishop Adalbert, dated October 29, 1055, is not the first authentic diploma to mention the two American countries, as asserted in Wetzer and Welte's lexicon.[3]

Two more statements of ancient witnesses may suffice to show that portions of our hemisphere had been confided to the active zeal of the apostle of the North, St. Ansgar.

In the missal of Bremen, printed in the year 1511, a hymn in honor of St. Ansgar says that Iceland and Greenland were illumined with the light of faith under his care; and the chronicle of the Bremen archbishops assures us that St. Ansgar converted a number of nations, among which it mentions both the Greenlanders and the Icelanders.[1]

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[1] Langebek, t. i. p. 451, n. z; t. ii. pp. 123, 126.

[2] Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ Pontificum, lib. i. cap. 13, ap. Pertz, t. vii. p. 292; Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. p. 412.

[3] Art. Grönland.

All these positive proofs of the authenticity of Pope Gregory's bull and of the propagation of Christianity in Greenland in and, likely, before the ninth century find a becoming complement in another pontifical letter whose genuineness cannot be contested and whose information is of the highest authority,—namely, on the 14th day of September, 1448, Nicholas V. wrote to the Icelandic bishops of Skalholt and of Holar, enjoining upon them to inquire into the condition of the Greenland diocese. "Our ears," he says, "have been shocked, and our hearts filled with bitterness, at the tearful complaints of the natives and of all the inhabitants of the island Greenland, which is said to be situated at the ocean's farthest limits, to the north of the kingdom of Norway and within the ecclesiastical province of Drontheim. The people and settlers of that island have received the faith, through the preaching of their evangelist, the blessed King Olaf, about six hundred years ago, and have preserved it firm and inviolate under the government of the Holy Roman Church and of the Apostolic See." The Pontiff further relates how this distant Christianity had been ruined by the fierce assaults of the neighboring savages, yet was now slowly recovering, and begged him to have another bishop appointed after the episcopal see had been vacant for the last thirty years.

From this extract it is easy to determine since what time Greenland had been Christian. No one could know this better than the Greenlanders themselves, who made their saddening report, and the Roman pontiff, who considered their ancient fidelity as a reason for favoring their request. Now, the six hundred years previous to the issuance of this document lead us back to the date of Gregory's bull,—to the second quarter of the ninth century.[1]

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[1] See Document XXVIII.

We easily understand that the incidental mention of St. Olaf is simply an act of veneration for that saint, since it is agreed by all that Greenland was converted before the time of the holy king, who was, however, most zealous in confirming the conversion of the Northmen. It might also be said that the pontiff calls St. Olaf the apostle of Greenland, because he seems to have sent, during the first quarter of the eleventh century, one of his namesakes, as the first bishop of that country, to complete the conversion of its recent Scandinavian immigrants.[2]

It is astonishing to see how prejudice can warp the intelligence of even learned men, who declare that the letter of Nicholas V. forms a new argument against the authenticity of the bull of Gregory IV., although, to justify such a preposterous conclusion, they are compelled to mix up into one two facts that bear no relation whatsoever to each other,—the insignificant discovery of the barren Gunnbjörn Rocks between Iceland and Greenland towards the end of the ninth century and the important event of Greenland's conversion from paganism in the year 1000, according to the Scandinavian sagas.[3]

We have noticed that some writers continue still to reject as spurious, at least in regard to Iceland, Greenland, and some other countries, the documents of Gregory IV. and of Lewis the Pious. What are their reasons? They are, as far as we can learn, one gratuitous suspicion and one erroneous apprehension.

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[1] See Document XXIX.

[2] Beauvois, Origines, p. 24; Munch, Det Norske Folks Historie, S. 211.

[3] Congrès Scient., sec. v. p. 172.

The original parchments were destroyed, they say, after copies had been taken from them, into which, to legitimate the ambition of Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg, had been inserted the names of various countries which were unknown at the time when the documents were issued.

It is difficult, however, to admit that one should have dared to destroy pontifical documents so zealously guarded during those ages of faith as venerable and holy treasures. Nor could the sacrilegious deed have been perpetrated with the consent of an irreproachable archbishop, who had occasion to establish his claims with the authority of authentic vouchers; while there would have been no difficulty at the time to discover the forgery of worthless transcripts, when the records of the originals were still in existence, as well as many true copies made during the previous two hundred years. Nor can the gratuitous assertion be sustained in the face of Emperor Frederic's diploma, where it is stated that, in the year 1158, Archbishop Hartwic gave him to read the "privilegium" or parchment of Lewis the Pious.[1]

Archbishop Adalbert[2] is accused of destroying and of interpolating a score of authentic documents to legalize ambitious pretensions of jurisdiction over American bishops.[3] But what need had he of false papers when holding in his hand no less than three original bulls, addressed to himself by as many different popes, who, each one, confirmed over again the ancient rights of his metropolitan see and fully justified any such claims as are laid to his charge? The first is of Benedict IX., of the year 1044 or 1045;[4] the second of

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[1] Supra, p. 55.

[2] 1043–1072.

[3] By Arngrim, Thorlak, Torfæus, ap. Moosmüller, S. 43; Maltebrun; Langebek, t. i. p. 451, n. z; alii.

[4] Supra, p. 52. See Document XXX., *a*.

Leo IX., dated January 6, 1053, the original of which has been preserved until this day in the archives of Hanover," says Beauvois.[1] The third was issued on the 29th day of October, 1055, by Pope Victor II.[2]

A more specious objection to the authenticity of the documents of Lewis the Pious and of Gregory IV. is drawn from the alleged fact that, at the time when these diplomas were issued, Iceland and Greenland had not received their names, nor were, in fact, discovered as yet; and, consequently, could not have been visited by Christian missionaries.[3]

It is, indeed, generally asserted, on the authority of the Scandinavian records, that Iceland was first discovered by Naddodr in the year 860, and Greenland in 982 by Eric the Red. But to understand the true meaning of all similar statements made by the Icelandic sagas, it is necessary to notice and to bear in mind that the object of these venerable manuscripts was altogether and exclusively national. The great and remarkable deeds of the Northmen were carefully recorded, with all their circumstances, for the amusement and instruction of their posterity; but events, however important, that took place among other nations were either unknown or ignored by the insular chroniclers. With the exception of a few pages, devoted to the annals of the world from its creation to the author's time, the voluminous sagas contain but a small number of incidental phrases relating to matters which are not merely national and cast some light upon the history of other peoples. Whatever was not Northman was not worth being written in the Icelandic manuscripts, and whatever was written therein was of the Northmen. Voyages and settlements spoken of are voyages and settlements of Northmen, and so also are the first discoveries of distant countries simply the first landings of Northmen upon their shores, without any reference to prior discoveries, landings, or settlements effected by any other nation on the same territories. The sagas minutely relate the first discoveries of Iceland and Greenland and of the American continent by different Scandinavians; yet they themselves candidly, though incidentally, state that these discoveries were posterior to those of the Christians of Ireland.[1]

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[1] Origines, pp. 28, 29. See Document XXX., *b*.

[2] Supra, p. 54.

[3] Langebek, t. i. p. 451, n. z; Maltebrun; Pertz, t. ii. p. 699; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 600; Beauvois, Origines, p. 11.

Nor can it be objected that these earlier discoveries, or rather the settlements of the North Atlantic archipelagos, were unknown at the court of Emperor Lewis; for what the Irish Dicuil wrote, in the year 825, and the English Bede about the same time, was likely known by their learned friends of the European continent in 831 and probably sooner.[2] Moreover, we have observed before that Greenland was known by the ancient Greeks, and Iceland by the learned of Europe, both before and after Christ;[3] while we have good reasons to suppose that the next neighbors of the pious emperor were, from personal experience, acquainted with those countries, when we notice that the Danes and the Northmen not only frequented the northernmost seas for fishing purposes, but also that the former had kept their warlike fleets on those waters ever since the eighth century, and the latter had extended their piratical courses, as early as the year 725, up to the Faroe group of islands, if not farther north.[4]

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[1] Supra, pp. 34, 36, 39, 41, *seq.*

[2] Moosmüller, S. 41.

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 121. See Document XIX.

[4] Pagi, ap. Baronium, t. xiv. ad an. 832, ¶ xiii.; Letronne, cap. vii. ¶ 3, p. 39; Gravier, p. 17.

If, perhaps, they continue, the countries were known, the names, at least of Iceland and Greenland, were not at the time of Lewis the Pious and of Gregory IV.; since it is clearly stated by an Icelandic fragment of the fourteenth century that the former appellation was imposed by the sea-rover Floki between the years 864 and 870;[1] while the latter was given as late as the year 985, according to the plain assertion of the Icelandic sagas, where we read that Eric the Red chose that beautiful name in order to entice his countrymen to accompany him to his new home.[2]

The sagas, however, relate as well that Eric must have given of his discovery a truthful description, which ill suited the attractive name; for when, a year after, Bjarne Herjulfson sighted the green wooded coasts of the American continent, he was convinced, from the information he had received in Iceland, that these were no part of Greenland, which he was to recognize by its tall forbidding mountains covered with ice and snow.[3] It is evident, moreover, that the few narrow strips along the ocean's edge—grassy for a few summer months—could not justify Eric the Red in originating, nor his companions in sustaining, the egregious misnomer; and we must seek elsewhere for a reasonable explanation of Greenland's name.

Greenland and its surrounding waters exactly correspond with the ancient Cronian Sea and the island where, according to Greek mythology, rehearsed by Plutarch during the first century of our era, Saturn or Κρόνος lay chained in everlasting sleep.[4] Hence, "Cronia" was Greenland's ancient classical name, which the learned Irish monks had not forgotten when they set out for their ocean peregrinations; and it was easily remembered at both the imperial and the papal courts when the news of the Irish settlements reached the European continent. Scientists like Dicuil and Bede could have no doubt in regard to the identity of the northwestern country. The geographers, after Pliny the Elder, gave the name of Cronian Sea to the waters north and west of Iceland. It is but natural that the mariners who sailed through this sea and discovered land in it or on its borders should also have called this land Cronian Land or "Cronlant."[1] Nor should we be surprised to find in the ancient documents the Teutonic translation "land" of the Latin termination "ia," when we remember that the modern name was first written in a Teutonic province. It is remarkable, in this respect, that the more ancient documents and histories all read "Gronland" or "Cronland,"[2] the land of Cronos; while only in later centuries has been adopted the orthography of "Groenland" or "Grenelandia,"—the green country,—to satisfy Teutonic euphony, requiring the softening inflection of "o" into "oe." "If," says Hornius, "Cronland be the same as ancient Cronia, as we have proved it to be, and as is admitted also by Dalechamp and Cluver, then it was known long before the Norwegians first landed on it."[3]

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[1] Langebek, t. ii. p. 32; Gravier, p. 22.

[2] Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 14; Peschel, Zeitalter, S. 80; Reeves, p. 9.

[3] Gravier, p. 42; Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 22.

[4] Supra, vol. i. p. 121, *seq.*

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 24.

[2] Supra, pp. 51, 55, 57.

[3] P. 158. The orthography in the bull of Leo IX., dated January 6, 1053, is "Gronlant:" "Videlicet episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum . . . Gronlant. . . ." (Diplomatarium Islandicum, p. 57.) In that of Innocent II., A.D. 1133 (ap. Lappenberg, p. 132), it is still "Cronlondia." Hornius (lib. iii. cap. v. p. 155) writes: "Gronlandia ingens sub ipso cardine siderum, incognitæ etiam magnitudinis, inter Americam et Europam media jacet. Cujus nomen etiam antiquissimis geographis notum, qui illud mare, quod supra Rubeas et Scandiam est, Cronium dixerunt, ab ei adjacente Cronia, sive Saturni insula."

The climatic condition of Iceland sufficiently explains why its classical name of Thule had been abandoned by the oldest Danish and Scandinavian fishermen and pirates. These had reported, under its present appellation, at the emperor's court, the island, which they had either seen themselves or undoubtedly heard of from the Irish monks and settlers with whom they had but too often, as we shall presently see, come in contact on the northern seas. It is probable, indeed, that, should the name of this island originate with the first Scandinavian landings on it, its name would be either Snowland or Gardarsholm, as it was called by the two Northmen who first discovered it, according to the sagas. But since these new appellations were afterwards ignored, we may well infer that Floki, the next discoverer, designated Iceland by the name long since accepted.

It is hardly necessary to notice a last objection raised by Beauvois,[1] who pretends that the Roman court received its first information concerning the discovery and Christianization of Iceland and Greenland through the medium of the Northmen as late as the eleventh century, "For," he says, "had the papal court received the news from the more ancient papas, it is likely that the new countries would have been made suffragan to the diocese of the Hebrides or to some other Scotch or Irish episcopal see." The author loses sight of the fact that it has always been the Roman policy to attach the dioceses of dependent smaller territories to some metropolitan see of the sovereign or mother country; in consequence of which Gregory IV. subjected the islands of the northern Atlantic to Hamburg, the metropolis of the Danes and Scandinavians, who were at the time the actual masters of those islands. According to this policy, the diocese of Sudor itself was afterwards made a suffragan of Drontheim. The remark which he adds, that Iceland and Greenland were newly converted during the eleventh century, is perfectly correct in regard to their Scandinavian inhabitants; but it does not disprove the fact of a previous Christian population placed by the Roman pontiff under the jurisdiction of St. Ansgar.

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[1] Origines, p. 11.

There exist, it is true, manuscript copies of the diplomas establishing or confirming this primeval hierarchy of the northern regions, in which the names of Greenland and Iceland have been suppressed, as also those of some other countries;[1] but the reason is manifest. The copyists implicitly believed the Scandinavian sagas to be absolutely correct, and came to the same conclusion as some of our modern critics,—namely, that the original documents, in virtue of which the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen had exercised their authority over the North-Atlantic islands as late as the twelfth century, had been made to justify their acts of jurisdiction, by the interpolation of the same diplomas, after the Northmen had become the principal settlers of the northeastern American countries.

The reader, we trust, will be convinced by both our positive and negative arguments that there is no serious reason to doubt the authenticity of any part or portion of the most ancient Christian records relating to our western hemisphere. American countries were mentioned by Emperor Lewis the Pious in the year 834, and by Pope Gregory IV. in the year following; and these countries—Iceland and Greenland—were at the time partly settled by Christian colonists from Ireland.

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[1] Supra, pp. 52, 53.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IRISH ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

FAINT and few are the historic particulars concerning the first Christian population of the North-Atlantic islands. It is doubtful whether there ever was, before the latter part of the tenth century, any bishop residing in either Greenland or Iceland. Pope Anastasius III. confirms, in the year 912, the authority of the archbishops of Hamburg not only in general over all the northern countries, among which Iceland and Greenland are mentioned, but also in particular over "the bishops" of these countries,[1] as other popes do in successive times; but no appointments nor names of such prelates are known. Should Mr. Fowler be correct in his learned Introduction to Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, we could hardly doubt that quite a number of bishops have exercised their sublime ministry on the islands and on the coasts of the northern Atlantic long before the tenth century. He says of the ancient Irish monachism, "The abbot was the head of each monastic family, including the daughter-houses, which were governed by local heads under the abbot. Sometimes the abbot was a bishop, but usually a priest, with one or more bishops subject to him as members of the community, but performing episcopal functions and treated with honor and deference, as bishops. Even abbesses had such episcopal chaplains subject to their authority. The system was one of monastic territorial jurisdiction rather than one of diocesan episcopacy, though episcopacy was always held to be essential to the very being of a church."[1] Such being the custom, we may readily admit that the ancient Irish monasteries of Iceland, perhaps also of Greenland, were not deprived of episcopal ministrations. The staffs or crosiers abandoned by the Irish monks at their disappearance from Iceland are as likely to have been those of bishops as of abbots.

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[1] Supra, p. 53. See Document XXIV.

The end of this primitive Christianity in the North is the part of its history best known to us.

From the earliest times the Danes, the Saxons, and the Scandinavians relied upon the waters for a considerable portion of their subsistence; and, already at the beginning of the fifth century, their armed fleets were the terror of the neighboring countries.[2] Scandinavian freebooters made several descents upon the coast of Ireland during the seventh century, and subjugated some of its eastern districts during the eighth;[3] while the Irish monks and colonists of the smaller northern islands suffered no less than the people of their mother country. The Shetland or Hjaltland and the Faroe groups were ravaged in the year 725, when the Norwegian pirate Grim Kamban established his head-quarters in the latter.[4] "As those islands," says Dicuil, "which lie at two days' sail to the north of Scotland were uninhabited from the beginning of the world, so now,"—that is, in the year 825,—"abandoned by the anchorites because of the incursions of the Northmen, are they filled with numberless sheep and sea-fowl of various kinds."[5]

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[1] P. xl.

[2] Vivier de Saint-Martin, Histoire de la Géogr., p. 230.

[3] Cooley, Histoire Générale des Voyages, t. i. p. 210; Reeves, p. 162; Letronne, p. 135.

[4] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 358; Gravier, p. 17; Hughes, t. ii. p. 30; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 90, ref. to Letronne, pp. 129–146.

[5] Letronne, cap. vii. ¶ 3, p. 39.

The sea-rovers did not stop on the islands which they had laid waste with fire and sword, but the Icelandic sagas say, with patriotic euphemism, that they continued their voyages in search of other desert lands.[1] Indeed, the Ulster Annals inform us of the desolation created by the northern pagans all over the British isles during the year 793.[2] The island Hij or Iona was, for the first of many times, ravaged by the pirates in A.D. 794; and about 800 its famous monastery of Columbkil, the centre of Irish monachism, was burned to the ground.[3] The ancient Ebudi or Hebrides Islands passed, one after another, into the tyrannical possession of the Northmen during the closing years of the eighth century. Their riches were carried off, their monuments of civilization destroyed, and their inhabitants reduced to serfdom or slavery.[4]

The Orkneys had likewise been infested, time and again, by their piratical neighbors, when, towards the end of the ninth century, their Christian population was completely exterminated. The first king of all Norway, Harald "Haarfagr" or Comely-Hair, had succeeded in humbling his competitors at the general battle of Hafursfiord or Stavanger; but the vanquished jarls, preferring exile to subjection, set out for the neighboring islands, principally for the Orkneys; of which they made a nest of pirates, who should, on every available occasion, harass their victorious enemy and cut off all trade with Norway. Harald, however, did not long brook their annoyance, but, gathering a numerous fleet, he sunk the hostile vessels and put to the sword every man of the Orkney group without any distinction of race,—Scandinavians, Picts, and Papas.[1] Letronne proves the truth of this mournful tragedy, from the words of a diploma of the year 1403.[2]

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[1] Historia Olavi Tryggvii filii, cap. clxxvii.–clxxix. pp. 83–85, ap. Gravier, p. 18.

[2] Kretschmer, S. 245.

[3] Fowler, p. lxxxv; Reeves, p. 162, n. 9; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 37.

[4] Cooley, Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 211; Maltebrun; alii passim.

Iceland was the last of the northern islands to be molested by the Norwegian freebooters and exiles, but hither also they found their way; or, rather, they probably learned the route to the distant shores from the subjugated countrymen of the Irish colonists.

Historians do not quite agree upon the dates of the first landings of the Northmen in Iceland. The year 860 is, however, generally accepted as that in which Naddodr, probably a Scandinavian settler of the Faroe Islands, set foot on the Icelandic shore; and 874 is likely the date of the first Norwegian settlements made in ancient Thule, by Ingulf Arnarson, Hiorleif, and a few more, who were speedily followed by a considerable number of their countrymen fleeing from the hated dominion of King Harald.[3] The arrival of these new colonists was the signal for the former to leave. The Islendingabók[4] plainly states that the Christians, whom the Northmen called Papas, went away, because they were unwilling to dwell in company with heathens.[5]

There is no doubt that the Irish monks and many settlers departed from Iceland as the Northmen came in, but it seems that the reason attributed to them is a groundless supposition of the patriotic Ari Frode wishing to cover the disgrace of his ancestors' cruelties. When one reads of the robberies and massacres perpetrated by the roving Northmen of that epoch all along the coasts of civilized Europe, he will not need to be told that Christians did not wish to live in their dreaded neighborhood. The particulars, moreover, which the chronicler adds to this statement, evidently show that the Irish had more cogent reasons than free choice to retire. They left behind them, Ari says, Irish books and bells and staffs. We can form no idea of the great value and importance attached at the time to books of any kind, which were worth their weight in gold ; nor of the veneration which the saintly monks paid to the insignia of monastic rule and authority ; and we may well presume that they never would have abandoned such treasures had they not seen danger for their very lives in trying to save them. It is but natural that the papas should have fared at the hands of the pagan Scandinavians in Iceland as their companions in other islands and in Ireland itself. The greater number of the Christian colonists were probably slain or enslaved ; yet, as we shall notice farther on, a few families among the Irish population found safety and remained in the eastern districts of Iceland.

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[1] Depping, t. ii. p. 45; Beauvois, La Découverte, pp. 29, 37; Gravier, pp. 13, 14.

[2] Additions, p. 92: ". . . Reperimus itaque imprimis, quod tempore Harolldi Comati, primi regis Norwegie, qui gavisus est per totum regnum suum, hæc terra, sive insularum patria, Orcadie, fuit inhabitata et culta duabus nacionibus, scilicet *peti* et *papæ*, quæ due genera naciones, fuerant destructe radicitus. . . ."

[3] Storm, p. 8; Letronne, pp. 139, 141; Mallet, p. 187; Baumgartner, Island, S. 81; alii.

[4] Kap. i.

[5] See Document XX.

The sagas tell us nothing of the people, the relics and ruins of whose implements and dwellings the Northmen discovered in Greenland ; but it is not improbable that the quiet, harmless "Vestmen," who no doubt kept up a frequent intercourse with their brethren of Iceland, also left their threatened solitudes shortly after their kindred neighbors were compelled to abandon their treasures in the bloody hands of the invaders. That, however, here, as in Iceland, some Christian settlers continued to dwell is faintly intimated by the Icelandic records, which relate the fact of a Christian, probably a monk of the Hebrides Islands, being on board of one of the ships that carried, in the year 986, the first Scandinavian settlers to Greenland.[1] While all these settlers were pagans, the Celtic friar had presumably set out to bring to his distant abandoned countrymen the comforts of their common religion.

As probable, not to say as certain, as it is that the Irish monks were established in Greenland long before its colonization by the Northmen, so likely is it also that it did not take them any longer than it did their successors to become acquainted, either through accident or in consequence of their intentional voyages of discovery, with a continent whose shores extended almost to their distant homes and lay by the side of the most practicable route to their mother-country. Having once set foot on Labrador or Newfoundland, the pious discoverers, in quest of souls to save, were not likely to stop in those northern regions; and it is hard to tell how far they must have been attracted by both the fertility and the climate of the South and by the longed-for conversion of its numerous aborigines.[2]

Some authors, like Beauvois,[3] are of the opinion that the Irish monks and colonists first went over to America when they were expelled by the Scandinavian pirates from the North-Atlantic islands. Reusch also thinks that the land of liberty was their place of refuge on this sad occasion; but he remarks that, in fleeing to our shores, they were returning to the land from whence they had sailed to the East, and that their parents had lived in our hemisphere long before.[4] He adds that, according to tradition, the Irish visited regularly the southern parts of North America towards the end of the eighth century.[1] We have seen [2] that Gravier [3] and the learned von Humboldt [4] are of the same persuasion.

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[1] Rafn, Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 19, and n. a.

[2] The southern parts of North America were, however, more probably discovered directly from Ireland.

[3] La Découverte, pp. 25, 37.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 294.

It is well known that already during the former half of the eighth century Feargal or Virgilius, an Irish missionary priest in Germany, sustained, against the learned of his time, the theory of the earth's sphericity and of its antipodes. St. Boniface accused him, with the pope, Zacharias, of disturbance and error. The pontiff answered that the priest should be examined before a synod, and expelled from the Church if found guilty of teaching that "under the earth there is another world with another race of men, not descended from Adam and excluded from the grace of redemption." [5] But the orthodox missionary easily exculpated himself from suspected heresy, and used as an important argument to establish the truth of his scientific doctrine the fact of Ireland's regular intercourse with a transatlantic world.[6] The controversy brought to light his profound learning, and shortly after he was elevated to the episcopal see of Salzburg.[7]

This maritime communication between Ireland and the American continent, which lasted at least until the eleventh century, must have commenced at an early period, if we can rely upon a proof derived from the juxtaposition of Mexican traditions and of Scandinavian sagas. It has, indeed, been sufficiently shown that higher civilization and Christianity had been introduced upon the plains of Anahuac and parts of Central and South America by influential individuals who had arrived from eastern countries across the ocean, among the Toltec nation, which flourished in Mexico since the sixth century, if not before that time.[1] On the other hand, there is no trace, no shadow, nor even a supposition, of any other European Christian people, that might have sent, at that epoch, the famous Quetzalcoatl and his companions to the Western World; while Icelandic venerable records inform us of the fact that part of the American continent was known as Ireland the Great before the discovery of America by the Northmen. From these data combined, however scant and indefinite they be, one cannot help granting some serious consideration to the opinion of those who believe that St. Brendan, if not the apostle St. Thomas, was the first founder of Christian missions in America.[2]

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[1] Giebel, p. 91.

[2] Supra, p. 44.

[3] P. 142.

[4] Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 273.

[5] Wouters, t. i. p. 410, ref. to Labbe, t. vi. p. 1521, and de Vitry, Dissertation sur les Antipodes, in the Mémoires de Trévoux, Janvier, 1708.

[6] Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 180.

[7] Payne, p. 45, is a victim of misrepresentation when making the false statement that Virgilius was condemned as a heretic.

However this may be, when we know of the nautical enterprise and courage of the ancient Irish, of their daring navigations, in the midst of winter, to the distant shores of Iceland and into the frozen seas beyond;[3] when we notice the relatively small distance—sixteen hundred and forty miles—between the Irish coast and that of Newfoundland, the prevalence of northeastern winds to drive the vessels, and the current of the Gulf-stream to foster their return; then we shall not wonder if the Northmen admit the people of Ireland to have been their antecessors, not only on the northern, but also on the western shores of the Atlantic Ocean.[4]

Old Erin's monastic libraries should have preserved, written in letters of gold, the records of its glorious deeds; but hardly any relics of ancestral archives are to be found in a land where foreign invasion and social strife have, for centuries, almost constantly kept ablaze the torch of destruction. It is from strangers that Ireland must obtain the evidences of its illustrious past.

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[1] See supra, vol. i. p. 238; Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 96.

[2] Supra, pp. 24, 25.

[3] See Document XXI.

[4] Moosmüller, S. 179; Gravier, p. 142.

The most important and reliable information we have in regard to the ancient settlement of the Irish in America consists of a few incidental remarks and minor narratives of the Icelandic sagas, whose authors seem to attach no weight to the plain, simple recitals which are of so great consequence in our present study. But the very artlessness and candor of the statements are the best vouchers for their truthfulness and accuracy.

We shall translate them from the original as literally as possible. Following is the first:

"Their son [namely, of Mar from Reikjahols and of his wife Thorkatla] was Ari, who sailed on the ocean to Hvítramannaland [or White-man's Land]; that some call Ireland the Great; that lies westwards in the sea near Vinland the Good, that is said to be six days' sail to the west from Ireland; from where Ari could not fare away, and he was baptized there. Hrafn, the Limerick sailor, who had long been in Limerick in Ireland, told this story first. So also Thorkel Gellisson related that men of Iceland said, that they heard, mainly from the telling of Thorfinn in the Orkneys, that Ari had been recognized in White-man's Land, and could not get away, but was much honored there. Ari had, for wife, Thorgerda, daughter of Alf from Doels; their sons were Thorgil and Gudleif and Illugi, that is the race of the Reyknesings."[1]

This curious paragraph of the Icelandic "Landnámabók" is confirmed by an extract from another ancient saga, where we read that "to the west of Greenland there are great deserts, and, south of these, Markland and Vinland the Good, close to which and somewhat beyond is situated Albania [that is, Hvítramannaland or land of the White men], to which at one time there was sailing from Ireland. There it was that men from Ireland and from Iceland recognized Ari, son of Mar and of Katla from Reykjanes, of whom there had been received no tidings for a long time, and who had then been made a chief by the people of that land." [1]

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[1] See Document XXXI.

The French Cooley [2] interprets these reports as signifying the discovery of a great western country by the Northmen during the ninth century, adding that almost every critic considers them as fabulous traditions. The English Cooley, on the contrary,[3] remarks that the accounts of the Scandinavian sagas have so little poetic decoration in their circumstances, and are so perfectly free in their general design from any admixture of the monstrous or absurd, that it is much easier to believe the reality of the achievements than the invention of the story.

That Ari Marson was no myth sufficiently appears from the list of his ancestors, who obtained a liberal share of Iceland's territory, and from those of his descendants, who played a noble part in the history of the island. One of his progeny was Ari Gellison, surnamed Frode or the Learned,[4] whose memory and veracity are highly praised by the great historian Snorre Sturluson,[5] and who recorded the facts just related, shortly after they took place, and upon the best of information. Rafn, the Limerick sailor, lived but one generation after Ari Marson, and, while sojourning in the metropolis of Munster, at that time the capital of a small Northman kingdom,[1] he could easily gather from the Irish mariners all the news of Hvítramannaland. Intelligence similar to that from Rafn had been received by the author of the "Landnámabók" from the lips of his uncle Thorkel Gellison, whose testimony originated with a contemporary relative of Ari Marson, Thorfinn II., earl of the Orkney Islands, who had been informed himself by eye-witnesses from among the Irish papas that had re-entered his dominion, or by his own men that were roaming on the wide ocean.[2]

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[1] Parchment Codex 770 ^{c} of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, ap. C. Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 214; Moosmüller, S. 147; O'Donoghue, p. 316; alii. See Document XXXIV., *a*.

[2] Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 211.

[3] The History of Maritime and Inland Discovery.

[4] Islendingabók, cap. xii.; Landnámabók, pt. ii. pp. 14, 18, 22; pt. iii. p. 12, etc., ap. Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 210, Append.; Moosmüller, S. 237–239.

[5] Heimskringla, Kap. 189, ap. Beauvois, Découverte, p. 3.

Neither the date of Ari Marson's departure from Iceland nor the time of his sojourn in Great Ireland are given by the ancient chroniclers, but we know from the "Kristni Saga" or history of the introduction of Christianity that Ari was still one of the principal settlers of western Iceland at the time of Bishop Frederic's and Thorwald Kodranson's preaching, which took place in the year 981, according to some authors, or in the winter of 983–984, according to others.[3] We know also that, in the year 997, his son Gudleif was one of the most zealous co-operators of the priest Thangbrand in the conversion of his native country,[4] and that in the year 1000 Christianity was declared and established by the Althing or national convention as the public and official religion of the island, although the few remaining pagans preserved their religious freedom.[1] Since, therefore, Ari Marson was baptised in Great Ireland and not in Iceland, as the vast majority of his countrymen and his own children, it is highly probable that his arrival in America took place before the end of the tenth century. It is generally admitted that the year 982 is the date of his voyage.[2]

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[1] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 4, n. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 5; Gravier, p. 124; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 212; von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 273.

[3] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 7, ref. to Kristni Saga, Kap. i.; Groenl. Hist. Mindesm, t. i. p. 151; Munch, parte i. t. ii. pp. 280, 344–354.

[4] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 8.

Shortly after,—in A.D. 999,[3]—another Icelander sailed to a part of our continent, which, judging from the particulars of the ancient narrative, is doubtless the same Ireland the Great where Ari Marson was detained.

Björn Asbrandson of Kamb entertained unholy relations with a married woman of Frodha, named Thuride, the sister of Snorre, godha or prefect of Helgafell. At the request of her husband and through the co-operation of Snorre, the villain was brought before the court of Thorsness and condemned to three years' banishment from the country. Shortly after Thuride bore a son named Kjartan, whose legitimacy was strongly doubted. Björn left Iceland for Denmark about the year 986, and soon went farther on to the dreaded pirates' nest of Jomsburg, on the Pomeranian island Usedom, where, under the leadership of the famous Palnatoke, then of Stirbjörn, chief of Sweden, and afterwards of Palnatoke once more,[4] he earned, by his daring deeds, the title of "Breidhavikingakappe" or champion of Breidhavik. He re-entered his native country about A.D. 996, but his passion blinded him still and soon involved him in new difficulties, in consequence of which he promised Snorre to expatriate himself again.[5]

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[1] Hin forna, pt. i. p. xxi; Maurer, Island., S. 81, 82.

[2] Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 208; von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 273; O'Donoghue, p. 316; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 8, n. 4.

[3] Rafn, Mémoire sur la Découverte, p. 28; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 8.

[4] Herbermann, Torfason's Ancient Vinland, p. 64; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 227, *seq.*

[5] Gravier, p. 125, *seq.*; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 27; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 9.

"One day after, Björn went south to Raunhaven and made himself ready there to sail away at once. Under full canvas they were taken out by a northeast wind which blew almost constantly till the fall. Of the ship nothing was traced since a long time."[1]

Björn's voyage took place in the year 999;[2] and not until the end of St. Olaf's reign, or, as it is generally admitted, until the year 1027,[3] were any tidings received of him. These were brought by the Icelander Gudleif, whom adverse winds had carried from Ireland to Great Ireland, as we read in the "Eyrbyggja Saga:"[4]

". . . The man was called Gudleif. He was son of Gudlaugh the Rich, of Straumfiord, and brother of Thorfinn, from whom the Sturlings are descended. Gudleif was a great seaman. He had a great trading-vessel; but Thorolf, son of Eyralopt, had one too. It was they that fought with Gyrth, son of the Earl Sigwald, and Gyrth lost an eye. It was about the days of King Olaf the Saint, when Gudleif had sailed on a mercantile voyage to Dublin. But he sailed westward to navigate home to Iceland. He moved along the West of Ireland, and a strong northeast wind arose, and drove him a long time westward into the high seas and towards the Southwest, so that they knew not in what direction to find land. And then was the summer much advanced, and they made many vows, so that they should be carried out of the ocean; and it came to pass, that they were finally in sight of land. It was a great land, but they knew not what land it was. Gudleif took the resolution that they should make for the land, because they could bear no longer the fatigues of the sea. They found there a good haven, and after they had been on the land a little while men came to meet them. They knew not a man there, but somehow they thought that they spoke Irish. Suddenly came to them such great numbers that they made several hundreds. These men attacked them sharply, and captured all hands and led them in bonds and dragged them farther up into the country. There they were led before a council, that tried them. But they disagreed, for some willed that they should be killed at once, and some willed that they should be transported into the country and be slaves. And before this was settled they saw a large troop ride down, and there was a standard borne in the midst of the crowd. They thought, therefore, that there must be chiefs among the band. But before that crowd had now come to them they saw that under the standard was riding a man, tall and dignified, and who was much advanced in age, and his hair was white. All the men who were present bowed to that man and gratified him all they could. They found out that it was he that now managed the whole trial and the decision of their case. Then the elderly man sent after Gudleif's crew, and when they came before that man he spoke to them in the Norse tongue, and asked of what countries they were. They said to him that they were mainly Icelanders. The man asked who they were that were Icelanders. Gudleif said that he was an Icelander, and then saluted this old man, who, therefore, received him well, and asked from what part of Iceland he was. And Gudleif said that he was from the dominion which is called Borgarfiord. Then he asked from what place of Borgarfiord he was, and Gudleif said what place it was.

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[1] See Document XXXII., *a*.

[2] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 28; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 8; Gravier, p. 131.

[3] Gravier, p. 131; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 17; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 28; Moosmüller, S. 153.

[4] Kap. lxiv.

After that, that man inquired after nearly each and all the important men of Borgarfiord or Breidhafiord. And before they told him this, he inquired minutely after all the people, especially after the prefect Snorre and Thuride, of Frodha, his sister, and, most of all, after Kjartan, her son, who was a land-owner there.

"The men of the land cried out in their turn that some council should be convened regarding the ship's crew. After that, this great man went away from them, and took with him twelve men from among his people, and they sat a long time talking together. After that they went back to the crowd, and then the great man spoke thus to those of Gudleif: 'We and the people of the country have talked somewhat about your case, and the people of the country have now given it in my power; but I will now give you leave to sail from now on whither soever you are willing, but though you think the summer to be now much to the end, yet will I give you this advice, that you start abroad from here quickly, because the people here are not reliable, and bad to deal with; and they think that the law has heretofore been broken to their detriment.' Gudleif answered: 'What shall we say, if we were ever to come to our fatherland: who has given us this deliverance?' He answered: 'I must say you nothing of that, because I want not this: my friends or brethren of war to have a voyage to this country, as you would have had, if you had not had me with you; but now is my age become such,' said he, 'that this life may be over at any moment and misery rise over my head; but though I live yet a while, there are here in the country some men richer than I, who would give little peace to foreign people, if they should come, although they are not now near this place, where they were to come.' Then he gave them help to make their ship ready for sea, and was with them there, until a favorable wind came, so that they were able to set sail. And before Gudleif separated from him, this man took a golden ring from his hand, and placed it in the hands of Gudleif, and, therewith, a good sword. Then spoke he to Gudleif: 'If they were ever to come to Iceland, then shalt thou take this sword to Kjartan, the landowner at Frodha, but the ring to Thuride, his mother,' Gudleif said: 'What shall I say to them, who sent them these things?' He answered: 'Say, which is certain, that he sent them who was with her more familiar at Frodha than at the godha's, her brother's, at Helgafell. But if some man know who has owned these things, then declare him my word: that I forbid every man to set out to find me, because he would be in the greatest dangers, unless the men should take that route fit to land, that you have taken; but the country here is vast and bad as for havens, and everywhere is ill will shown to foreign men, unless they be so favored, as now has happened to you.'

"After that Gudleif led them to the sea, and they made Ireland late in autumn, and they were there in Dublin during the winter. But the following summer they sailed to Iceland, and Gudleif got then those presents off his hands; and they hold for certain that that man has been Björn Breidhavikingakappe, but nothing certain have we about this, but that which was just said."[1]

The history of Björn Asbrandson and the adventure of Gudleif Gudlaughson are strange and romantic, indeed; and yet we could not doubt the truthfulness of the simple, artless narrative made by the Eyrbyggja

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[1] See Document XXXII., *b*.

Saga, which is one of the most reliable Icelandic histories, while its heroes are well-authenticated personages whose names are clearly mentioned in the Landnámabók, the historic genealogy in Iceland. The voyages to our continent of Björn from Iceland, and of Gudleif from and to Ireland again, can be set down as real, actual facts.[1]

We do not know whether the advice of Björn was heeded by his countrymen, but it is rather likely that the fears of the old man had a contrary effect upon the stout mariners, whose delight it was to glide along the most abrupt and most distant shores, and whose sportive vocation, to deal or to receive deadly blows. More than one Northman has probably made it the object of his fearless ambition to go and survey the mysterious country where Ari Marson and the champion of Breidhavik had risen to power.[2]

Be this as it may, it is well known that, as we shall notice farther on, several expeditions were undertaken by the Northmen of Greenland to various parts of the American continent about the same time that Björn and Gudleif sailed to Great Ireland.

Our subject requires that we should anticipate a few particulars of one or two of their naval excursions.

Thorwald, son of the Greenland magnate Eric the Red, renewed, in the year 1002, the voyage which, the previous year, his brother Leif had made to Vinland, the modern New England States. In the spring of the following year he despatched some of his men in his long-boat towards the South and the West, on an exploring expedition, which lasted until the fall. The success was hardly satisfactory, for, while they found fine countries, they did not espy any trace of man indicative of former visits by civilized people; with the single exception of a wooden shed, built on an island far to the West, apparently for the purpose of sheltering corn or other country produce. Their labor was useless, unless their report have given occasion to later voyages.[1]

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[1] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 16; Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 215, *seq.*

[2] Gravier, p. 135.

In the spring of the year 1007 the famous Scandinavian, Thorfinn Karlsefne, fitted out a ship at Brattalidha, Greenland's capital, and made other preparations for a permanent settlement on continental America. Accompanied by two other vessels, he took with him all the necessary arms, implements, and cattle. Quite a number of men and five women embarked in the undertaking. They had coasted our eastern shores a great distance to the South, and afterwards in a westerly direction, when they landed in a country where no snow fell and where their animals could graze all winter. Thorhall, one of the party, proposed to return to the North, in search of a region discovered a few years before and called Vinland; but only a few men with him left the main body of the colonists, and adverse winds, the saga says, drove them to Ireland, where they all were reduced to slavery. Thorfinn, on the contrary, and his men erected habitations in the lovely new country.

One morning a great number of canoes appeared in sight, and Thorfinn hung out his token of peace, a white shield. The dark, broad-faced natives understood the signal, and approached confidently. A lively trade was soon established between the natives and the new-comers, a quantity of valuable gray furs being exchanged for narrow strips of red woven cloth at first, and afterwards for white meats prepared by the five women. This splendid business of the Northmen was, however, disturbed one day by one of their cattle, that, bellowing innocently, proceeded from the woods to the trading-post; for no sooner had the Skraelings, as the colonists called the aborigines, heard and seen the huge beast, than they all took to their heels and disappeared as fast as they could in their canoes. They had fled for their lives, and never returned but to do away with men who kept such dreadful brutes.

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[1] Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 40; Moosmüller, S. 87; Aa. passim.

Indeed, when looked for no longer, the Skraelings returned at the beginning of the next winter, more numerous than ever, armed and yelling loudly. Thorfinn brought forward the red shield, but it did not stay their courage. In vain did the Northmen produce one of their oxen; the natives gave proof of their resolution by sending a perfect shower of arrows and stones upon the strangers, whom they succeeded in frightening in turn, and in driving towards the woods. Several men fell on both sides, but the Northmen continued to lose ground. One of them was found dead with his axe by his side. A native picked up the steel weapon, tried it on a tree, and wondered; but, having used it upon a stone, and seeing its edge dulled and broken, he flung it away with contempt. His companions, meanwhile, continued their pursuit, and would have exterminated the colony had it not been for a woman, Freydisa, who, brandishing the sword of Thorbrand Snorrason, who had been killed by a flattened stone hurled by the assailants, boldly posted herself in front of the Skraelings, who, frightened as at the sight of a supernatural being, stopped, turned back, and disappeared with their canoes.

Thorfinn and nearly all his men were saved, but, as they could no longer consider their settlement secure against the daring assaults of the natives, they wisely resolved to abandon the undertaking and return to Greenland. The two vessels were soon laden and rigged. The one commanded by Bjarne Grimolfson was, it is stated, driven out of her way, and perished, worm-eaten, in the sea of Ireland. Thorfinn coasted eastward at first, and then to the North, sailing past Vinland to his old Greenland home. One incident of his return should not be overlooked. We here translate it literally:[1]

"As they then sailed away from Vinland, southern weather took them, and they then hit Markland, and found there five Skraelings, and one was bearded; there were two women and two children. The companions of Karlsefne took these, but the others got away, and the Skraelings were absorbed down in the earth. They [the Northmen] had with them these two boys, who learned their language and were baptized. They called their mother Vethilda, and their father Uvaege. They said that kings governed the Skraelings, and one of them had name Avaldania, but one, Valdidia. They told that there was no house there; the men lay there in caves and holes. They said, there lay another great land opposite their land, where the men had settled, who were [walked] in white clothes, and bore poles afore themselves, to which were fastened pieces of cloth, and who screamed hard; and they think that that has been White-man's Land or Ireland the Great."[2]

This closing remark of the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, almost identical with the statement of the Landnámabók,[3] evidently proves that the knowledge of a portion of the western hemisphere, under the name of Great Ireland, was as common among the ancient Scandinavians of Iceland and Greenland as it was in Ireland, where Rafn, the Limerick merchant, had heard of it; and in the Orkneys, where the earl Thorfinn had incidentally mentioned the name long before Thorfinn Karlsefne heard the report of the Skraeling youths.[1] Nay, and this is rather remarkable, the name of Ireland the Great, Irlandah-al-Kabirah,—together with an indication, though not altogether correct, of its location, is found in the learned works of the Arabian geographer Edrisi, who flourished between the years 1099 and 1175.[2]

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[1] See Document XXXIII.

[2] Cf. Rafn, Antiquitates Americanæ, pp. 161, 182; Mémoire sur la Découverte, p. 10, *seq.*; Beauvois, La Découverte, pp. 19–21; Peschel, Zeitalter, S. 82, n. 1; Gravier, pp. 81, *seq.*, 103; Reeves, p. 51.

[3] Supra, p. 76.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the rather illogical disbelief of Short,[3] who admits the statements of the Icelandic sagas as being beyond discussion, we could not seriously doubt the real existence of Great Ireland as a special country on the Atlantic border of North America.[4] Reeves,[5] who mistakes in asserting that "the sum of information which we possess concerning White-man's Land or Ireland the Great is confined to the passage from the Landnámabók," relating the adventure of Ari Marson,[6] says that "it does not seem possible from these very vague notices to arrive at any sound conclusions concerning the location of this country, which he consequently styles a 'terra incognita.'"

The fact, however, is that we have ample and various sources from which to determine the geographical position of Great Ireland.

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[1] Cronau, p. 141, mistakes, therefore, in asserting that Karlsefne first gave the name of Ireland the Great, after its description by the young savages.

[2] Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 105; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 41.

[3] P. 152.

[4] Cf. Beamish, Discovery, p. 209.

[5] P. 179.

[6] Supra, p. 76.

The Landnámabók, as we noticed before,[1] states that White-man's Land lay in the ocean at six days' sail to the west of Ireland. Already Torfæus remarks,[2] before Rafn,[3] that probably the copyists of the original, now lost, could not well read the dimmed number, and wrote VI. instead of XX., XI., or XV., as meant by the author, who further declares that Great Ireland was situated near Good Wineland,—that is, the present New England States,—as we shall notice in the proper place.

The Icelandic Codex is quite particular in its enumeration of the various countries which succeed one another from North to South along the Atlantic shore of North America: "Now there are, as is said before, to the south of Greenland, which is inhabited, deserts, wildernesses, and mountains of ice; then follow the Skraelings; then Markland; then comes Vinland the Good; next to it, and a little higher, lies Albania, —that is, Hvítramannaland,—to which there was at one time sailing from Ireland. There it is that Irish and Icelandic men recognized Ari, son of Mar and of Katla of Reykjanes, who had not been heard of for a long time, and had been taken there as a chief by the inhabitants."[4]

Besides this, three other ancient fragments of Icelandic geography clearly exclude Great Ireland, adjacent to Vinland, from any position betwixt this latter country and Greenland.

"To the South from Greenland lies Helluland, then Markland; from there it is not far to Vinland, which some men think that it goes to Africa."[5]

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[1] Supra, p. 76.

[2] Vinlandia Ant., cap. xxix., p. 239, ap. Moosmüller, S. 149.

[3] Antiquitates, p. 214.

[4] See Document XXXIV., *a;* supra, p. 77; Mallet, p. 265; Beamish, Discovery, p. 183.

[5] See Document XXXIV., *a*.

The "Gripla"[1] says, "Now it is to be mentioned what lies opposite Greenland, out from the bay. It is Furdustrandir; there are severe frosts there, so that it is not habitable as far as is known. South from thence is Helluland, which is called Skraelingsland; south from thence it is not far to Vinland the Good, which, some think, goes to Africa."[2]

Finally, the third geographical notice follows an inverse direction: "Westward the great sea of Spain, which some call Ginnungagap, that goes between the lands; then they name it, towards the North, first, Vinland the Good; next they name Markland, still to the North; then there are deserts, where the Skraelings dwell; then there are deserts still till Greenland."[3]

From this last statement, combined with the fact that it was about Markland or Nova Scotia that Thorfinn seized his young captives, Beauvois concludes that White-man's Land, said to lie opposite that of the Skraelings, was probably located on the left banks of the St. Lawrence River.[4] This conclusion is, however, directly disproved by the statement of Great Ireland's location beyond Vinland, to the South. The apparent difficulty which carried the learned antiquarian's opinion is easily solved when we remember that the Skraelings—more generally known as the Esquimaux—were, in former ages, wandering over a more extensive and more southern country than at present. This fact is attested by both ancient documents and by the study of those people's skeletons discovered along our eastern shores. They were slowly driven to their glaciers by more warlike southwestern tribes.[1]

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[1] Cf. Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 215; Gleeson, vol. i. p. 210; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 84; De Costa, The Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 185; MS. No. 192 of Arna-Magneana Collection and Groenl. Hist. Mindesm, t. iii. p. 220.

[2] Cf. Document XXXIV., *a*.

[3] Ibid., *b*.

[4] La Découverte, p. 42.

Moreover, the noted direction of Björn Asbrandson's voyage from Iceland under a steady northeast wind,[2] and of Gudleif's, who was driven a long time to the west and then to the southwest of Ireland, to a country where Irish was spoken:[3] this direction, we must observe, perfectly agrees with the Icelandic geographical information in locating White-man's Land in the southeastern part of our United States. Rafn, therefore, thinks that Great Ireland corresponded to the States south of the Chesapeake Bay, and, in particular, with the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida.[4] Von Humboldt is of the same opinion when saying, "In the older sagas, the Landnámabók and the narrative of Thorfinn Karlsefne, the southern coasts between Virginia and Florida are designated under the name of Land of the White Men."[5] Another competent authority, Charney, likewise says that Texas, the Floridan peninsula, the valleys of the Mississippi, Georgia, and the two Carolinas were named White-man's Land or Great Ireland by the Icelandic sagas.[6]

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 26.

[2] Supra, p. 80.

[3] Supra, p. 81.

[4] Mémoire, p. 27.

[5] Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 272.

[6] Cités et Ruines, 1861, p. 18, ap. Gleeson, vol. i. p. 212, n. 1.

CHAPTER V.

EVIDENCES OF IRISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

THE fact of our sunny South being known in several countries of the Old World under the significant apelation of White-man's Land or Ireland the Great evidently suggests the idea that, long since, it had been visited or even settled by some European nation, by the Irish; and this induction is fully sustained by several particulars upon which we have touched already.

We have noticed, indeed,[1] that when Thorfinn Karlsefne had settled in the southern parts of Vinland (consequently in the relative proximity of Great Ireland), he hung out his emblem of peace—a white shield—at the sudden appearance of a multitude of savage natives; and these perfectly understood the signal, as well as afterwards the contrary meaning of Thorfinn's red buckler.[2] This incident has doubtless puzzled many a reader, but the Scandinavian commander supposed or knew that the military signals of the Northmen, so much dreaded on every European coast, had been explained to, and probably made use of by, the settlers of White-man's Land in their intercourse with the American natives of their neighborhood. If the Skraelings recognized the European military tokens, they must, in some way, have previously come in contact with representatives of European civilization; and this, as far as we can presume, had been possible only in the colony of the White men. It is, moreover, a curious fact that the signal-colors of peace and of war used in the northwestern countries of Europe were not only understood in the northern continent of America, but were also admitted in the ancient kingdom of Peru;[1] as if the Scandinavians or the Irish should have, at one time, extended their excursions as far south as the land of the Incas.

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[1] Supra, pp. 85, 86.

[2] See Document XXXIV., *c*.

The American aborigines did not, however, possess, nor did they even know the value of, European implements of war. They sent forth volleys of flint-headed arrows and of flattened stones, but they fought with no iron hammers nor steel swords and battle-axes, throwing the latter away when seeing that they would not cleave a stone.[2] It is well known that in no part of our continent did the natives understand how to utilize iron or steel at the time of the Spanish discovery. We shall not produce Björn Asbrandson's present to Kjartan of Frodha as a proof of the existence of steel weapons and implements in the colony of Great Ireland;[3] but that in olden times iron tools had been used in that country clearly follows from the tradition of the Shawanese Indians who migrated from Florida to Ohio in the year 1754, and testify that the former State had at one time been inhabited by a white people that had come across the ocean and made use of iron implements. Black Hoof, one of their chiefs, and about ninety years old, said, in A.D. 1819, that he remembered having heard, when a boy, his parents relate how they had seen pieces of wood worked with tools of iron.[4] The tradition further states that when, long ago, their ancestors first landed in Florida they found there buildings and customs very unlike their own.[1] Did the European settlers mix with this tribe? We could not assert, but it is remarkable that the Shawanese are the only Indians who claim a foreign origin; and until lately they celebrated a yearly festival in commemoration of their forefathers' happy arrival from a transmarine country. It is furthermore worth noticing that this tribe is the only one of our country which offers sacrifices to obtain the good will and assistance of the Great Spirit before entering into treaties with foreigners or deciding upon any matter of importance. In such cases they sacrifice the best of their game.[2]

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[1] Prescott, Conquest of Peru, vol. i. p. 119.

[2] Supra, p. 86; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 155.

[3] Supra, p. 83.

[4] Johnston, Account of the present state of the Indian tribes inhabiting Ohio, in Archæologia Americana, t. i. p. 273, ap. Moosmüller, S. 150; Beamish, Discovery, p. 209; Assal, Nachrichten, S. 87.

This Indian testimony is highly interesting, yet some authors justly notice the possibility of its relating to the Spaniards who landed in Florida towards the middle of the sixteenth century, rather than to European immigrants anterior to the eleventh; and, therefore, we consider as more conclusive, in regard to Great Ireland, the argument derived from a lapidary inscription unearthed, in the year 1839, at Grave Creek Mound, Marshall County, Virginia. The inscription has not been satisfactorily deciphered yet, but our learned antiquarian Schoolcraft considers it most probable, and Rafn has no doubt, that the chiselling was done before the close of the tenth century by the Celts either from Iberia or from Ireland.[3]

An evidence, plainer and more authentic than the Grave Creek tombstone, of the relative progress and culture of Great Ireland is what we might call another monument, as unique as, though more unpretending than, the former, and likewise found within the limits of the White people's territory. We mean the wooden corn-shed[1] which the companions of Thorwald, on their five months' exploring cruise to the south and southwest of Rhode Island, discovered in one of the most western isles to which they proceeded.[2] While the barbarous natives of the whole eastern coast had not one house to live in, but lay down in caverns and holes;[3] while, until this day, our Indian tribes dwell in miserable tents of sods, poles, and skins; there, in the fine climate of the South, is found a regular edifice, indicative of a certain degree of mechanism and of architecture as well as of wise providence, destined for the shelter and preservation of food for man and beast. De Costa[4] justly remarks that "a building of this character would point to Europeans, who, according to the minor narratives of the sagas, preceded the Icelanders in America." Had Thorwald's men explored better the adjacent continent, it is likely that they would have met with good comfortable residences of the foreign immigrants; for, in the "Episode of Thorfinn Karlsefne," we read that these took a decent care of their persons, dressing in such clothing as testifies to no mean progress[5] in various arts, such as spinning and weaving.

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[1] Nadaillac, America, p. 526.

[2] Assal, Nachrichten, S. 87.

[3] Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, pp. 126, 158.

The latest discoverers noticed in Florida a higher degree of civilization than in any other part of North America, if Mexico be excepted. When, in A.D. 1539, De Soto landed in the bay of Espiritu Santo (now Tampa Bay), he found the residence of the natives' chief, "the lord's house," good enough to establish himself in it; while the other buildings of the aboriginal town offered to his soldiers sufficient material for the erection of their barracks.[1] Farther north, at the large town of Cale, in the southern portion of Alachua County, he met with tokens of thrift and providence; for it is said that his troops fell upon the stored provisions and ravaged the fields of maize with the eagerness of famished men.[2]

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[1] Fundu their Kornhjalm af trè.

[2] Supra, pp. 84, 85.

[3] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 183; supra, p. 87.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 108, n. 2.

[5] Supra, p. 87.

As he moved northward he saw signs of more advanced industry. The houses of Toalli were covered with roofs of small canes, placed so neatly together that they offered an appearance of tiles. The walls of some were made of poles interwoven and covered in such an artistic manner that these walls seemed to be built of stone and lime. The dwellings of the caciques were roomy and commodious, and distinguished from the others by the modern luxury of a balcony over the entrance. Great skill was shown by the north Floridan people in the manufacture of cloth from grass or fibrous bark; and the deer-skins, of which they made leggings and other articles, were admirably well dressed and dyed.[3]

Brownell states that the Indians of Florida are represented by all early historians as a high-spirited race, showing considerable skill in agriculture and exhibiting marks of far greater civilization than those of the North.[4]

Some authors are of the opinion that the Floridan tribes, exhibiting signs of a culture unknown in all the rest of our United States, must at some late period have immigrated from civilized Mexico. We, however, think that they were rather the abandoned and fallen descendants of the Irish colonies slowly absorbed by the American aborigines.

In regard to clothing, the people of the southeastern parts of the present United States, at the beginning of the eleventh century, again, far excelled the neighboring natives, who, covered with the pelts of their game, were so delighted with the novelty of a woven fabric that they readily gave the richest furs for a strip of a finger's breadth of common cloth.[1]

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[1] Brownell, p. 113.

[2] Ibid., p. 117.

[3] Ibid., p. 121.

[4] P. 111.

A further proof of European civilization in Great Ireland consists in the fact of its inhabitants having the use of large domesticated animals; for, while the aborigines of the adjoining countries fled in dismay at the appearance of a bellowing bovine,[2] while an ox was expected by Thorfinn Karlsefne to turn back an army of Skraelings, we read that the old man, Björn Asbrandson, approached Gudleif, riding a horse under a flag or a canopy in the centre of a troop of horsemen.[3] This statement of the sagas is all the more remarkable, as it is well known that no specimens of the equine species were ever found on American soil by later discoverers; from which it would seem that these useful companions of civilized man became extinct on our continent, together with the settlements to which they had originally been shipped across the Atlantic Ocean.

Some authors have so keenly felt the probatory power of this argument as to venture the denial of the sagas' correctness in this particular,[4] while others, convinced of the perfect truthfulness of the Icelandic records, have tried to interpret the original expressions in such a manner as to escape the natural conclusion. Thus Rafn, who translates, however, the Icelandic statement into the Latin,—"Ingentem cohortem virorum equis advehi conspexerunt . . . viderunt sub vexillo equitare virum,"[5]—and Munch[6] remark that the verb "reidha," although generally used to express riding on horseback, properly means to move on without the use of the feet, and may thus signify being carried in a sedan or portable chair. But if this ingenious explanation might be admitted in regard to an elderly chief, it is evidently preposterous in its attempted application to a great crowd of natives,[1] who, though barbarous enough to know nothing of horses, should all have indulged in the Oriental luxury of being carried in litters.[2]

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[1] Supra, p. 85.

[2] Supra, p. 86.

[3] Supra, p. 81.

[4] Müller, Sagabibliothek, Bd. i. S. 194.

[5] Document XXXII.; Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 248.

[6] Det Norske Folks Historie, pt. i. t. ii. p. 464, n. 2.

Nor should we wonder at finding in Great Ireland all these tokens of material and civil progress, when we meet there with the most essential practice and the saving spirit of that religion which always was and is yet the only teacher and protector of true and absolute civilization. The sagas give a plain and concise but striking testimony when they state that Ari Marson was baptized in Hvítramannaland.[3] What else, indeed, can we conclude from this fact so simply told, than that Christianity had been introduced into this portion of America? Torfæus supposes that the holy rite may have been conferred by a Bishop Jón or John, who from Greenland had sailed to Scandinavian Vinland or the present New England States; but it is well known that this bishop must have arrived rather late to convert and baptize Ari Marson, having been in Iceland—not in Greenland—no sooner than the middle of the eleventh century, 1049–1053. Moreover, the northern historian has here egregiously confounded the American Vinland with the Vindland or land of the Wendes in the North of modern Prussia, where the same Bishop Jón suffered martyrdom in the year 1066.

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[1] Flokr mikill.

[2] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 23, n. 5; Gravier, p. 132, n. 1.

[3] Supra, p. 76; see Document XXXI.

Rafn, to explain the undeniable yet puzzling statement, makes several suppositions, one as unlikely as another. But it is easily understood that Ari must have been persuaded to embrace Christianity and have been instructed in it, in a country where our holy religion predominated already at the end of the tenth century, and whose inhabitants were by his conversion rather inclined to establish him a magistrate among them than dissuaded from so doing.[1] This facile induction is further supported by the probable opinion of the learned, who consider the information received by Thorfinn Karlsefne from the Skraeling captives in regard to Great Ireland as a fitting description, in barbarian style, of a Christian procession, in which religious banners were carried aloft by clerics dressed in white linen and singing psalms and holy hymns.[2] From .all these reports it is evident, says Gravier,[3] that White-man's Land was settled by a Christian nation.

The names under which these ancient American settlements were familiarly known to the Scandinavians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, both of White-man's Land and of Ireland the Great, are by themselves satisfactory proof that the settlers were none other than Irish Papas, who, says the "Historia Norwegiæ," written in the twelfth century, were thus called because of the white garments which they wore like the clerics designated in German as Papas, "Pfaffen."[4] "How," Beamish asks, "could the name of Great Ireland have arisen but from the fact of the country having been colonized by the Irish, called White men by the neighboring Esquimaux?" Rask, the eminent Danish philologist, who thinks there exists some similitude between the Hiberno-Celtic and the American Indian dialects, also considers the name of Írland it mikla to be a sufficient indication of the Irish having immigrated there from their native isle.[1] "Judging from the ancient documents, we can have no doubt," says the learned Rafn,[2] "that Great Ireland was settled before the year 1000 by a Christian colony from Ireland."

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[1] Supra, p. 76; Torfæus, Hist. Eccl. Isl., pp. 87–89; Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. i. p. 165, ap. Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 6 and n. 3, p. 7 and n. 1; Hugues, p. 35.

[2] Supra, p. 87; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 23; Document XXXIII.

[3] P. 124.

[4] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 30 and n. 4, p. 39.

Some authors, it is true, secure the credit of cautious criticism, by hesitating to admit as an historical fact the existence of the ancient colonies of Ireland in our country; and of such we find a remarkable example in De Costa, who says, "Ari Marson's connection with Ireland the Great, though undoubtedly real, hardly proves what may nevertheless be true, a pre-Scandinavian discovery of America by the Irish. This not improbable view demands clearer proof and will repay investigation."[3] They all, however, agree in establishing the possibility and even the high probability of the facts which they choose to doubt. The same De Costa writes[4] that "the Irish of early times might easily have passed over to the Western Continent, for which voyage they undoubtedly had facilities." Bancroft[5] states that "there is no great improbability that the natives of Ireland may have reached, by accident or otherwise, the northeastern coasts of the new continent in very early times. Justin Winsor[6] takes likewise a prudent step, saying, "The extremely probable and almost necessary pre-Columbian knowledge of the northern parts of America follows from the venturesome spirit of the sailors of the North Atlantic seas after fish and traffic, and from the easy transitions from coast to coast, by which they would have been lured to meet more southerly climes." The great northern scholars Rafn and Rask are more explicit in the statement of their conviction: "The Land of the White men," says the former, "was situate across the Chesapeake Bay, corresponding to the present States of Virginia and North Carolina, with tracts of land farther to the West. The saga of Karlsefne as well as the Landnámabók testifies that this country was also called Great Ireland, giving thus to understand that the White men were Irishmen, who had settled in America before the year 1000; and these were Christians, as appears from Ari Marson's baptism." He adds that many expert and learned men have noticed some vestiges of the Irish among the native tribes of our continent. He doubts, however, how far the immigrants from Ireland may have extended their colonies and at what time they may first have arrived.

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[1] Beamish, Discovery, pp. 210, 212.

[2] Mémoire, p. 27.

[3] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 163, n. 1; von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 272; Mallet, p. 266; alii.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 16.

[5] Vol. v. p. 122.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 33.

Rask observes that some philologists pretend to have found similarities between the Irish language and the eastern idioms of North America. "We may believe," he continues, "that some Irish people have immigrated into America, and thus can easily be explained the traditions of the Mexicans anterior to the Spanish conquest in regard to an eastern land across the ocean and its powerful people. It is, moreover, sufficiently known that the Irish had discovered and partly settled Iceland before the Scandinavians took possession of it. Since, therefore, the Icelanders went over to Greenland and together with the Greenlanders discovered North America, it is but natural to admit that the Irish, who at the time were far advanced in science and civilization, should have, from the same islands, started on voyages of exploration, and succeeded as well; even so as to become acquainted with parts more attractive than the frigid regions and to establish themselves farther south. Here is the place," he adds, "to recall to mind the old tradition regarding the region called 'Írland it mikla' or Great Ireland, the name of which clearly intimates that Irish people went there from their native country. History will do justice one day to the Irish and to the Scandinavians, as well as to the Spanish; because it was not the fault of the former if no general communication was established between Europe and America in former periods, but rather the state of utter division of the European nations, which prevented them from knowing either their own interests or even one another."[1]

The probability is evident, and there are no reasons wanting to make us accept as an actual, historical fact the early discovery and settlement of the New World by the Irish nation. Southall[2] admits the existence of clear evidences to prove that, prior to the voyage of Columbus, America had been visited by the Irish.

No other nation, indeed, of Christian Europe ever claimed or was thought of as having any claim to the honor of introducing, before the Northmen, the progress, civilization, and Christianity which we have found to exist in Great Ireland. But while all others are respectfully silent, a neighboring rival people, who could not in the least degree be interested in originating or giving currency to any fable that would deprive them of a national glory forced upon them, concisely, it is true, but candidly and plainly state that their first voyagers to the Western Continent followed the track of Irish vessels, and were there received by Christian Irish colonists.[1]

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[1] Cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 448–450.

[2] P. 21.

We cannot but admit, as most modern writers,[2] that the award of the Northmen in favor of the Irish is as just as it is disinterested, when we consider several facts that bear out the fair recognition.[3]

It is, indeed, no insignificant remark, which we find in an old Icelandic treatise of geography, that to Hvítramannaland or Albania "vessels were formerly sailing from Ireland;"[4] and it may suffice to recall to mind a few recorded voyages to demonstrate the correctness of the statement that in early times Ireland and Great Ireland were the termini of a regular highway between the eastern and the western hemispheres.

The first news of Ari Marson's detention, of his baptism, and of his elevation in Hvítramannaland reached his native country by the way of the Irish city, Limerick; a fact, says Rafn, which shows that of old there existed no uncommon intercourse between Europe's western island and the eastern shores of our country.[5]

When, in the year 1007, Thorfinn Karlsefne set out from Greenland to establish a colony in our northeastern States, he was accompanied by several men worthy of notice, among whom were Bjarne Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason, in different vessels. Thorhall, however, soon became displeased with his leader, and, refusing to follow him farther south, separated from him with nine other men of the expedition. Bad luck overtook them, for it is related that the following year they were driven by violent winds to the coasts of Ireland, where they were cast into slavery.[1]

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[1] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 1; Peschel, Zeitalter, S. 82, n. 1; Beamish, Discovery, p. 211; supra, pp. 76, 77, 87; alibi.

[2] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 6, n. 5, and passim; Moosmüller, S. 20; Gaffarel, p. 279; Herbermann, Torfason, p. 14; Beamish, Discovery, p. 209; Mizzi, p. 15; alii.

[3] Cf. von Humboldt, Relation Historique, t. iii., 1825; and Hakluyt, Voyages and Navigations, vol. iii. p. 4, referred to by Winchell, p. 387.

[4] Supra, p. 77; Mallet, p. 265.

[5] Supra, p. 76; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 27; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 159.

Bjarne Grimolfson fared no better at his return from the expedition in the year 1011. His ship was likewise turned away from its intended northern course to the Irish Sea, where it foundered, perforated by the ship-worm.[2]

We have noticed already that a few years later the Icelander Gudleif sailed, under adverse winds, from the western coast of Ireland to a portion of our eastern shore, which, although distinct from the districts visited by the Northmen, afforded evident signs of European civilization. At a late season of the same year, 1027, too late to reach his native country, he chose to retrace his outward voyage by sailing for Dublin in Ireland.[3]

The Icelandic sagas speak of two more voyages, or rather shipwrecks, of European sailors on the seas between Ireland and our eastern coast, which took place at the time of, or before, the discovery of Leif Ericsson.

It is, indeed, recorded that after Leif had taken on board specimens of our continental produce, and was on his way to Greenland, he found the crew of a wrecked vessel and generously took them along to Brattalidha in Greenland.[4] And again, when, in the year 1007, Thorfinn Karlsefne was on his expedition to settle in the New England States, he discovered on Cape Cod the keel of a vessel; and he considered this event as of sufficient importance to give to the promontory the name of Cape of the Keel, "Kjalarnes."[1] It is easily understood that there can be no question here of the keel of an Indian willow-and-hide canoe.

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 11; Gravier, p. 79.

[2] Gravier, pp. 103, 104; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 14.

[3] Supra, pp. 80, 83.

[4] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 118, 191.

It will, of course, be objected that these voyages do not establish the existence of a regular transatlantic route of navigation at that time, since all but one were the result of pretended storms; but no one will refuse to acknowledge that the mysterious regularity of the adverse winds, in carrying one-half of the vessels which, during the first quarter of the eleventh century, sailed to our eastern coast or departed from it along the natural line of communication between Ireland and Great Ireland, is so remarkable, indeed, that it would be no rash judgment to consider the elements as having been tempered with some interference of the pilots in regard to a route at both ends of which they found the Irish language to be spoken.

The Papas did not, in their distant peregrinations, abandon their mother tongue, as appears from the Irish books which they left behind at their expulsion from Iceland. Here in America Gudleif and his companions heard the Celtic idiom, with which they had become acquainted during their sojourn in Ireland, to be the language of the province in which they landed.[2] De Costa[3] pretends to attach little weight to this significant circumstance, but when we see its import corroborated by several others, which point to the same conclusion, we can hardly doubt that the Irish Papas had done on the western borders of the Atlantic Ocean what they had achieved in its northern recesses. Beauvois is of the opinion that White-man's Land was thus called by the fair Scandinavians, not from the color of its inhabitants, but from that of their clothing, since the white linen garments are known to be those of the Irish settlers, both clerical and lay, in other regions explored and inhabited by them, as in the Orkneys in particular. The horses seen by Gudleif in Great Ireland are the pendant of the sheep introduced into the Faroes by their ancient Irish colonists. If Ari Marson was converted and baptized in Hvítramannaland, the fact could never be understood nor explained without admitting the presence of the Irish monks who had been during the sixth and the subsequent centuries the sole as well as the zealous missionaries of Christianity in all western countries.[1] If this same Ari was, as his countryman, the champion of Breidhavik, detained a captive on the American coast, whilst yet honored and exalted, nothing but the admission of a settlement by the Papas can account for this seeming paradox. The American Irish, as true Christians, bore no ill will towards any stranger, but it was an act of common prudence to try to prevent their distant hiding-place from being revealed to a nation which had so often and so long pursued their brethren and barbarously expelled them from their peaceful colonies on the northern islands, and was yet keeping in thraldom the coasts of their mother country. This self-defensive policy was somewhat relaxed in Gudleif's case, because the conversion of the Northmen had inspired the Papas with a certain amount of confidence in a consequent change of their fierce and rapacious nature.[2]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 139, 171.

[2] Helzt thötti theim, sem their maelti Irsku; supra, p. 81; Moosmüller, S. 186; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 79.

[3] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 175.

The fact of ancient Irish settlements in America, thus established by scanty, it is true, but sufficient historical proofs, is still further borne out by certain vestiges left in our country. "The traces of Irish origin," says Beamish together with Rafn, "which have been observed among some of the Indian tribes of North and Central America, tend also to strengthen the presumption that these countries had been colonized from Ireland at some remote period of time."[1] Such was the costume of the Darien tribe, which Lionel Wafer describes when saying, "They were all in their finest robes, which are long white gowns reaching to their ankles and adorned with fringes at the bottom,"—like those of the Irish Papas.[2] The same author[3] further states that their way of reckoning is much like that of the Highlanders of Scotland and of Ireland, who say, instead of thirty-one, thirty-two, etc., one score and eleven, one score and twelve, while the former say eleven and twenty, twelve and twenty; so also the Highlanders reckon, for fifty-three, thirteen and two score, as the Darien Indians two score and thirteen, only reversing the items.

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[1] Cf. Beauvois, La Découverte, pp. 39, 40.

[2] Ibid., p. 4, n. 1, p. 40.

Some authors also notice as an indication of Irish origin the presence in Central America of persons whose ethnic character quite distinguished from that of the Spanish, recalls the beautiful white type of the human race,[4] when they place this curious particular in connection with the popular traditions of both the Yucatecs and of the Toltecs, according to which their ancestors arrived from the East across the ocean. The inference is weakened, however, by the possibility, though sheer possibility, of the fair natives having derived their remarkable features from the problematic Welsh colonies, of which we are to speak hereafter.[1]

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[1] Beamish, Discovery, p. 211; Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 449: "In indigenis Americæ Septentrionalis reperiri quædam Hibernicæ originis vestigia plures docti et experti viri observaverunt."

[2] Pp. 37, 142, ap. Beamish, Discovery, p. 215.

[3] Ibid., p. 214.

[4] Cf. de Quatrefages, p. 364.

At all events, it seems more correct to state that, while the Toltec tradition, as preserved by the Aztecs, relates that their civilizing god Quetzalcoatl and his companions landed on the shores of the Mexican Gulf, several historians consider the Toltec nation as immigrants from northeastern territories, and in particular from the present State of Ohio.[2] Their forefathers were, it would seem, the famous Mound-builders, and these, it is claimed by some writers, originated from Ireland. We have expressed our own modest opinion, but we do not oppose the persuasion of others who think that many migratory Celts, perhaps many colonies of them, had reached the shores of the Western Continent long before the time of St. Brendan,[3] and that among these the voyager saint exercised his saving and civilizing ministry, and placed the Christian religion on a solid and enduring basis; leaving some of his saintly brethren and zealous successors to spread farther still, from province to province, the light of that religion, of which we have found such numerous and evident vestiges in the Mexican empire and all along the shores of the Pacific Ocean.[4]

Lord Kingsborough supposes,[5] says Short, that the crosses found in Mexico may have been carried there by Irish monks, "especially as Mr. von Humboldt informs us that the first Spanish monks and missionaries gravely discussed the question of whether Quetzalcoatl was an Irishman;" and we venture to conclude that there is great probability of the "Papas" of Quetzalcoatl's teocalli being Irish Papas in olden times.

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[1] Gleeson, vol. ii. p. 343; Nadaillac, Prehistoric America, p. 526; Beamish, Discovery, p. 216.

[2] See supra, vol. i. pp. 77, 78; O'Donoghue, p. 332.

[3] Supra, p. 17, *seq.*

[4] O'Donoghue, p. 330, ref. to Mr. Daly, in The Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1888; Gleeson, Append., part iv.

[5] Mex. Antiq., vol. vi. p. 190, ap. Short, p. 464.

To confirm us in this opinion we have more reasons than the singular coincidence of the honorable name of both Irish and Mexican priests. There is also the coincidence of the epoch in which the Irish missionaries commenced their labors in Hvítramannaland and in which the Toltecs made their appearance on the Mexican plateaux,—to wit, the end of the sixth century; as well as that of the time—namely, the middle of the eleventh century—in which both the Toltec domination and the settlements of Great Ireland mysteriously disappeared from the scene of history.[1]

The reader will have no difficulty in establishing several more similarities between the particulars of our information regarding the Irish colonies in America and the vestiges of Christianity and of its apostles in Mexico and in the neighboring countries. And if well-authenticated facts do not afford us the absolute certainty of our holy religion having been established by the saintly monks of Ireland in several portions of our continent, yet we could not logically deny our assent to a fact which, historically probable, is the only possible explanation of other undeniable, historical realities. We have, indeed, presented superabundant proof of Christianity's existence in Central America shortly before the eleventh century; but no nation whatever, save the Irish who at that time had colonies in Mexico's neighborhood, can be thought of as having sent forth the saintly priests who planted and watered it there.

O'Donoghue[2] forestalls a plausible objection when he says, "To these ancient Irish missions in America it may be objected that if they had taken place there would remain more distinct traces of them in our early histories. It may be replied that many important events of much later American history continued profound secrets to the outer world for several hundred years. The discovery of Greenland by the Northmen in the tenth century, and their colonizations there and farther south on the American continent for nearly four centuries, consisting not merely of scattered settlements, but of organized societies governed by laws and magistrates, such as ruled in Iceland, were utterly unknown to European scholars and historians until the early years of the present century. Robertson, who wrote and published his History of America towards the end of the last century, knew nothing about them. The fact that events as noteworthy as these in American history remained thus unknown for hundreds of years should have taught, as an able writer on this subject remarks, antiquaries, historians, and philosophers of all classes to be less dogmatic in their assertions regarding the events of primeval history, by proving that intercourse and various relations between distant races and nations may have been established and long continued on points and at periods not dreamed of in their theories."

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[1] Supra, vol. i. p. 239; Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 96; Gravier, p. 236, ref. to a letter of Aubin, in Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord, 1840–43, pp. 9–12.

[2] P. 331, n.

We have no positive information regarding the end of the Irish colonies in America, but it seems probable that their fortunes were involved in the ruin of the Toltec empire, which, burdened with the vices of rulers and subjects, gave way to the invading power of the Chichimec tribes. These barbarians, not unlike those who ravaged Christian Europe with fire and sword, are represented as having entered upon the Mexican provinces from a northern direction; and it is not improbable that, before they subverted the venerable temples of Anahuac, they had wended their destructive course through the districts of Hvítramannaland, driven into exile its Christian priesthood, and scattered the better part of the nation among the natives of more southern lands. Ixtlilxochitl, the best authority on the traditions of his country, reports that the Toltecs, migrating from Anahuac on the breaking up of their empire, spread themselves over Guatemala, Tehuantepec, Goatzacoalco, Campeachy, Tecolotlan, and the coasts and neighboring isles of both the North- and the South Seas.[1] Neither are there reasons wanted for believing that the Toltecs, or at least some of their clergy, extended their migration or their flight still farther to the South and reached the provinces of Peru. We have noticed before that the primeval civilization of this country had degenerated and fallen to the lowest level of idolatry and brutishness;[2] but we have observed also that afterwards the Peruvians had been elevated to a high degree of mental and material culture, and the first missionaries of the fifteenth century were greatly astonished to find them in possession of several tenets of Christian doctrine and practising a number of Christian rites. This remarkable improvement, or, better, this radical change, had taken place about four hundred years before the coming of the Spaniards, early in the twelfth century, and shortly after the ruin of the Toltec dominion in Anahuac; or even a hundred years earlier, according to Balboa and Velasco,[3] when the spiritual power of Quetzalcoatl's disciples and their spirit of proselytism were at their zenith.

A popular tradition of the Peruvians ascribed their redemption from savagism and their knowledge of sciences, arts, and religion to the wise teachings of their first Inca, Manco Capac, and of his incestuous sister, Mama Oello, children of the Sun, whom the great luminary had sent to raise them up from their degraded condition. This legend, even when divested of its supernatural circumstances, is not deserving of serious consideration. The fundamental tenet of religious truth—of the existence of one supreme God, creator and preserver of all things—was countenanced by the accommodating policy of the Incas, but not introduced by them, as appears from the fact that the temple of Pachacamac was built, at a great distance from Lake Titicaca and Cuzco, the Inca sacred places, and long before the advent of the Peruvian dynasty.

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[1] Relaciones, MS. No. 5, ap. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, vol. iii. p. 397 and n. 93.

[2] Supra, vol. i. p. 254.

[3] Prescott, Conquest of Peru, vol. i. p. 11, n. 12.

Nor was this tradition the only one, current among the aborigines of Peru, explanatory of their wonderful progress and refinement. Another, probably more generally received, speaks of certain white and bearded men, who established their ascendency over the natives and imparted to them the blessings of civilization. Prescott justly remarks, as would every observer, that this may remind us of the tradition existing among the Aztecs in respect to Quetzalcoatl and his companions, who, with similar garb and features, came from the East on a like benevolent mission to the natives; and the analogy is the more remarkable, he adds, as there is no trace of any communication with, or even knowledge of, each other to be found in the two nations.[1] Fray Betanzos relates still another tradition, which greatly resembles those of Central America in regard to Quetzalcoatl. "There is a Peruvian myth," he says, "according to which, long after the creation by the Deity, a great and beneficent being appeared at Tiahuanaco. He went from Titicaca to Cuzco, where he set up a chief named Alcaviza, and from thence went on through the country until he disappeared on the sea at Puerto Viejo." It is also stated that the people of Canas attacked him, but were converted by a miracle, and built a great temple in honor of this being, or rather of his god Viracocha, who was also called Pachacamac. This temple, now a ruin, always was in its structure and arrangement quite unique in Peru.[1]

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[1] Conquest of Peru, vol. i. p. 10.

These latter traditions, understood according to the interpretation we have ventured to propose, form the only available key to the mysteries of Peruvian civilization, of the vestiges of Christianity found in that country, and of its general government, planned, as it were, upon the rules and constitutions of a religious Order, where authority is as paternal as absolute, and obedience as voluntary as punctual. We find, indeed, no incongruity in admitting that the Irish Papas may have done in Mexico and Peru what the Jesuits in modern times have done in Paraguay; and that their charitable work and brilliant success were afterwards obscured and impaired by both the human proclivity to moral decay and the incursions of barbarous tribes, which introduced into the conquered provinces the abominations of their savagery and cruel worship, while at the same time they adopted a portion of the religion and civilization of the vanquished, and were, therefore, by several writers given the credit of having originated whatever they had left intact of former sound doctrines and polished institutions.[2]

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[1] Winsor, vol. i. p. 224.

[2] Was it the Irish or the Toltecas who introduced into Peru, as in Vinland, the Scandinavian signals of peace and of war? In both these American countries, as in the North of Europe, the white color denoted peace, and the red, war. (Cf. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, vol. i. p. 119.)

The Toltecs who had remained in Anahuac submitted to the yoke and religion of the fierce Chichimecs. Quetzalcoatl is said to have visited them before his final departure, and to have advised them to flee with him from the contamination of triumphant idolatry; but these people did not follow their priesthood; they remained intermixed with the savages, contributed their share to establish the strange religious dualism of Mexico, and became extinct as a nation.[1]

Another fact, better known in history, has apparently been more efficient still towards the disappearance of the ancient Christian colonies of America. Even though the settlers of Ireland the Great should have remained unmolested by the American natives, we yet easily understand that they were less encouraged by the mother country, and gradually lost in importance during the course of the eleventh century; when we notice that, shortly after the year 1000, the Northmen established their settlements and trading-posts in the neighborhood of Hvítramannaland. Although the conversion of the Scandinavians had considerably changed their fierce instincts, they still remained the dreaded antagonists of the Irish people, the greater part of whose native coasts they continued to hold in subjection for two more centuries.[2] Nor should we wonder if the Papas of Great Ireland followed the example of their brethren of Iceland, of the Shetlands, and of the Faroes, when they saw at their doors the very people whose cruelties in the northern islands made them shudder still. Some of them, as in Iceland, may have remained in their adopted country, but their posterity naturally allied with the surrounding aborigines and gradually became absorbed by them. A few civilized people in the midst of numerous savages, unaided by the mother country, necessarily disappear without leaving a vestige, like the sweet waters of a river in the briny billows of the ocean.[1]

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[1] Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 96, 100; iii. p. 264; v. p. 285; Winsor, vol. i. p. 140; supra, vol. i. pp. 554–556.

[2] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 4, n. 1.

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[1] Cf. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society in 1851, a Memoir of Dr. Zestermann on the European Colonization of America in ante-historic times; Beauvois, various papers in the Congrès des Américanistes, 1875, 1877, 1883. Other references (usually favorable) to the Irish claims are to be found in Laing's Heimskringla, i. S. 186; Beamish, Discovery; Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique, and Les Normands sur la Route, ch. i.; Gaffarel's Études sur les Rapports de l'Amérique; Brasseur, Introduction to Popul Vuh; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery; Humboldt, Kosmos; Rask, in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xviii.; Journal London Geographical Society, viii.; Gay, Popular History of the United States; Wilhelmi, Island Hvitramannaland Grönland und Vinland.

CHAPTER VI.

CONVERSION OF SCANDINAVIAN ICELAND.

A SHORT time before the Irish colonies disappeared from America, the Northmen or people of the Scandinavian peninsula had landed on our shores and established settlements on them. They had not, however, sailed directly to the continents of the western hemisphere, but, before reaching its terra firma, had for a century and a half inhabited some of its insular territories.

It is interesting to follow them on their piratical excursions of conquest and colonization.

The ninth century of our era was the epoch of glory for the Northmen, if glory there be in assaulting peaceful nations, in destroying their institutions and monuments of civilization, and in appropriating the homes of murdered families.

As prolific as cruel, these pagans of the North sent out, year after year at that time, new swarms of warlike youths, who, on their numerous fleets of small vessels, sailed along the shores and up the principal rivers of all Europe, and even as far to the South as the African cape of Sierra Leone, next to the equator.[1] The coast of Ireland and the smaller islands of the North Atlantic Ocean had been, for years, their habitual field of pillage and devastation, when they chose the Seine, the Rhone, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Elbe as the highways of their dreaded fleets. In the year 850 they obtained undisputed possession of Normandy; twenty years later they laid waste the finest kingdoms of England, which eventually they conquered altogether, after having subjugated the sunniest provinces of Italy.[1] Belgium was the only European land in which they met with serious opposition, for, after having ravaged on several occasions the banks of the Scheld, they were in the year 864 so severely punished by Baldwin the Iron, Marquis of Flanders, that, for a long time they ventured no more to penetrate into a country which was finally forbidden them forever at the battle of Louvain in 891.[2] On water they were invincible, and they boldly sailed to hold their orgies on every shore where a vessel had landed before them, even to Greece, to Berbera, and to Palestine.[3]

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[1] Navarrete, t. i. p. 29.

No wonder, therefore, if we found them cruising between the northern islands in the very neighborhood of their native country. It is rather a singular fact that they destroyed the Irish settlements in Iceland at no earlier period than they did.[4] This, however, may be accounted for by the policy of the Papas, who likely hid from them, as best and as long as they could, the existence of their insular colonies.

However this may be, the first landings of the Scandinavians on the Icelandic shores, as we have remarked already, have been extolled by their patriotic sagas with the title of discoveries, and accepted as such by most subsequent writers.[5]

The learned generally award the honor of the Scandinavian discovery of Iceland to a Norwegian called

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[1] Rohrbacher, t. xii. p. 65; t. xiii. p. 415.

[2] P. De Roo, bl. 201, 216; Van Speybrouck, bl. 5.

[3] Moosmüller, S. 10; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 86; Gravier, p. 26.

[4] Sabin, vi. no. 22, 854, gives, as published at Godthaab, 1859–61, in three volumes, the Eskimo text of Greenland Folk-Lore, collected and edited by natives of Greenland, and showing, as the notice says, the traditions of the first descent of the Northmen, in the *eighth* century.

[5] Supra, p. 62.

Naddodr or Nadr, and often Naddod; and they commonly admit the year 860,[1] while some prefer the year following, as the date of the event.

Naddod, chosen as captain of a band of sea-rovers, set sail for the Faroe Islands; but their craft was driven by violent winds far away to the Northwest, where they descried a great country. After landing on its eastern shore, they climbed a high mountain, saw snow in every direction, but could discover no traces of human habitation. Naddod left the land, giving it the name of "Snialand" or Land of Snow, and in the autumn arrived at his destination on the Faroes.[2]

Some authors, and particularly those best versed in Icelandic lore, Finn Magnussen and Charles Rafn, contend that the first of the Northmen to set foot on Iceland's soil, in the year 863, was a Dane of Swedish origin named Gardhar or Gardar, and that the arrival of Naddod could not be assigned to an earlier date than 864.[3] In this view they are sustained by ancient statements which either positively assert that Gardar was the first discoverer of the island, or do not even mention the name of Naddod.[4]

Gardar Svafarson is indebted for his renown to the kind services of a storm that drove him out of his way to the shores of the northern island. He found a secure haven near its easternmost headland, ascertained its insular character by circumnavigation, erected booths for himself and his crew at a place afterwards called "Husavik" or Bay of the Houses, and passed the winter there. The following spring he returned from the island, to which he gave the name of "Gardharsholm," Gardar's Island, and his favorable report greatly excited the spirit of adventure among the Northmen.[1]

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[1] Letronne, p. 139; Langebek, t. ii. p. 32; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 92; Maltebrun, History of Geography; Mallet, p. 187, and Gravier, p. 19, ref. to Landnámabók, pp. 2, 5, and saga of Olaf Tryggvason, Kap. cxiii. S. 261.

[2] Aa. iidem, ibid.; Gaffarel, Découv., t. i. p. 300; Maurer, Island . . . bis zum Untergange des Freistaats, p. 2.

[3] An art. of Rafn: The Discovery of America by the Northmen; Beamish, Discovery, p. 47, n. 2; Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord; 1845–49, p. 126.

[4] Storm: "Præcesserunt duo quidem tamen in tali negotio Ingulfum, quorum primus vocabatur Garthar . . . alter vero Floke dictus est" (p. 9); and " . . . ingredientes insulam prius inventam a Gardharo, post ab Auba" (p. 92).

The ancient "Historia Norwegiæ" states that a certain Anba or Auba soon set out for Gardarsholm, but little is known of him.[2]

We are better informed in regard to another Icelandic expedition which started from Norway about the year 870. The great pirate, Floke-Rafna Vilgerdharson, accompanied by Herjolf, Thorolf, and a Swede by the name of Faxi, first directed his course to the Shetlands, then to the Faroes, and finally ventured into the open ocean to the northwest. He had taken with him three ravens. When he was fairly out at sea he let loose one of these birds, which, after rising to a considerable elevation, directed its flight to the land they had left. From this Floke very wisely concluded that it was nearer to him than any other. Onward Floke went. The second raven, after being some time on the wing, returned to the ship,—a sign that land was too distant to be descried. Floke, therefore, continued in the same direction, and shortly after let loose his last raven, which he followed in its flight, until he reached the eastern coast of Iceland. After a short exploring cruise, he entered Vatnsfiord and disembarked the provisions, the implements, and the cattle which he had taken along, with the intention of permanently settling in Gardar's good island. The fish which abounded in the firth supplied him and his men with plenty of food; but, having neglected to provide for hay, he lost all his animals during the winter. This misfortune fell heavy on him, and when he saw his dwelling buried in the snow, the bay blockaded with icebergs, and the spring of the following year tarrying late and chilly, he gave up all hope and courage and turned back from the country to which, in justice and disgust, he gave again its former name of Land of Ice or "Ísland."[1]

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[1] Langebek, t. ii. p. 32 ; Maurer, 212 ; Mallet, p. 187 ; Gravier, p. S. 2 ; Cooley, Histoire Générale, p. 21.

[2] Storm, p. 92.

Floke's companions, who had undergone no special losses, were better able to appreciate the pasturages, the fisheries, and the hunting-grounds of Iceland, and they gave their countrymen a description of it well calculated to make many people of sterile Norway long for a home in the distant land of plenty. Iceland was doubly desirable for those whose crimes had made their life unsafe in their native country and for those of the nobility who had already fallen the victims of Harold Haarfager's ambition, or were in danger of losing their wild independence at the hands of this powerful jarl.

Among these was Ingulfr Arnarson or Ingolf, as proud an earl and as daring a pirate as ever lived in Norway, who had already sacrificed two men to his love for Helga, Ormis's daughter.[2] His companion, Hiorleifr or Hiorleif,[3] was another nobleman guilty of murders.[4] They both, in company with several others, concluded to seek impunity and liberty in the far-off northern island; and, as a preparation, they fitted out one of their large ships, with which they sent out a few mariners to seek and explore the isle where Floke had sojourned. The crew passed the winter in Iceland and ascertained that the southern districts were better than the northern.[1] In the mean time Ingolf married Helga, and Hiorleif kidnapped ten slaves and took a considerable booty on the coasts of Ireland.[2]

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[1] Langebek, t. ii. p. 32; Baumgartner, S. 113; Gravier, pp. 21–23, ref. to Landnámabók, ch. ii., and saga of Olaf Tryggvason, Kap. cxv.; supra, p. 66.

[2] Gravier, p. 23.

[3] Elsewhere called his father-in-law. (Storm, p. 8.)

[4] Storm, p. 92

Ingolf's colony arrived in Iceland in the year 874.[3] He settled at first in a southeastern locality, but three years later he and his family commenced to build the present capital city, Reikiavik. Hiorleif was murdered shortly after his arrival by the Irish slaves whom he compelled to pull the plough while his ox was standing in the stable; but his friend Ingolf took ample revenge by putting every one of the slaves to a cruel death.[4]

His fleet was followed, year after year, by many a vessel from the North- and Baltic Seas, and the Scandinavian colonies of Iceland were steadily on the increase. It was, however, the issue of the battle of Hafursfjord or Stavanger which gave the impulse for the sudden growth of the island's population. Harald the Comely Hair dealt, near Stavanger in the year 885, the fatal blow to his competitors of the Norwegian nobility, and these, rather than submit to a monarch, turned the remnants of their vessels either to southern parts of Europe or, in great numbers, to the hemisphere of republican liberty, to the northern island of America. Reusch[5] remarks that at the end of the ninth century Iceland was well inhabited already, and in the year

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[1] Mallet, p. 187, asserts that Ingolf himself was the leader of this exploring excursion.

[2] Gravier, p. 23, ref. to Landnámabók, ch. v. pp. 12, 13.

[3] Aa. passim.

[4] Gravier, pp. 24, 25, ref. to Landnámabók, ch. iii., ix. pp. 10–19, and saga of Olaf Tryggvason, Kap. cxvi., cxvii. S. 266–268; Maurer, S. 16, ref. to Landnámabók, i. ch. vi. p. 35.

[5] Vol. ii. p. 294.

930 every available spot had its tillers, among whom the Irish, the Swedes, and the Danes were well represented.[1]

The form of government adopted by the colony was, as we might have presumed, like the one for which the new-comers had vainly fought in the mother country,—an aristocratic or pagan republic. The noble pirates and successful robbers, who took care of their lower clients and governed their slaves, assembled at regular intervals at their "Things" and "Althings," made their laws by the majority of votes, and appointed their "lögmen" or justices and other officers of the whole administration. Quite a portion of the people had no vote to cast, for the villains were little better than serfs, and each one of the landed lords had his number of outlawed slaves; but in the course of time, and as Christianity advanced on the island, the lines dividing the social classes became more and more obliterated, and Iceland could boast that truly Christian democracy of which every citizen shares both the benefits and the burdens.[2]

It took, however, more than a century before this gradual improvement was accomplished, before the Christian religion had succeeded in mitigating the harsh spirit of the vikings towards their thralls, in teaching masters and servants their equality before God and law, and in inspiring into the hearts of all that new virtue of mutual care and brotherly love which afterwards animated every member of the new nation to freely contribute, each one in his own manner, towards the prosperity and the glory of their commonwealth. "Then," says Sveinbjörnsson,[3] "the republic of the

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[1] Reusch, vol. ii. p. 294; Gravier, p. 26.

[2] Maurer, Passim; Sveinbjörnsson, p. 1.

[3] Hin forna Lögbók, p. 1.

Icelanders was flourishing and strong, happy with liberty, powerful with riches, governed by the wisest and best men; then they excelled in literary studies, especially in history and poetry, and grew wealthy by their commerce far and wide and by their thrift and husbandry at home; then they sought and settled new countries,—Greenland and the continent of America." This beautiful picture is copied from the older Icelandic law-digest, the Grágás.[1]

The conversion of the powerful Northmen in Iceland to our holy religion was not, as it seems to have been in their mother country, the effect of strong external influences nor of a sudden inward grace of God. Their first apostles were their very slaves, the unfortunate Christians whom the Scandinavians had dragged along when returning from their terrible raids in France, Spain, and Germany, and particularly from the British Isle and Ireland.[2] Some of these have left their names on the roll of honor of Íslands Landnámabók or Register of the division of land. Here we read names that leave hardly a doubt of their owners' Irish, Christian origin,—such as Dufan, Dufgus, Dufthakr, Dufnjall, Kalman, Kylan, Kjaran, Kjallakr, Konall, Njall, Myrun, Myrgjol, and several more of the same import.[3]

The appellation of Patreksfjord, anciently given to one of Iceland's deep bays, is not less significant.[4]

The learned agree that there were a few Christians among the first colonists of Scandinavian Iceland, especially men and women of the Celtic race from the Hebrides Islands; some of whom, says Torfæus, descended from English and Irish kings and princes.[1] A number of these took up their homesteads in the eastern portions of the island, probably among the ancient Papas who had ventured to remain at the arrival of the Northmen. At Kirkjubui or Church-village they formed a small community of their own, where they admitted the converted Scandinavian Ketill Fiflske, but would allow no pagans. One of the continuators of Ari Frode relates[2] that a certain Hildi wanted to go and settle among them, to prove the futility of the restriction upon pagans; but fell dead when entering the house. Olaf and Paulson ascribe to these exclusive settlements the fact that in the eastern districts, several words are still in use which do not belong to the Teutonic language.[3]

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[1] Pt. i. pp. 5–8.

[2] Depping, t. i. p. 64; Allen, vol. i. p. 41; Reeves, p. 164, n. 13; Maurer, S. 143.

[3] Maurer, S. 28; Landnámabók, pt. i. ch. xi., xv., ap. Hin forna Lögbók sem nefnist Grágás, p. xiv, n.

[4] Landnámabók, ap. Baumgartner, S. 218.

The number and social standing of the first Christians in Iceland received a considerable increase from the occasional arrival of leading Scandinavians who, through long residence or education among the Celts, had been converted to our holy religion.[4]

Thus had the powerful chieftain Ketill Flatnefr been baptized in Ireland together with all his family, one only of the sons excepted. Several of his children afterwards went and settled in Iceland,—the pagan Björn Austraeni, the Christian Helgi Bjóla, and three of their sisters, called Audhr Djupaudga, who immigrated with the whole of her family, Thorunn Hyrna, with her husband Helgi hinn Magri, and Jorunn Manvitsbrekka, with her husband Ketill Fiflske. Audhr is especially recommended as an exemplary convert for teaching her children in religion and preserving with her pagan brother the friendliest relations; but her brother Helgi is said to have jumbled together the Christian and the pagan faith.[1] One of Ketill's nephews, Örlyggr the Old, who had been educated in the Hebrides under a bishop named Patrick, also came over to Iceland, in company with his pagan brother Thordhr Skeggi. He had taken with him an iron bell, a missal, and blessed earth; and he built at Esjuberg, a short distance to the northeast of Reikjavik, the first Christian church of Scandinavian Iceland, which was dedicated under the invocation of St. Columba or "Kolumkylla."[2]

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[1] Maurer, S. 69; Baumgartner, S. 237; Torfæi Series reg. et dynast. Dan., cap. vi. p. 57, ap. Letronne, p. 142.

[2] Landnámabók, pt. iv. ch. xi. p. 266 of the Islendinga Saegur, t. i.

[3] Hin forna Lögbók sem nefnist Grágás, p. xiv, n.; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 32, n. 1.

[4] Baumgartner, S. 218.

Another important arrival was that of Aeda the Magnanimous, widow of the viking Olaf, who captured Dublin and subjugated a considerable portion of Ireland. After the death of her husband, Aeda first moved to the Hebrides, then to Scotland and the Orkneys. Finally she landed in Iceland, where she passed the first winter with her brother Björn in Bjarnarhaven. She used to make her prayers at "Krossholum," Cross-island, where she erected several crosses, for she was a fervent Christian. With her came several distinguished men who, being captured by the Northmen, were now reduced to the condition of thralls. Among these was Vivil, born of a rich family. Aeda set him free and gave him the homestead of Vivilsdale where he lived. His sons were Thorgeir and Thorbjörn, of whom we shall hear again.[3]

Two more Northmen, Jörundr the Christian and Asolfr Alskikk or Aslik, should here be remembered as special features of the growing Christian community of Iceland. They both retired, with ten more companions, to live, far away from all pagan society, a monastic life, near Eyjafialls in the district of Rangarthing. A church was afterwards built in honor of St. Columba, as a memorial of Asolfr.[1]

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[1] Maurer, S. 30; Baumgartner, S. 219.

[2] Islands Landnámabók, ap. Baumgartner, S. 218; Beauvois, Origines et Fondation, etc., p. 9; Maurer, S. 30.

[3] Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ap. C. Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 85; *seq.*; Reeves, p. 28.

There were thus a considerable number of Christians from different countries settled in the northern republic, but their children were not educated in the purity of the faith; and, in company with the pagans, they practised the most absurd superstitions. No wonder, for it is clearly stated that there were no bishops nor priests in the land before the year 981,[2] in which the first missionary, the Saxon Bishop Frederic, arrived.

Thorvaldr Kodhranson, surnamed "Vídhförli" or the Far-away-Sailor, an Icelandic viking, met in Saxony with Bishop Frederic and was by him converted to the true faith and baptized, and he remained with him for a season. Then Thorvald bade the bishop accompany him to Iceland, to baptize his father and mother and others of his kinsmen, who would, he said, abide by his advice; and the bishop consented. Thus the Kristni Saga.[3] They were not disappointed in their sanguine anticipations. After having made many conversions, they built two churches during the year 984, and Frederic continued his successful labors until the year following, in which he sailed back to Germany.[4]

The second known missionary of Iceland was the German or Flemish priest called Dankbrand or Theobrand, sent out by the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvason, in the year following his accession, 996. This priest baptized Gizzur, the father of the first native bishop of Iceland, but it seems that he did not generally meet with desired success, and he soon returned to Norway; where the king rebuked him for having accomplished so little, and despatched, to take his place, another priest, Thermon, whom the Icelanders named Thormodh, and whose words were accompanied with such efficacious grace of the Holy Ghost that in a short time paganism gave way to Christianity.[1] His work of conversion was completed in the year 1000 by two more missionary priests from Norway, Gissur the White and Hjalti Skeggeson or Hall of Sida, who, unlike their predecessors, says Gravier, peacefully accomplished their holy errand. The first magistrate of Iceland, Thorgeir, the lögman himself, had been won over to Christianity, and nothing remained to do, in order to more firmly establish the conversion of the people, than to accept in general convention the Christian religion as the religion of the State.[2]

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[1] Beauvois, Origines, p. 9; ref. to Landnámabók, pt. i. ch. xv. p. 50; Maurer, S. 30.

[2] Baumgartner, S. 219; Beauvois, Origines, p. 9.

[3] Reeves, p. 180, n. 61; Maurer; Baumgartner, S. 257; Moosmüller, S. 48.

[4] Moosmüller, S. 48, ref. to the Hungrvaka Saga; Torfæus, Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. iii. p. 15; Reeves, p. 180, n. 61.

This important event took place the same year at the national Althing. The assembly of the people's representatives was greatly disturbed at first by the few who wanted still to uphold the disowned god Thor by the power of his hammer; but the calm of the Christians, the indifference of some pagans, and, above all, the authority and the prudence of Thorgeir, succeeded in having the Christian religion almost unanimously adopted by the government of the country.[3] It was decreed that Christian worship could be practised publicly, that Sundays and the days of fast and of the greater Christian festivals should be enforced by law, and that, on the contrary, all public rites of paganism should be proscribed. The pagans, however, remained free to worship in private circles; nor was there any change made, at that time, in the ancient customs regarding the use of sacrificed horse-meat and the exposing of infants.[1]

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[1] Maurer, S. 72; An Ancient Chronicle, ap. Storm, p. 21.

[2] Gravier, pp. 48, 49; Moosmüller, S. 49.

[3] An Ancient Chronicle, ap. Storm, p. 21; Hin forna Lögbók Islendinga sem nefnist Grágás, pt. i. p. xxi; Maurer, S. 81; Langebek, t. iii. p. 37, from Annales Islandorum Regii.

It had taken the missionary priests and bishops but a few short years to work this radical and peaceful change of Iceland's religion; but it is generally observed that, already long before, idolatry had lost its hold on the Scandinavian freebooters, better informed in Ireland and Iceland itself through their daily intercourse with Christian people. The principal occupation of the missionaries had been to purify the religious practices of those who called themselves Christians already; it had not been necessary to convince the heathens of their errors, but only to instruct them in the truths of divine revelation.[2]

Although Iceland had now become a formally Christian country, it suffered for many more years from scarcity of clergymen; because, evidently unable yet to supply itself the priests that were needed, it could obtain but a few of those raised among older Christian nations, who were eagerly sought by the newly converted people of the mother country. To provide more efficaciously for the wants of the numerous new churches, it was usual at that time to consecrate quite a number of regionary or missionary bishops, who, without any determined see or steady residence, were going forth from province to province, establishing parishes, ordaining priests, and, as a rule, harmoniously governing the Christians under their zealous charge. The following names of Iceland's regionary bishops have been preserved:

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[1] Hin forna Lögbók Islendinga, sem nefnist Grágás, pt. i. p. xxi, and n. 2, ibid.

[2] Cf. Maurer, S. 81, 82; Beamish, Discovery, p. xxviii.

Frederic,[1] mentioned above.

Olaf.[2]

Bjarnvadr, son of the wise Vilrad, probably an Englishman who sailed to Iceland at the wish of St. Olaf.[3]

Colus, about the year 1025.[4]

Rudolf, from Rouen in Normandy, who labored in Iceland for nineteen years, from 1030 to 1049.[5]

Henry, a German, it seems, who remained on his mission at least two years; and

The Saxon Bernhard, from the year 1047 until 1066.[6]

Messenius states[7] that in the year 1055—but more likely in 1049—Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, consecrated, as bishop of the diocese of Iceland, the Scot Jón or John, whom the Saga Hungrvaka considers as an Irishman, while in the appendix to the Landnámabók he is called a Saxon. But these different designations are easily explained: he was said to be a Saxon, because he was consecrated in Saxony, and from there he went to Iceland; and it is well known that the terms Irish and Scotch were in the middle ages used indifferently to designate the same Celtic nation.

Bishop John remained in Iceland four years,[8] after which, according to Torfæus,[9] he went to the Greenland colony of Vinland, or to Great Ireland on the American continent, where he died at the hands of the savage aborigines. But, instead of Vinland, the Hungrvaka Saga justly reads "Vin*d*land" or Land of the Wendes, in Prussian Pomerania; where, at Rethra, he was martyred in the year 1066, as it is told by Adam of Bremen,[1] whose "Johannes Scotus" is doubtless identical with this Irish Jón. Should the Hungrvaka have intended the American Vinland, it would certainly, as was usual, have added the epithet "ed gódha." The version which Torfæus read in the Additions to the Landnáma must be considered as a mistake or a clerical error.[2] Jón is, however, generally considered as a regionary or missionary bishop only, and his departure from the island gives additional weight to this opinion.[3] The ancient Icelandic manuscripts name Isleif as the first normal bishop of Iceland, having a fixed residence, —namely, at Skalholt.

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[1] Supra, pp. 126, *seq.*

[2] Gams, p. 336.

[3] Baumgartner, S. 262.

[4] Gams, p. 336.

[5] Ibid.; Baumgartner, S. 262.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Scandia Illustrata, t. ix. lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 74, ap. Moosmüller, S. 49.

[8] Moosmüller, S. 49; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 6, n. 3.

[9] Vinlandia Antiqua, cap. xvi. p. 71, and Introductio.

Isleif belonged to one of the principal families of the country, and had been sent by his newly converted father to carry on his studies at the flourishing school of Hervorden in Westphalia. He was married and had several children; yet, when his countrymen had resolved to request from their metropolitan, the archbishop of Hamburg, a bishop cognizant of their language, the choice fell upon him, and he consented to assume the burdens of the proffered dignity. He then undertook a journey to Rome, visiting on his way the emperor, Henry IV., and his brother Conrad, whose favors he won by the present of a Greenland bear. The Sovereign Pontiff sent him back to his archbishop, Adalbert, who consecrated him on the feast of Pentecost, the fourth day of June, 1055.[4] With his own means he erected on his homestead of Skalholt the cathedral which he dedicated to the apostle St. Peter, after satisfying the claim of his wife upon the half of his possessions.[1] His support consisted of "tollar" or taxes levied all over the land, of honoraries on the occasion of ecclesiastical functions, and of fines imposed upon the transgressors of church laws. He was assisted and, says the unfriendly Maurer, often hampered in his ministry by the regionary bishops, who were still travelling about in Iceland.[2]

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[1] Cap. iii. pp. 49, 50.

[2] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 6, n. 3; cf. Alban Butler.

[3] Gams, p. 336; Baumgartner, S. 262; Aa. passim.

[4] Baumgartner, S. 262; Maurer, S. 89; Gams, p. 336; Joan. Isac. Pontanus, lib. v., ad an. 1056, p. 183; Moosmüller, S. 50, who says, however, that Isleif was consecrated in the year 1067.

Isleif died on the 5th of July, 1080, and was succeeded by his son Gizurr, consecrated on September 4, 1082.[3] The new bishop firmly established the diocese of Skalholt by the provident regulations which he enacted. Among these was foremost the law in regard to the tithes or taxes on personal and real estate to be paid by all owners in proportion to their sworn-to valuation of their property,—a law which had been prepared with the assistance of Saemund Frode and of his son Mark Sceggius, then chief justice of Iceland; and which, through the love of all the people for Gizurr, was unanimously adopted at the general convention of the year 1096. The income of the diocese of Skalholt was so much increased by these tithes and other contributions that it sufficiently exceeded the expenses to allow the erection of a second diocese in Iceland,—namely, at Holar or Holum in the North.[4] Gizurr ended his life just one month after the consecration of his successor, on the 28th of May, 1118.[5]

The first bishop of Holar was Jón Ögmundarson or

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[1] Maurer, S. 89; an ancient chronicle, ap. Storm, p. 19.

[2] Maurer, S. 89.

[3] For original information concerning the first bishops of Skalholt, see the "Hungrvaka," published "Hafniæ,"—*i.e.*, at Copenhagen,—A.D. 1778.

[4] Hin forna Lögbók sem nefnist Grágás, p. xxii.

[5] Gams, p. 336.

Jonas Augmundson, who was consecrated on April 29, 1106, died on the 23d of the same month, 1121,[1] and was inscribed in the calendar of the saints, eighty years after his death.[2]

These first bishops of Iceland have left many evidences of their apostolic zeal, but the most brilliant among them are the numerous houses which they erected for the diffusion of religious and profane science. Education was then, as ever, part and parcel of the Christian religion. The first school was established by the first bishop, Isleif of Skalholt, and was soon followed by many others.[3]

De Costa[4] makes here some pertinent remarks. The ancient Norse skalds recited from well-trained memory. "But," he says, "with the advent of Christianity came the Roman alphabet, which proved an easy method of expressing thought. Christianity did not stop here. Its service was a reasonable service, and demanded of its votaries a high intelligence. The priest of Odin needed do no more than to recite a short vow or mutter a brief prayer. He had no divine records to read and to explain. But the minister of the new religion came with a system that demanded broader learning and culture than that implied in extemporaneous songs. His calling required the aid of books, and the very sight of such things proved a mental stimulus to this hard-brained race. Besides, Christianity opened to the minds of the people new fields of thought. These rude sons of war began to understand that there were certain victories, not to be despised, that might be gained through peace, and ere long letters came to be somewhat familiar to the public mind. The earliest written efforts very naturally related to the lives of the Saints, which on Sundays and holydays were read in public for the edification of the people. During the eleventh century these exercises shared the public attention with those of the professional Saga-man, who still labored to hand down the oral versions of the national history and traditions. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the use of letters was extended and the country's history diligently gathered up by zealous students and scribes."

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[1] Gams, p. 334.

[2] Moosmüller, S. 51, ref. to Arngrim, Chronicon Islandiæ, p. 108, and Messenius, Scandia Illustrata, t. ix. lib. ii. cap. viii.

[3] Beamish, Discovery, p. xxix.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 44.

The mathematical sciences formed a conspicuous part of the Icelandic course of studies. In the ancient work called Rimbegla, many rules are given for the measurement of time, and wise directions in the study of astronomy, geometry, and other natural sciences. Although these are probably compiled and translated from foreign works, they correspond with what the Icelandic clergy taught their people after the introduction of Christianity. Here are given scientific rules for finding the course of the sun, moon, and stars, and the division of time thereon depending; information respecting the astronomical quadrant and its proper use; different methods for ascertaining the spherical figure of the earth, the longitude and latitude of places and their distances from one another, the earth's magnitude and circumference, the seasons in which the ocean could be navigated best, and so on.[1]

The schools were conducted by the clergy, and the best teachers, as well as the ripest scholars and several of the ancient writers of Iceland, were to be found in its religious communities. Among these were quite conspicuous, as early as the twelfth century, Gunloeg or Gunlaug and Oddo, monks, and Karl Jónson, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Thingeyren or Thingeyar in the North, founded between the years 1120 and 1133.[1]

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[1] Beamish, Discovery, p. 131.

A second monastery of Benedictines was established in the year 1155 by Björn Gilson, bishop of Holar, at Thvera, afterwards called Munkathvera, on the Eyjafirth.[2]

Moosmüller[3] claims, besides that of Mödruvalle, four other Benedictine monasteries in Iceland; but we may, more correctly, with Maurer,[4] assign them to the Order of St. Augustin. They were those of

Thykkvibaer or Veri, in the district Alptaver, founded in the year 1168;

Flatey, commenced in A.D. 1172, but transferred from that island to the place Helgafell, twelve years later;

Vidhey Island, built by Thorvaldr Gizurrarson, to comply with the last will of Kolskeggr Audhi Eirikson, who died in the year 1223;

Saurboer, on the Eyjafirth, an abbot of which is mentioned in the beginning of the thirteenth century; and finally of

Mödruvalle or Mödrruvellir, also on the Eyjafirth, erected in A.D. 1295 or 1296 by Joerund Thorsteinson, bishop of Holar.

As late as the end of the fifteenth century, or even the beginning of the sixteenth, one more religious institution was commenced in Iceland, at a place called Skridha, in the eastern district, to perish in its cradle at the hands of the Reformers.[5]

We will notice farther on that a lady of Greenland, Gudrida, mother of the first Scandinavian born on the American continent and widow of Thorfinn Karlsefne, embraced a religious life in Iceland in the beginning of the eleventh century. Maurer[1] explains this fact by saying that Gudrida retired, not into a regular convent of nuns, but to the society of some devout women that avoided all worldly pleasures and lived piously in dwellings clustered around the cathedral or some other church. Moosmüller,[2] on the contrary, states that she entered a regular convent of nuns built at Glaumboe in the year 1015.

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 13, 165; Maurer, S. 256, 259.

[2] Maurer, S. 257.

[3] S. 165, 167.

[4] S. 257.

[5] Maurer, S. 257, 258.

Both authors agree with the ancient documents in relating that Iceland had two regular convents for Benedictine Sisters, one founded in the year 1186 at Kirkjubui, in the territory of Sida, and the other in 1295 by Joerund, bishop of Holar, at Stadh,[3] on the headland Reinisness.

Such is the complete list of all the religious institutions which had any durable existence in Iceland.[4] A respectable ancient authority speaks of a convent in the Hitar valley, but also testifies to its early close; while the project of Magnus Einarson, bishop of Skalholt, to erect a religious house on the Westmannaeyar, and that of Jón Loptson, of Oddi, who died in the year 1197, to build one at Keldur, never succeeded in being realized.

These religious institutions scattered over the northern island were so many centres of charity and schools of piety and learning; and we should not wonder that several of the monks were called to grace the episcopal sees of Skalholt and Holar, so illustrious through the self-sacrifice, the scholarship, and the holiness of many of their incumbents.

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[1] S. 256.

[2] S. 165.

[3] Cf. saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 167.

[4] Maurer, S. 258; cf. Langebek, t. iii. pp. 58, 139.

It is highly interesting to read the fairly well-known history of these prelates and of the national events in which they always took a prominent and patriotic part; but, to remain within the necessary limits of our plan, we must content ourselves with giving a succinct catalogue of the successors of the first bishops whom we have already mentioned.

Gizurr, bishop of Skalholt, was followed by:

Thorlak Runolfson, who was consecrated April 28, 1118, and died January 31, 1133.

Magnus Einarson, consecrated October 28, A.D. —; died September 30, 1148.

Hall. Teitson, elected A.D. 1149; died before he could be consecrated, in 1150.

Klaeng Thorsteinson, Claingus or Elongius, consecrated April 6, 1152; died February 28, 1176.

St. Thorlak Thorbalson, who had finished his theological studies in Paris, was chosen abbot of one of the Augustinian monasteries, and then coadjutor of Bishop Klaeng, to whom he succeeded, being consecrated July 2, 1178. He died December 23, 1193.[1]

Paul Jonasson, consecrated April 23, 1195; died November 29, 1211.

Teitus Besson, who was never consecrated, died in A.D. 1215.

Magnus II. Gissurson, consecrated in the year 1216; died August 14, 1236.

Sigurd or Sigvard Thetmarson, consecrated A.D. 1238 or 1239; died in the year 1268.

Arner or Arnas Thorlakson, consecrated May 30, 1269; died April 21, 1298.

Arner II. Helgonson, consecrated October 25, 1303 or 1304; died January 21, 1320.

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[1] Messenius, t. ix. lib. ii. cap. xvii., ap. Moosmüller, S. 166, gives the wrong dates, 1171 and 1186.

Grimer, in the year 1321.[1]

Jonas Halthorson, O. S. D., consecrated August 1, 1322; died February 2, 1339.

Jonas II. Endridson, consecrated July 25, 1339; died March 16, 1341.

Jonas III. Sigurdson, consecrated in A.D. 1343; died June 1, 1348.

Gyrdur or Gyrder Ivarson, consecrated in the year 1349;[2] died, shipwrecked, in the year 1360.

Thorar or Thorarin made his entry in Skalholt in the year 1363, and died towards the end of 1364.

Odgeir or Adageir Thorsteinson entered his diocese in A.D. 1366, and died on the ocean, August 15, 1381.

Michael, consecrated in Rome about the year 1383, occupied his see nearly seven years.

Vilchinus or William entered his diocese in A.D. 1394; died in 1406.

Jonas IV., formerly an abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Munkleine, appointed by Innocent VII. on the 14th of May, 1406,[3] made his entry in Skalholt in September, 1408; died in A.D. 1413.

Arner, Arno, or Arnas III. Olafson, consecrated October 10, 1414, died on the 7th of July, in or before the year 1425.

Jonas V. Gerichinson, who, removed from the metropolis of Upsala in Sweden in A.D. 1422, was promoted to the see of Skalholt by Pope Martin V. on the 6th of March, 1426,[4] made his entry in the year 1430, and was killed July 18, 1433.[5]

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[1] This name given by Moosmüller, S. 50, is lacking in the series of Gams.

[2] 1348, according to Torfæus, and 1352, according to Messenius.

[3] Archivium Lateranense: Innocentii VII., t. cxxv. fo. 258.

[4] Archiv. Apostol. Secret. Vatican., Armarium xii. No. 121, fo. 198.

[5] Moosmüller, S. 51, leaves out Jonas IV., ascribing the numeral to this bishop. Consequently his dates of this period also greatly differ from ours.

John or Jonas VI. Williamson was promoted from Holar on January 5, 1435.[1]

Gotsvinus or Goswin entered upon his see in the same year, 1435, and sat until 1448.

Marcellus, appointed on the 15th of April, 1448, as bishop of Skalholt,[2] was raised to the metropolitan see of Drontheim in A.D. 1452.

Jonas VII. Stephenson Krabbe, appointed in the year 1462, after the demise of his predecessor on February 27 of that same year; died February 27, 1465.

Sueno Prudens, elected in 1466; died in 1475 or 1476.

Magnus III. Ejulfson filled the see in the year 1477, and died in 1489 or 1490.

Stephen Jonasson was elected in A.D. 1491, and died on October 16, 1518.

Augmund Paulson, the last of Skalholt's bishops, was consecrated October 28, 1521, and died in the summer of 1542.[3]

Following is the catalogue of the bishops of Holar:

St. John or Jonas Augmundson had for successors:

Ketill Thorsteinson, consecrated February 12, 1122; died July 7, 1145.

Bjoern Gilson, consecrated May 4, 1147; died October 20, 1162.

Brand Saemundarson was consecrated September 8, 1163, and died August 6, 1201.

Gudmund Arasson, consecrated February 22, 1203; died March 16, 1237.

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[1] Archiv. Apostol. Secret. Vatican., Obligationes, t. lxvi. fo. 16.

[2] Ibid., t. lxxii. fo. 31.

[3] Gams, p. 336, and Authentic Roman Documents regarding the history of the bishops of Greenland farther on.

Botolphus, consecrated in the year 1238; left in 1243, and died in 1246.

Henry Karson, consecrated A.D. 1247; died in 1260.

Brand II. Jónson, consecrated March 4, 1263; died May 26, 1264.

Joerund Thorsteinson, consecrated about the feast of Pentecost, in A.D. 1267; died February 1, 1313.

Augdun or Audin the Red, elected November 28, 1313; died January 27, 1321.

Lawrence Kalfson, O. S. B., consecrated June 24, 1323; died April 16, 1331.

Egill Ejulfson followed in the year 1331, and died August 12, 1341.

Orm Aslakson was bishop in A.D. 1343, and died November 1, 1356.

Jonas II. Eirikson Skalle, transferred from the see of Gardar in Greenland in the year 1358; died August 10, 1390.

Peter Nicolson, of the Order of St. Dominic, and apostolic penitentiary of St. Peter's basilica, was, after the death of John Skalle, appointed on the 23d of January, A.D. 1391,[1] and occupied the see yet in 1401, but it is not known how much longer. It is said by some authors that the see of Holar remained vacant for a few years after his death.

Jonas III. or John Tovason, Tribuoris, or Repelvolgh, was appointed on December 23, 1411,[2] and died 1423.

Trudon or Truto, a Minorite, was promoted May 25, 1425,[3] but his appointment was cancelled shortly after.

Jonas IV. Jonasson was appointed about A.D. 1427.

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[1] Archiv. Lateran.: Bonifacii IX., anno i., lib. ii. fo. 271.

[2] Archiv. Apostol. Secret. Vatican., Armarium XII., No. 121, fo. 56.

[3] Ibid., fo. 188.

Jonas V. Williamson was bishop of Holar in 1429 and till 1435, when he was promoted to the see of Skalholt.

John Bloxwich, a Carmelite monk and apostolic penitentiary, was proclaimed on the 5th of January, A.D. 1435,[1] but had not yet redeemed his bulls in 1438,[2] and was obliged to resign.

Robert, an Augustinian hermit, was on the 14th of July, 1441, named to the see of Holar.[3]

Godschalk Godschalkson made his entry in Holar in A.D. 1444, held a synod in 1451, and died before September 8, 1457.

Olaus Rognvaldson, consecrated in the year 1459; died July 15, 1495.

Godschalk II. Nicolson, elected about May, 1497; died December 8, 1520.

Jonas VI. Arassen, elected December 22, 1520, was consecrated in 1524, cast into prison in 1540, and beheaded on November 7, 1550,[4] by the Reformers. He was the last of Iceland's bishops. His blood may, however, yet be the seed of a renewed Icelandic hierarchy, as two priests lately set out, at the bidding of Leo XIII., to minister there to the spiritual wants of the few Catholics who remained faithful unto this day, and to prepare the return to Catholicity, which is progressing in the other Scandinavian countries.

The reader might desire a more particular and complete narrative of both the religious and the civil history of Iceland. But he will easily find ample literature to obtain full satisfaction; and therefore, since it is our main object to cast more light upon the beginnings and such portions of our ancient American history as are but little known, we shall be permitted to restrict our further information concerning the interesting northern isle to the numerous remarks which we will find occasion to make in regard to it when treating of its sister country, Greenland; from which, moreover, it hardly differed, whether in material or moral features, or in religious or political fortunes. Close neighbors as they were, under the same climatic conditions, alike in religion, husbandry, commerce, and government, these two colonies of the same Scandinavian race prospered, suffered, and fell together, in such a manner that their general history is almost identical.

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[1] Archiv. Apostol. Secret. Vatican., Obligationes, t. lxvi. fo. 16.

[2] Rymer, t. x. p. 711; see Document LXX.

[3] Archiv. Apostol. Secret. Vatican., Obligationes, t. lxvi. fo. 56.

[4] Gams, p. 334; Authentic Roman Documents regarding the history of the bishops of Greenland farther on; cf. Moosmüller, S. 52.

CHAPTER VII.

GREENLAND COLONIZED FROM ICELAND.

We may readily suppose that Ingolf and his companions, on their arrival in Iceland, were anxious to ascertain the resources of their new country and to explore its surrounding seas. It could not be long before they descried the lands that lay within one or two days' sail; and likely they heard, from their Irish captives, of the Cross Islands, and of "Cronia" or Gronlant, visited and settled before by the Celtic Papas. The knowledge, however, which the Scandinavians obtained of these territories is ascribed again to the auspicious interference of tempest and wind. A certain Gunnbjörn, son of Ulf Krake, was driven to a group of successive small islands west of Iceland, to which he gave their new name of "Gunnbjörnarsker" or Gunnbjörn's Skerries,[1] situated close by the Greenland coast, at forty-two degrees east of Washington and sixty-five degrees and twenty minutes of northern latitude.[2] This event took place, according to the general consent of the learned, in the year 876, or 877.[3] Gunnbjörn could not help seeing the eastern coast of the adjoining Greenland, but did not set foot on it.[4]

Between the years 970 and 980 an attempt at settlement on Gunnbjörn's Rocks was made by the Icelander

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., p. 4, from Icelandic sagas; Aa. passim.

[2] Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845–49, p. 129.

[3] Ibid.; von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 457; Peschel, Zeitalter, S. 80 and Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 84, n. 1; Wilhelmi, Island Hvitramannaland, etc., S. 122.

[4] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 457, n. 23; Rafn, Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845–49, p. 126; Kunstmann, S. 25; Cronau, S. 112; Gravier, p. 32.

Snaebjörn Galti, who had been condemned for murder. He succeeded in passing a winter there, but, a dispute having arisen, he was killed by the men whom he had taken with him. His colony proved a failure.[1] The existence of Greenland was well known in Iceland at that time, as appears from several remarks of the Landnámabók.[2] Eric the Red was not its discoverer.[3]

This Eric or "Eirekr enn Rauthi" and his father, Thorvald, fled, after having committed several murders, from Jadhar or Joederen, in the Norwegian province of Stavanger, to the colony of Iceland during the first half of the tenth century.[4] They settled at Dranga, in the northwestern part of Iceland. After his father's death and his marriage with Thorhilda, Jörund's daughter, Eric moved into Vatshorn, to a place called after him Eirikstad. More murders compelled him to leave this new home for Oxney on the Breidhafiord, but here again his cruel disposition manifested itself, and he was finally, at the convention of Thorsness, condemned for the killing of Eyolf Saur and of Rafn the Duellist to three years' banishment from Iceland.[5]

Upon the advice of a certain Aundoz Krake,[6] Eric resolved to seek the land seen by the son of Ulf Krake.[7] He fitted out his ship in Eireksvogi, and sailed from

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[1] Baumgartner, S. 355; Cronau, S. 112, from an ancient Icelandic record.

[2] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 73.

[3] The Cross Islands or Gunnbjörn's Skerries seem to be unknown to-day; but several passages in the Landnámabók give to understand that they not only existed, but were likely inhabited for a certain length of time. Icelandic manuscripts speak of them as late as the year 1391, and state that they contained eighteen farms. (Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 11.)

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iii. p. 11; Rafn, Antiquitates, p. 7; Reeves, p. 60, ref. to Flateyarbók.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iii. p. 11; Rafn, Antiquitates, pp. 8–10, 89, *seq.;* Moosmüller, S. 22, 23; Peyrère, p. 184.

[6] Af til visan Aundoz Kraku.

[7] An Icelandic fragment of the fourteenth century composed after older documents, ap. Langebek; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 10, 93.

Snaefellsjökul, accompanied, till he was in open ocean, by several of his friends, to whom he declared his intention of returning to see them if he should be successful. It was then in the spring of the year 882, as appears from indications of the most ancient records and as is generally admitted by the learned.[1] Rafn, however,[2] Peschel,[3] and a few others assign the event to the next following year. Von Humboldt[4] has read the year 932 in some one of the sagas, while Claudius Lyschander egregiously mistakes in saying that Eric sailed to Greenland from Norway in the year 787.[5]

Eric was ere long in sight of Greenland's eastern coast, and disembarked on it at a place which he called "Midjökul," Middle Mountain, afterwards named "Blaserk" or Blue Shirt, on the sixty-fourth degree of northern latitude. It was a picture of chaos and death, composed of barren rocks and enormous blocks of ice. The explorer soon left the inhospitable spot, taking a southwesterly course along the white, frozen shores, anxious to know whether any portion of the land was fit for habitation. After sailing around "Hvítserk" or White Shirt, now Cape Farewell, he proceeded northward as far as Eiriksey, one degree of latitude up the western coast, where he passed the first winter.[6] The next season he retraced part of his voyage, entering the gulf of Igalikko, which he named Eiriksfiord and on whose shore he established his residence, Brattalidha, the principal wall of which consisted of a perpendicular rock. That same summer he explored the northwestern desert and gave names to different localities. The second winter he spent on the Holm Island, opposite "Hrafnsgnipa" or Hvarf, and the third on Eiriksey, at the mouth of Eiriksfjord. During the last summer of his exile he sailed back to Iceland.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. xxx. p. 241; Maltebrun, p. 359; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 93; Kunstmann, S. 25; Moosmüller, S. 23; alii.

[2] Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845–49, p. 126.

[3] Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 84.

[4] Examen, t. ii. p. 92.

[5] Torfæus, Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. iii. p. 17.

[6] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 94; Moosmüller, S. 23; Torfæus, Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. x. p. 76.

Eric had found the western coast of Greenland to be as good a country or better than Iceland, but he wished not to be the only white man to take possession of it. It is related that, in order to allure some of his countrymen to accompany him, he gave it the beautiful name of the Green Land. Be this as it may, it is certain that many gave ear to his enticing descriptions and expected to find beyond the huge mountains of ice a northern Land of Promise.

The following winter was spent by Eric and his friends in active preparations for the colonization of Greenland during the summer of the next year, 986.[2] Ari Frode, in his Heimskringla, states that "this—when Eric set about the colonization of Greenland—was XIV. or XV. winters before the introduction of Christianity here in Iceland, according to that which a certain man, who himself accompanied Eric the Red, informed Thorkell Gellison."[3] This allows the opinion of Gravier,[4] who refers to "Particula de Eirico Rufo" and to the "Landnámabók," in favor of the year 985 as the date of the first Scandinavian colonization of Greenland.[5]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 94, 95, Heimskringla Saga, ¶ 6, ap. Reeves, p. 9; Moosmüller, S. 23; Gravier, p. 34.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 241; Maltebrun, p. 359; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845–49, p. 126, and Antiq. Amer., p. 193, n. a; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 92; Langebek, t. ii. p. 189, from Annales Islandorum ad an. 1313: "986, Inhabitatio Gronlandiæ," and t. iii. p. 35, from Annales Islandorum Regii: "986, Eiricus Rufus Gronlandiam inhabitare cæpit."

[3] Reeves, p. 9.

[4] P. 36.

[5] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 14, 187.

The "Landnámabók" and the saga of Olaf Tryggvason relate that Eric the Red set out with twenty-five ships, but the "Particula de Eirico Rufo" swells that number to three decades and a half, and adds that only fourteen of them reached the object of their voyage; some of the others being driven back and some lost on the ocean.[1]

The colonists, happy enough to escape the fury of the storms, with their animals, implements, seeds, and provisions, which they had taken along, landed on the southern portion of Greenland's western coast, and felt greatly encouraged at the sight of the grassy patches and strips of fertile land that bordered the water's edge in every direction. That the country was fit for habitation was soon further established by the ruins which they found, east and west, of dwellings for men and by the row-locks and relics of boats and stone implements scattered on the shore.[2]

The names of Eric's principal companions have been preserved by the ancient records. They were: Ketill, who settled on Ketillsfjord; Rafn, on Rafnsfjord; Sölvi, who chose Sölvidale; Helgi Thorbrandson, who located on Alptafjord; Thorbjörn Glora, on Siglufjord; Einar, who built on Einarsfjord; Hafgrim, who went to Hafgrimsfjord and Vatnaverf; Arnlaug, on Arnlaugsfjord, and, finally, Herjulf Bardson, who took possession of Herjulfsfjord and established his residence on the headland Herjulfsnes. Others went farther north to that part of the coast which was called the Western Settlement or Vestrebygd, in opposition to the Eastern or Östrebygd, so named because of the easterly slope of southwest Greenland.[1] Eric the Red returned to the dwelling which he had erected, to Brattalidha on Eiriksfjord, while his cousin, Thorkell Farserkr, took up several tracts of land along Hvalseyarfjord and between the Eiriks- and Einarsfjords, and located his new home on the Hvalsey inlet.[2]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 14, 187; Gravier, p. 36; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iii. p. 15.

[2] Heimskringla of Ari Frode, ap. Reeves, p. 9; Aa. passim.

More Scandinavians both from Iceland and Norway landed in Greenland, and the colony seems to have prospered and flourished from its very beginning.

This statement may be somewhat surprising to those who have heard Greenland designated under the name of Land of Desolation.[3] Nor could we object to this appellation as a misnomer when we look at that barren region of the frigid North.

Greenland is, indeed, almost entirely covered with glaciers and snow, situated as it is in close proximity to the Pole, its southernmost point or Cape Farewell being at 59° 49′, while its boreal wastes penetrate the frozen seas up to the eighty-seventh degree of northern latitude.

The island is bounded on the northeast and east by the Arctic Ocean; on the southeast by the Strait of Denmark, which separates it from Iceland; on the south by that portion of the Atlantic Ocean which the Northmen called "Graenlandz Haf." Its western boundaries are Davis' Strait, Baffin's Bay, Smith's Sound, Kane Basin, and Kennedy Channel,—all narrow, mostly frozen waters, which terminate, it is said, in an open sea that washes Greenland's northwestern coast, and is named after Captain Robert Lincoln.[4]

The location of this arctic island sufficiently explains its dreadful climate, and gives us to understand the great irregularity of its days and nights. As in Godhavn on the island of Disco there are summer days uninterrupted by nocturnal darkness, so in the northern parts of Greenland the dreary winter nights last for weeks and months at a time. We may readily imagine the feelings of a Greenlander when on a belated autumn morning he watches in vain to see the smallest portion of the sun's golden disk reappear on the low southern horizon, when twilight and dawn grow weaker, and even the soft rays of the faithful moon are waning. Yet, then he is a witness of the most brilliant exhibitions of one of nature's most majestic and grandest phenomena, of which Peyrère already wrote in his quaint Relation of Greenland.[1] "Nature," he says, "then produces such a wonder that I should not have dared to write it to you had it not been mentioned by the Icelandic chronicle as a miracle. There rises in Greenland a light with the night, when the moon is new or on the point of becoming so, which lights up all the country, as if the moon were full; and the darker the night the brighter this light shines. It takes its course on the north coast, on account of which it is called the Northern Light. It looks like flying fire, and stretches up into the sky like a high and long palisade. It passes from one place to another, and leaves smoke in the places it leaves. None but those who have seen it could give any idea of the quickness and agility of its movements. It lasts all night and disappears at sunrise [?]. I leave it to those learned men who are better versed than I in natural philosophy to discover the cause of this meteor."

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 15, 189; Beamish, Discovery, p. 49; Moosmüller, S. 25.

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 189.

[3] Hayes.

[4] Cf. von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 93; Hayes, La Terra, p. 6; Sadlier's Excelsior Geography, No. 3, p. 16.

It is well known to-day that the Northern Lights or

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[1] P. 206.

Aurora Borealis are an effect of the earth's magnetism, but it may yet be doubted whether the polar magnetic storms are productive of heat as they are of light. If they be, it is certain, however, that their heat affects but a small region around their local origin, for the northern parts of Greenland have at all times been considered as uninhabitable on account of their severe climate, and were known to the Norwegians by the name of "Graenlandz Óbygdhir" or Greenland's deserts. The ancient Scandinavian settlers objected, however, to this appellation, because of the following reasons. They said that, among the numerous articles which the waves in their southern course had thrown on Greenland's western borders, they had noticed pieces of wood carved by man's hand; and, again, that they had found stray sheep and goats, bearing horn- and ear-marks, grazing in their pasturages after coming down from northern tracts. As a proof of this singular fact they had sent to Norway the heads of two such animals which, as a curiosity, had been publicly exposed,—the one at Drontheim and the other at Bergen. They consequently concluded that some part, at least, of northwestern Greenland was inhabited at the time. They also thought that the driftwood which they eagerly caught in Baffin's Bay was coming down from some islands of that same region, to which, therefore, they gave the name of "Furustrandir" or Fir-tree shores. Such is the testimony of Abbot Arngrim, who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century.[1] Maltebrun likewise asserts[2] that Greenland natives are found roaming far away to the north of the present town of Upernavik, and their statements have prepared us to accept the late information in regard to Lincoln's open sea.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. v. p. 32.

[2] T. v. p. 255.

At the extreme limit of his perilous expedition Kane also discovered an immense sheet of water completely free of ice, immediately to the north of Smith's Sound, where the mingled fragments of glaciers and floes form a labyrinth difficult to traverse. It is a curious fact that Halley, nearly two centuries ago, made calculations according to which the summer mean temperature must increase from the sixtieth degree of latitude to the North Pole in the proportion of nine to ten.[1]

The immoderate cold produced in southwestern Greenland by the northeastern winds leads us to suspect that the regions which they cross are buried under everlasting ice. The central elevated districts of the vast island are inaccessible to either settler or native. They form one immense glacier that slowly travels down in every direction and breaks on the water's edge into gigantic shapeless blocks, which, under the name of icebergs, become the terror of northern mariners.[2]

It seems, however, that in olden times the eastern and the southeastern coasts of Greenland have offered to man some habitable spots. Scoresby has found, due north of Iceland as high as the seventieth degree of latitude, some grassy places and vacant dwellings similar to those of the Esquimaux; and it is believed by many that a flourishing monastery called after St. Thomas was, though more to the South, situated on this same coast, frozen and barren to-day.[3]

We will hear it related, farther on, how St. Thomas's monastery was heated, its gardens made fertile, and its bay kept open with the waters of a boiling fountain; and it is, indeed, generally admitted that, while the surface is of ice, the bowels of Greenland are of fire in various places. On the 11th of June, A.D. 1783, three immense columns of fire were seen in Iceland to sally forth from the Greenland coast, and whalers have on several occasions met with floating pumice-stone, that seemed to indicate the existence of volcanoes at about seventy-five degrees of northern latitude.[1] Hot-springs, usually found in volcanic regions, exist also in Greenland. Besides the one just spoken of, there are three others mentioned by Maltebrun,[2] and located on the islands of Ounartok by Charles Rafn, who adds that on this account its Eskimaic name signifies the Boiling Isle. These springs were, in the year 1828, found to possess from eighty to one hundred degrees of heat, Fahrenheit,[3] and are probably the thermal waters of which Björn of Skardza already said that in Rumpeyarfjord there were several homesteads on which emerged a great number of springs, so hot in winter as to prevent close access, while temperate in summer, and frequented by numerous bathers, who were, in their waters, cured of various ailments.[4]

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[1] Elisée Reclus, pp. 343, 344.

[2] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 360; Cooley, Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 215; Aa. passim.

[3] Gravier, p. 200, from Maltebrun, Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, t. i. p. 95; t. xx. p. 421.

Another phenomenon of the western coast of Greenland is undoubtedly caused also by latent volcanic action,—namely, the gradual sinking of the land all along the water's edge from Igalikko Firth to Disco's bay. Ruins of buildings on the former's shore are now covered by the waves, and even to-day the Moravian Brethren are obliged to replace on higher land the submerged posts to which they used to fasten their boats. This depression entails a greater extension of the neighboring glaciers, and, as a consequence, the narrow strip of inhabitable territory is being further contracted on both sides.[1]

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[1] Gravier, p. 200, from Maltebrun; cf. Peyrère, p. 205.

[2] T. v. p. 256.

[3] Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, p. 130.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46.

The western coast of Greenland's southern half is the small portion of the island which was known and inhabited by the Scandinavian settlers of old, and the scene of an interesting period of America's ancient history. The Northmen established their new homes all along it, as far as one thousand and fifty miles north of Cape Farewell, besides their summer fishing-stations, called the "Kroksfiardarheidi," on the present Lancaster and Jones's Sounds, still nearer to the Pole. The breadth, on the contrary, of this long stretch of Northman colonies was very small, and it was next to impossible for either settlers or natives to climb the icy chain of mountains which, running almost parallel with the sea-shore, was a faithful guardian of the inland forbidding chaos.[2] The distance between these two lines never exceeds ninety miles, while it is often reduced to twenty. This strip of land, threatened on one side by overhanging ice and snow, is bordered on the other by thousands of small islands, by shoals and projecting cliffs, and is cut up by deep firths which, river-like, penetrate to the foot of the vast glacier, leaving between them irregular spaces of precipitous banks and of barren table-land, with some few small valleys and slopes where a hardy colonist may venture to make his living[3] betwixt the melting and the falling snow.

Owing to a branch of the beneficent Gulf-stream that forces its way to quite a distance up the western coasts of Greenland, the Östrebygd settlements enjoyed a more equable and moderate climate than any other portion of the island. Their temperature is by many considered as being the same as that of Iceland, the yearly average being 39.5° Fahrenheit, while other well-informed authors assert that the fogs are less, the days of sunshine more numerous, and the cold not so vehement as in Iceland and Norway. It is true, sometimes it is immoderately cold, and the tempests rage in the Greenland colonies more violently than elsewhere; but they do not last long, happen seldom, and are never so excessive as to kill the cattle.[1] It is easily understood, however, that all domestic animals are sheltered during the long winter season.[2]

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 233, n. 11; Gravier, p. 35.

[2] Maltebrun, t. v. p. 255.

[3] Brockhaus, art. Grönland.

Whatever the climate may be in Greenland to-day, it is the general opinion of the learned and of the people in Iceland, not to say a well-established fact, that it was considerably milder at the time of its first Scandinavian colonization.[3]

We do not believe any more the meteorological fable of a sudden change of climate in the North and of the formation of a wall of ice that should, at once, have prevented all further communication between Norway and its Greenland colonies;[4] but the constant extension of the glaciers and the greater accumulation of ice in the Arctic Ocean, especially noticeable since the beginning of the fifteenth century, have gradually lowered the temperature of all Greenland

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[1] Maltebrun, t. v. p. 256; John Skardza and Bishop Thorlak, Speculum Regale; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xiv. p. 101; Peyrère, p. 205; Crantz, vol. i. p. 247.

[2] Ivar Bardson states that Greenland never suffers of violent winds or tempests, and that, although there is a copious fall of snow, the cold is not so bitter as in Iceland or Norway. The "Speculum Regale" testifies that the island is not devoid of sunshine and clear summer weather, that storms are scarce and last but a short time, and that the climate is generally pretty good, although rather cold. (Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 318.)

[3] Maurer, S. 8; Gravier, p. 217.

[4] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 459.

and rendered it less habitable.[1] Before describing the island, Ivar Bardson makes the remark that voyagers from Iceland used to follow a direct western route, passing, at nearly midway, the rocks of Gunnbjörn; "but since," he adds, "the ice has rendered this route impracticable, sailors must now take a southwestern course and afterwards veer to the North, to make the cape Hvarf," or Farewell.[2] Pontanus[3] relates the same, and Torfason[4] likewise observes that the Greenland voyage, which used to be made due west in forty-eight hours from Iceland, now requires southwesterly sailing, in order to avoid the ice that surrounds the Gunnbjörn skerries.[5]

Geology offers another significant proof of climatic change in boreal regions. There are now no forests in Iceland, only here and there a few short and slender shrubs; but the trees that are still found buried deep in the earth, and frequently among the rocks, should prevent our too hastily rejecting the evidence of the ancient chronicles, when they describe the country as different from what it is to-day.[6] Hayes states in regard to Greenland[7] that, during his exploration of the western coast, he was greatly interested by the existence of coal deposits on the island of Disco and the adjoining terra firma. "These vast accumulations of vegetable matter," he observes, "give us to understand that, in ages long past, that region was deserving its name of Greenland." According to De Costa[1] geologists find evidence that, at one time, a highly tropical climate must have existed in the boreal countries, since fossil figs and tropic trees are among the wonders of Greenland; and this fact is confirmed by late explorations.

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 233; Gravier, p. 201; Gaffarel, Histoire, p. 345; Archivio Storico Italiano, serie iv. t. ii. p. 402.

[2] Archivio Storico Italiano, serie iv. t. ii. p. 402.

[3] Lib. ix., ad an. 1389, p. 521.

[4] Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. ix. p. 64.

[5] De Costa, Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson, p. 61: "A treatise of Iver Boty, a Gronlander, translated . . . in the yeere 1608 for the use of me Henrie Hudson. . . . Item, men shall know, that between Island and Gronland, lyeth a Risse called Gombornse-Skare. There they were wont to have their passage for Gronland. But as they report there is Ice on the same Risse, come out of the long North Bottome, so that we cannot use the same old Passage, as they thinke."

[6] Mallet, p. 189; cf. Winsor, vol. i. p. 61.

[7] Land of Desol., ch. xxiv. p. 127.

"The climate of the northern hemisphere was anciently far milder than at present," says Foster. "Fossil acorns and fir cones are found in the interior of Bank's Land, far within the Arctic Circle. In Greenland there are remains of large forests encased in ice. At Disco's island, the northern verge of European settlement, the strata are full of leaves, branches, and trunks, and even seeds and fruit-cones of trees, comprising firs, sequoias, elms, magnolias, and laurels. Spitzbergen was clothed with a luxuriant forest, and the lignite beds of Iceland yield large arborescent forms, where now the vegetation is dwarfed."[2]

Nowhere, indeed, are the climatic changes which have occurred more striking than in Greenland and Iceland, and nowhere have a few centuries produced such a complete revolution. "A thousand years ago," says Evan Hopkins, "Greenland was a fertile land, and supported a large population. Iceland, at that period, was covered with forests of birch and fir, and the inhabitants cultivated barley and other grains." "There is no doubt in my mind," says Dr. Kane, "that, at a time within historical and even recent limits, the climate of this region was milder than it is now. Ancient stone huts of the natives [?] are found scattered along the bays, in spots now so fenced in by ice as to preclude all possibility of the hunt, and, of course, of habitation by men who rely on it for subsistence. Tradition points to these as once favorite hunting-grounds near open water. At Rensselaer Harbor, called by the natives Aunatok or the Thawing Place, we met with huts in quite good preservation, with the stone pedestals still standing which used to sustain the carcasses of the captured seals and walrus. Sunny Gorge and a large indentation in Dallas Bay which bears the Esquimau name of Inhabited Spot showed us the remains of a village surrounded by bones of seals, walrus, and whales,—all now cased in ice."[1]

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[1] Precolumbian Discovery, p. 93, n. 3.

[2] Foster, pp. 29, 30.

The principal cause of this remarkable change of temperature and climate is said to be the precession of equinoxes, in consequence of which the winters of our northern hemisphere take place during alternate periods of the earth's perihelion and aphelion. According to some calculations, the latest increase of cold in the North has commenced in the year 1248, and is to last for ten thousand five hundred more years. If so, it may well be feared that Greenland's extending glaciers will, during the present period, cover the whole of our United States. The elliptic form of our planet's orbit and the variation of the ecliptic's obliquity are alleged as co-operative causes of the same phenomenon.[2]

While we leave it to the learned to give more ample and satisfactory explanation of the causes, we wish the reader to notice that their actual effects were less injurious to the Northmen than to the modern Danish colonists, allowing the former to avail themselves better of Greenland's natural resources, to reap the fruits of husbandry, and secure the profits of commerce.

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[1] Arctic Explorations, vol. i. p. 308, ap. Southall, p. 377.

[2] Arcelin, L'Époque Glaciaire, in Congrès Scient., sec. viii. p. 85; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 93, n. 3.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESOURCES AND POPULATION OF ANCIENT GREENLAND.

UNDER an atmosphere equal or even preferable to that of their native country, the ancient settlers of Greenland were not altogether deficient in means of relative comfort and prosperity.

It is easily understood that there was no building stone wanted in a country where the natural rocks would form entire walls, and the ancient ruins are proof until this day that Greenland was always rich in both harder and softer stone which might be required for building purposes. On "Rinseya" or Reindeer Island was found a peculiar kind of stone which Ivar Bardson called the most precious of Greenland. It was fit for all kinds of fine carving, was often worked into plates or jars and sometimes hollowed out into vats of the dimension of ten or twelve barrels. One of its qualities was that of being perfectly fireproof.[1]

Lumber was scarce, if we may judge from the import of building-timber from the American continent and from the care with which driftwood was caught all along the coast. Where this driftwood—these trees floating between the ice—originated is a puzzle to us after careful consideration. We have noticed[2] that the Northmen supposed it to come down from some warmer portion of northwestern Greenland. Rafn states that it was mainly found about the northern parts called Kroksfiardarheidi, where it was dragged along by the polar current from the pineries of Siberia.[1] Gaffarel thinks,[2] on the contrary, that it was driven up from the coasts of Markland or Nova Scotia, but his opinion appears less probable when we consider that the downward cold current of Baffin's Bay wedges itself in between the Gulf Stream and the Atlantic coast.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46: "Rinseya . . . ; ibi saxum scissile, omnium quæ in Gronlandia prostant præstantissimum, atque adeo ut acetabula et cantharos inde conficiant; tam durabile firmumque ut vim ignis respuat; fiuntque inde vasa decem vel duodecim tonnarum capacia."

[2] Supra, p. 149.

Whether coming from the North or from the South, drifting wood was always welcome in a country where no trees of any size were to be found then, as now. It is true, the ancient topographer speaks of woods on Rinseya and on the left shore of the upper Einarsfjord,[3] but they likely did not amount to much more than the birch and willow brush, which grows yet near the present Julianashaab and in a few more sheltered places.[4]

These shrubs were undoubtedly used with great economy for heating and cooking purposes, but Divine Providence had not left this cold country without an adequate supply of fuel. As noticed already, coal-beds exist on the island of Disco, and enormous veins of the same mineral are found along Greenland's coast, particularly to the north of Waigat and on the streams of Oumenak's great firth,[5] where the ancient Eysunes was located.[6]

The colonists also found in their new country sufficient—nay, abundant—resources for the sustenance of themselves and of the animals which they had imported. Kind Nature pointed out to them, at their first landing, her unlimited stock of fish and game, besides her grassy patches for their smaller and larger cattle.

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[1] Antiq. Amer., p. 275; Gravier, p. 150; von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 271.

[2] Histoire, t. i. p. 341; cf. Winsor, vol. i. p. 60.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. pp. 44, 46.

[4] Gravier, p. 35; Maltebrun, t. v. p. 256.

[5] Hayes, Land of Desolation, ch. xxiv. p. 127.

[6] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 413.

Hunting was at all times the principal occupation of both colonists and natives of Greenland, and a means of subsistence and of wealth, for game is as varied as plentiful in the northern regions. On the Spitzbergen, at a latitude of eighty degrees, game is found feeding on vegetable substances.[1] No wonder, therefore, if on the relatively mild coast of western Greenland there should have been and yet be a great many attractions for a hunter's ambition. We are informed, indeed, that it abounded with sable, pine marten, lynx, wolf, fox, hare, wild goat, and, above all, with reindeer on land, and both on land and sea with bear, mostly white.[2]

It is but natural that the chase should have been the most profitable in spots where game could find, in shrubby thickets, some shelter against the freezing blasts of winter. Such was the island of Rinseya, so called from the number of reindeer which congregated in its miniature forests.[3] We shall notice hereafter that when the northernmost settlers had been exterminated by the natives, their cattle continued to roam with the wild goats along the upper coast of Baffin's Bay.[4]

Birds of different kinds, such as the white falcon, the white stork, the crow, the white eagle, and especially the eider-duck, paid their tribute to the support and comfort of the Northmen.[5] But it was to the adjacent seas that the colonists, lovers of the waves, looked for the principal means of subsistence. Before deciding upon the location of their new homes, they had carefully surveyed the neighboring country and more accurately ascertained the piscatorial prospects in the neighboring bays. How much attention they have paid to this important concern is evidenced yet by the ruins of their ancient villas, which are until this day trustworthy guides for enterprising fishermen.[1] Ivar Bardson gives a short notice of two ancient fisheries in Greenland. The one was the lake of Foss, at a small distance above the head of Siglufjord. "As often," he says, "as a larger flow of these head-waters had been caused, either by rains or melted snow, fish ran up to it in such numbers that, when the water fell again, piles of them lay scattered on the sandy beach." The other was situated east of Herjulfsnes in Skagafjord. This inlet was barred by a sand-bank in such a manner that larger vessels could not enter it, except when wind and tide would combine to roll deeper waves across the bank. On such occasions a great number of whales would also run up into the firth, together with many other fishes. In this bay was a large cave called "Hvalshola" or "Hvalsgap," the Whales' Hole or Whales' Gap, into which the ocean giants fled in stormy tides.[2] The seas around Greenland contained, indeed, an incredible number of whales and of other large fish.[3]

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[1] Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 330.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xi. pp. 82, 85, 86; Peyrère, p. 196; Vivier de St. Martin, art. Groenland.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. pp. 44, 46; Peyrère, p. 190.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 51.

[5] Ibid., pp. 42, 86.

The narwhal was not uncommon, and the walrus abundant, while the islands along the coast were the habitual resort of thousands of seals or sea-calves. Sea-hogs or porpoises were seen in every direction spanning the waves; turbot, codfish, and halibut afforded rich captures; and no net, how large soever, could stop the shoals of migratory herrings. Besides these, several other kinds of fish were making the waters of Greenland the richest of the globe.[1]

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[1] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 360; Cooley, Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 215.

[2] See Document XXXV.

[3] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 271; Peyrère, p. 197; Vivier de St. Martin, art. Groenland.

Such were the native supplies which Greenland liberally placed at the disposal of her ancient Scandinavian settlers. Another spontaneous product, the grasses, afforded to the colonists the means of attaining the height of their modest ambition. They were not disposed to give up the services and pleasant food which they were accustomed to derive from their domestic animals in Iceland and Norway; and, to their great satisfaction, they soon discovered several patches and plots where their valuable cattle would live and thrive.

It is discouraging for a student to read in the books of professedly learned men such inaccuracies presented with such distressing assurance as we find, in regard to the present subject, in the late publications of two scientific bodies. One of the contributors to the Scientific Congress of Catholics in Paris in A.D. 1891 makes the following declaration: "We know that there were no oxen in Greenland, and that the people of that country paid their tithes with the proceeds of their fishing. The cowhides, therefore, which the agents of the apostolic exchequer received from Greenland were contributed by the faithful of Vinland."[2] These assertions, as full of errors as of words, are almost identically reaffirmed by the Revista Storica Italiana.[3]

It is, on the contrary, a fact well known to all common people that the ancient Northmen, as the Danes until this day, were in possession of cattle in their colonies of Greenland. From several passages of the sagas we learn that it was their custom to take their domestic animals along with them into every colony they established;[1] and the same ancient records, Ivar Bardson, and all subsequent writers testify that all well-to-do people continued to have large cattle.[2] The cathedral of Gardar, especially, owned a great number of oxen, horses, and sheep, which in the summer season used to graze in a wooded district on the right bank of the upper Einarsfiord. Domestic animals must, in olden times, have found sheltered places where they could winter in open air, even far away to the North; for when Ivar Bardson, about the year 1350, was sent to the rescue of the western settlers, he found these to have been exterminated by the Esquimaux; but their horses, oxen, and sheep were still roaming about, as the game of that country.[3] Until this day the Danes in Greenland have a small number of bovines that provide them with milk and butter all the year round.[4] Hayes, who in the year 1869 was at Julianashaab, a guest of the Moravian minister, relates that one afternoon they went up a small brook that runs behind the church. "We soon reached a large valley," he says, "in the centre of which there is a lake surrounded by extensive meadows, where goats and cows were grazing. I was quite surprised, for, although I knew that at one time cattle had thrived in that country, I had imagined that they could not live there any more. One obstacle, but a serious one, to success in cattle-growing, the minister said, is the difficulty in procuring forage for the winter season. The grass at Julianashaab does not grow tall enough to be mowed, and, though it attains the desired height at the head of the firth, it must be hauled down in boats; and this is a tiresome and expensive operation. As a consequence the minister and the governor have but three cows each; the physician has two, and each of the other families, only one."[1]

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[1] Cooley, Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 216; Peyrère, p. 197; Gravier, p. 149; Vivier de St. Martin, art. Groenland; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xi. pp. 85, 89.

[2] Compte rendu du Congrès Scientifique international des Catholiques tenu à Paris, 1891, 5me sec., p. 175.

[3] See Document XXXVI.

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[1] Cf. Moosmüller, S. 24.

[2] Codex Regius Annalium; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; Maltebrun, Geografia Universale, t. i. p. 360; Vivier de Saint Martin, art. Groenland; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 31; Winsor, vol. i. p. 68.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. pp. 46, 51.

[4] Gravier, p. 35.

The difficulty of laying in a supply of hay was evidently much less a thousand years ago, when the temperature of Greenland was considerably higher than it is to-day, and the meadows were flourishing where the grass is stunted now. If at present the angelica grass grows still to a height of over three feet along the streamlets of Igalikko Firth,[2] we should not wonder at the statement of the historian Ziegler, who says that Greenland earned its name by its abundant crops of fodder; and adds that it is evident how plentiful the grass must have been, and how numerous the bovines, from the fact that when European vessels landed there they took back great piles of butter and cheese and all kinds of white meats.[3] The ancient Icelandic records relate that while the northern sides of Greenland's mountains were covered with moss, their southern slopes produced the finest grasses;[4] and Ivar Bardson tells us that the firth "Ollum-lengri," the Longest of all, had both its level shores covered with grass, than which no herbage grows thicker or taller in any other country.[5]

From all this information we may readily conclude that the Greenland settlements of the Northmen were rather favorable to the maintenance of all ordinary domestic animals, and more so than Iceland and Norway itself. Eric the Red rode on horseback in Greenland, as the sagas testify, and it was a fall from his horse that prevented him from earning the honors conferred on his son for the exploration of the American continent. Although horses could be kept in Greenland to-day, yet with much expense, they are generally replaced by dogs;[1] but it appears that in former ages horses were numerous on the island,[2] and they continued to live, even in the severer latitudes of the northern settlements, when deprived of the care of their exterminated owners.[3]

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[1] Hayes, La Terra di Desolazione, p. 10; cf. Crantz, vol. i. p. 74, ap. De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 74, n. 5.

[2] Hayes, La Terra, cap. vi. p. 17.

[3] Alberti Krantzii, Daniæ, Sueciæ, Norvagiæ Chronaca: Accedit Jacobi Ziegleri Schondia, p. 479; cf. Gravier, p. 34; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xv. p. 104.

[4] Maltebrun, t. v. p. 256.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 42.

The ancient chorographer, Bardson, also speaks of smaller domestic animals in Greenland, and it is generally admitted that these were in great numbers.[4]

While the richer colonists had all kinds of cattle, goats and sheep were the only live-stock of the less industrious people.[5] Crantz, in his "History of Greenland," relates[6] that "in the year 1759 one of our missionaries brought three sheep with him from Denmark to New Herrnhuth. These have so increased," he adds, "by bringing some two, some three lambs a year, that they have been able to kill some every year since, to send some to Lichtenfels for a beginning there, and, after all, to winter ten at present. We may judge how vastly sweet and nutritive the grass is here from the following tokens: that tho' three lambs come from one ewe, they are larger, even in autumn, than a sheep a year old in Germany." He says that in summer they could pasture two hundred sheep around New Herrnhuth.

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[1] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 93, n. 3; Crantz, History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 74, ap. De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 74, n. 5.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xi. p. 86; Peyrère, p. 196; Winsor, vol. i. p. 68.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 51; supra, p. 162.

[4] Winsor, vol. i. p. 68; Hayes, p. 10; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; Peyrère.

[5] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 360.

[6] Vol. i. p. 74, ap. De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 74, n. 5.

There was plenty of land for all to provide their animals with grass in summer and with hay in winter, and even to raise for themselves sufficient vegetables, small fruits, and a moderate supply of some cereals.

Cooley mistakes when assuring us that the Scandinavians of Greenland did not eat bread nor till the soil;[1] yet we readily admit that the farming interests of the colonists were very limited, when we learn that hardly any grain was raised in their mother country at that time.[2] Although more favorable than in the northern parts of Norway, the climate was too cold for any extensive agriculture,[3] and only some exceptional spots, well sheltered against the north winds, repaid the labors of the husbandman. Such were the numerous islands and the coasts about the mouth of Eiriksfiord or Igalikko, Fossasund, and the Mid-, Breidi-, and Isafiords.[4] Bardson concludes his description of Greenland by saying that in these localities as beautiful wheat did grow as anywhere else, but Torfason takes exception to the statement.[5] Maltebrun writes that in the southern portions of the island there are stretches of land fit for the plough where barley might thrive,[6] and, in an interesting description of the firth of Igalikko, the explorer Hayes tells us that "the sloping land on the northern side, where once stood the church of Kakortok, is very much cut up, but offers here and there tracts perfectly level, still covered with luxuriant vegetation, that seem to have been cultivated at one time and would undoubtedly repay for tillage yet. Along the streamlets grass is growing over three feet high, and tradition has it that the Northmen harvested barley there. To judge from the temperature we enjoyed during our ride on the fiord," he says, "we should think that it could be done still to-day. At present," he continues, "there is not in all Greenland any more cultivation of the soil, with the exception of a few garden spots, where they raise some vegetables, such as cabbage, radish, and lettuce, which grow and prosper wonderfully up to the latitude of the Polar Circle."[1] He might as well have mentioned turnips, cress, chervil, celery, carrots, beans, and potatoes, all of which are still raised by the Danish population of Greenland.[2]

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[1] Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 215; from Maltebrun, t. i. p. 360.

[2] Archivium Secretum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Regestum 38: Joannis XXI. Bullarium anno i. t. i. Epistolæ 96 et 258, anno 1267: "Intimasti nobis . . . quod in quibusdam partibus Regni Norwagie non crescunt segetes, nec frugum alia genera producuntur: sed lacticiniis et piscibus fere dumtaxat vita inibi sustentatur humana. . . ."

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xv. p. 104.

[4] Ivar Bardson and the Danish translation, ap. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., p. 50.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xv. p. 105.

[6] T. v. p. 256.

The slightest examination of the ruins at Kakortok and in the neighborhood reveals the fact that every building, every residence of the Northmen, had its garden and a portion of cultivated land,[3] which, together with their bays, their table-lands, and wild mountains, provided them not only with the necessaries, but also with many a luxury of daily life. They lived, says Torfason,[4] on the flesh of game, of oxen, sheep, goats, whales, and seals; on milk, butter, and cheese, and on various kinds of fish. The bill-of-fare to which Mr. Hayes was treated by the minister of Julianashaab consisted of trout, Greenland beef, butter, and milk, smoked salmon, game of the country, radishes and lettuce fresh from the garden.[5]

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[1] Hayes, La Terra, cap. vi. p. 17.

[2] Maltebrun, t. v. p. 256; Gravier, p. 35; Vivier de Saint Martin, art. Groenland.

[3] Hayes, La Terra, p. 17; Gaffarel, Histoire de la Découverte, t. i. p. 407.

[4] Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 266.

[5] Hayes, pp. 10, 11.

These particulars are apt not only to correct many prejudices, but also to prove that almost every one of the ancient colonists was amply supplied from the resources of his new home. Nay, they found in Greenland such plenty of several valuable commodities that they were enabled to entertain frequent commercial intercourse with the European mother country.

Ivar Bardson concludes his description of Greenland by noticing some of the principal articles of export. "Greenland," he says, "is rich in silver-bearing lodes. It abounds with white bears having reddish spots on their heads, and with white falcons. It procures great quantities of whalebone and lots of walrus-skins (which, cut up in strips, form the strongest of ropes). Both in variety and abundance of fish Greenland excels all other countries. It has quarries of marble of various colors, fireproof stone, which the colonists carve and hollow out into kettles, urns, pitchers, and vats of the size of ten or twelve barrels. Reindeer are also to be found there."[1]

The Greenlanders exported beef,[2] stockfish, whale-oil, grease of seal, walrus-teeth, eiderdown, furs and skins, butter and cheese, besides several other articles of minor importance.[3] The furs of seal and the teeth of walrus seem to have constituted the staple merchandise for exportation. The metropolitan of Drontheim paid, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, part of the census due the pontifical treasury with walrus-teeth, evidently of Greenland origin.[4] Peyrère[5] discusses at full length the nature and value of this article of ancient commerce, and learnedly concludes that they really were teeth, and not horns of unicorns. We may, however, presume that among them were not a few rather horns than teeth, when we know that the male of the narwhal has usually one long, twisted tusk projecting forward from the upper jaw like a horn.[1] The walrus-teeth were for a time esteemed as ivory in Europe and sold at a high price, until they became known to be only teeth of fishes.

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 318.

[2] Winsor, vol. i. p. 68.

[3] Hayes, p. 22; Gravier, p. 217; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., p. 71.

[4] Archivium Secretum Pontificium Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norwegiæ, Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1326, fo. 3vo.

[5] P. 197.

Another commodity which the colonists of Greenland placed on the European markets was the precious wood, the "mösur," probably the curled maple, which they imported themselves from the coast of the American continent. One of the first traders between the opposite shores of the Atlantic Ocean, Thorfinn Karlsefne, sold, in the year 1014, to a merchant of Bremen, a piece of that wood for half a mark of gold.[2] The sagas add that no vessel ever sailed from Greenland laden with a cargo more valuable than that which Thorfinn had exported from our shores.[3]

In return, the Northmen of Greenland received from Europe their weapons, tools, and all iron implements and wares. Some authors state that they also imported from Norway wood and timber for heating and building purposes; but, while it is probable that they found all needed fuel at home, it is intimated by several passages of the Icelandic records that what building-timber they could not gather from the drift-wood they imported from the adjoining continent.[4]

Trade, among the Northmen, was mainly carried on by barter. Money was very scarce, and what there was was hardly worth having. "You have informed us," John XXI. writes, in the year 1276, to the archbishop of Drontheim, "that the coin current in the kingdom of Norway is so utterly worthless that it is of no account whatever beyond the limits of the kingdom, and that in some parts of the said country there is no money at all."[1]

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[1] Webster, Dictionary, art. Narwhal.

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 74, and Mémoire sur la Découverte de l'Amérique au Xe Siécle, p. 15.

[3] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 15, and Antiq. Amer., p. 72.

[4] Gravier, p. 217; Maltebrun, t. i. p. 360; Winsor, vol. i. p. 68; infra, ch. xi.

At the time of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, or about A.D. 1000, all debts of any importance were paid in silver, says Magnussen,[2]—to wit, in money of pale color that contained more silver than copper, and so minted that sixty small coins would make an ounce weight of silver. But the standard was gradually lowered in such a manner that, during the reign of Waldemar II., in A.D. 1241, a mark of money was worth only one-third of a marc weight of silver, and the proportion afterwards grew lower still. Archbishop Jörund complained, alleging that the nominal value of the Norwegian money was ten times that of its material worth in silver. The kings and princes of the middle ages were generally insolvent bankrupts, and not a few had a peculiar way of increasing the slight amount of their assets. They called in the old coin of the country, and, by adding more copper to it, issued new coin of a lower standard, ordering, under severe penalties, that it should be received at the value of the former. The Hanseates, however, and other foreign merchants required from the Norwegians sound money of sterling silver.[3] To obviate the scarcity of even this depreciated currency, the mark was afterwards divided into eight ounces, and each ounce into one hundred and forty-four skillings instead of the original sixty.[4]

The actual currency of the Northmen was, as that of all other nations, established and regulated by law; but, instead of gold and green paper, they had cloth, skins, kettles, scythes, cows, oxen, horses, sheep, goats, wool, various kinds of game and fish, etc. The digest Grágás had fixed the exchange value of all those articles in relation to one another and to labor.[1] In Iceland, for example, the wages of a laboring man were set by law at ten fishes or ten skillings, Lubeck, per day.[2]

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[1] See Document XXXVII., *f.*

[2] Grágás, p. 500.

[3] Allen, t. i. p. 242.

[4] Reeves, p. 186, n. 71.

Commerce with the Scandinavian peninsula, with Denmark and the British Isles, which commenced at the very beginning of the Greenland colonies, and hunting, fishing, and general husbandry were the great arteries diffusing contentment and prosperity all over the eastern shores of Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay; and we should not wonder if new-comers from Iceland Sweden, and Norway steadily increased the number of the original settlers.

The accounts of the Scandinavian population of Greenland differ widely, but there can be no doubt that it was quite important in its palmy days, although there may be difficulty in determining the exact figures.

Cooley evidently underrates, when he says[3] that Greenland, while boasting of two cities, "Garda and Hvrattalid," did not, in regard to the number of inhabitants, equal the smallest parish of the mother country. Maltebrun seems to be of the same opinion in asserting that the people of Greenland were not more numerous than a third of the inhabitants of a large parish in Norway.[4] Peyrère, more correct in his translation of the word "parochia,"[5] asserts that the Norwegians held such small possessions in Greenland as to have been reckoned in Denmark as equal only to the third part of a bishopric.[1] These data are vague and indefinite. We derive better information from the description of Ivar Bardson, which affords interesting details of one hundred and ninety "böygder" or settlements in the eastern district of the Scandinavian colonies, and of ninety in the western.[2] Brockhaus states that during the fourteenth century there were in the latter province one hundred and ten farms.[3] The round number of three hundred would, consequently, be that of all the settlements of ancient Greenland.

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[1] Magnussen, Grágás, p. 500.

[2] J. Anderson, Nachrichten, S. 131.

[3] Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 215.

[4] Geografia, t. i. p. 360.

[5] Cf. Du Cange, art. Parochia.

The very ruins of these numerous colonies, as, in particular, those of Brattalidha and of its religious edifices, attest that some of them had attained to quite considerable proportions and deservedly received the title of cities, or of towns at least.[4] The others, even the smallest of them, necessarily corresponded to the importance of families or of aggregations of several individuals,[5] as may be easily inferred from the distances intervening between them. Their topography further indicates that each "böygd," settlement or colony, was the home of at least one patriarch of a family, whose children and grandchildren continued to live with him, after the fashion in which we shall, farther on, see the children of Eric the Red marry and live in the house of their father. The Northmen of Greenland, no doubt followed the habits of their mother country, where each family established a village, and each village contained a patriarchal family, living and possessing in common, sleeping in one edifice erected as a common dormitory, eating together in another, keeping their provisions in a third, their cattle in a fourth, and storing their hay and wood, their butter and fish and game in so many more separate buildings or cabins; which, all together, constituted the "Gaard" or settlement of the ancient Northmen, and even until this day make up the hamlets and villages of northern Norway.[1]

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[1] Relation of Greenland, p. 194.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., p. 39; Scripta a Societate Hafniensi, t. ii. p. 141; Rafn in Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, p. 132.

[3] Art. Groenland.

[4] Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1840–44, p. 162.

[5] Scripta a Societate Hafniensi, t. ii. p. 141.

We acknowledge that all these statements do not afford a satisfactory solution of the problem as to the number of people that, centuries ago, inhabited the great island of North America; and we should not wonder if the learned, at a loss to find sufficient data, should build scientific reasonings on such hypotheses as may give a semblance of correctness to the presumption that Greenland contained then the same number of colonists as it does now. Such is the system of a contributor to the account of the Congress of Catholic Scientists in Paris, in A.D. 1891. His final estimate of ancient Greenland's population is nearly one thousand families,[2] and thus almost exactly coincides with its modern census; for we know from Maltebrun[3] that Greenland's population was five thousand one hundred and twenty-two souls in the year 1789, and five thousand six hundred and twenty-one in 1802; while Hayes states that to-day it amounts to about seven thousand.[4]

When, however, we observe from several reports of the ancient sagas that the intercourse between Greenland, Iceland, and Europe was, in olden times, more frequent, and the facilities of communication much greater than they are now, the ocean route being then considerably shorter and more secure than it is since the Denmark Strait and all the bays of southeastern Greenland have been obstructed by accumulating icebergs; when we take notice of the resources which the Northmen derived from the American continent, and of which the Danish colonists avail themselves no longer; and when, above all, we take into consideration the great change of temperature and climate, the consequent increase of daily hardships, and the gradual failure of farming in Greenland, we are necessarily led to believe that the number of hardy and enterprising Northmen must also have been considerably larger than that of the modern settlers on the frozen island. In connection with this presumption, Dr. Hayes says, "The fiord, on the banks of which stands the modern town of Julianashaab, extends some forty miles; but while the modern town now stands alone, in ancient days hamlets were dotted beside it everywhere, thousands of cattle once browsed where there are now but a few cows, and peace and plenty reigned here once among a Christian people."[1]

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[1] Cf. Gravier, p. 150, n. 4.

[2] Congrès Scient., sec. v. p. 177.

[3] T. v. p. 255.

[4] Terra di Desolazione, cap. viii. p. 22.

To prove that this opinion in regard to Greenland's ancient population is fully justified, we have one, though only one, reliable evidence,—namely, the contemporary, authentic accounts of St. Peter's Pence paid into the papal treasury by the inhabitants of Greenland in the year 1327.

It is known that each family in Sweden and throughout the kingdom of Norway paid one penny, current money, as yearly filial tribute, or St. Peter's Pence, to the Roman pontiff.[2]

This contribution of the diocese of Gardar amounted in the year 1327[3] to three "liespfunds" or forty-eight common pounds[1] of teeth "de roardo"[2] or of walrus ivory, which, when sold, brought six sols tournois of silver.[3]

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[1] Land of Desolation, p. 37.

[2] See Document XXXVII., *a*.

[3] We must admit that this yearly contribution was for one year only, when we notice that the collectors were very particular in stating the number of years for which the various amounts were received, whenever this number exceeded one. See Document XL.

A sol tournois of silver was equal to twelve pennies tournois of silver, and to one mark of Norwegian money.[4] Greenland had consequently paid for St. Peter's Pence the sum of six marks of Norwegian coin.

We also know that the Norwegian "mörk" was divided into eight "aurar" or ounces, and each ounce or "eyrir" into one hundred and forty-four skillings.[5] The skilling was thus the minutest specie of the Scandinavian monetary system, the penny due and paid by each family in Greenland as a yearly tribute to their spiritual father, the pontiff of Rome.

Reducing the six marks to the small Norwegian change, we find that six thousand nine hundred and twelve families had contributed to Greenland's St. Peter's Pence for the year 1327.

There is another way which we may follow in making this calculation of the number of ancient Greenland's people.

The collectors of St. Peter's Pence in the year 1327 have left us an interesting record of the exchanges and relative values of northern and of southern Europe's moneys at that time. The worth of the mark of Norwegian small coin is given in sound standard specie of both tournois and sterling silver denominations, and even of the precious Tuscan florin of gold. From this we must conclude that the Norwegian mark of minute coins, whatever its weight in copper, was understood to be a marc weight of standard fine silver.[1]

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[1] Anderson, Nachrichten, S. 131.

[2] Generally written "rosmaro," the technical name being Trichechus rosmarus, from the Flemish "ros," horse, and the Latin "mare," sea. To this latter root corresponds the Flemish "wal," wharf, sea-coast; and hence "walros" or the English "walrus," sea-horse or sea-cow, as the animal is often called.

[3] See Document XL.

[4] See Document XLI.

[5] Supra, p. 169.

Thus, there remains only the question, How many Norwegian pennies were represented by the six marks of international specie? This question is hard to answer correctly. But it is stated that about the year 1400 from twelve hundred to fourteen hundred pennies were required to make up a marc of fine silver.[2] Should one marc have equalled twelve hundred pennies, the answer would be seven thousand two hundred; and, consequently, there would have been seven thousand two hundred families in Greenland.

But since St. Peter's Pence was paid before the year 1400,—in 1327,—we must suppose that Norway's small coin was still of a higher standard, and that somewhat less than seven thousand two hundred pennies may have equalled the six marcs.

This brings us exactly to the conclusion of our former method, and we may logically admit that Greenland's population was little more or less than seven thousand families.[3]

Such is the conclusion of our calculations from the authentic documents, but the actual number of families was undoubtedly greater; for, when we consider the immense extent of colonized country, we cannot help assuming that several of the most distant and secluded families could not appear before the collectors of the pious tribute. Moreover, it is evident from similar cases[4] that the walrus ivory was not sold by the collectors as high as it had been estimated in Greenland.

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[1] See Document XLI.

[2] Herder, art. Pfenning.

[3] Instead of nine hundred and seventy-two, as supposed in Congrès Scient., cinq. sec. p. 177.

[4] See Document XXXIX.

Gravier[1] justly remarks that the families of the Northmen were generally large; and, in fact, all Europe was for a whole century wondering in dismay where all the swarms of Northman invaders might come from. We would not exaggerate, therefore, if we should allow ten persons to each family, and estimate the colonial population of ancient Greenland at seventy-five thousand people.

The various sums of money received at the same time as yearly St. Peter's Pence will afford the reader a means of establishing a comparison between the numbers of the faithful belonging to the different dioceses of the province of Drontheim:

Gardar	paid	6	marks of	small	Norwegian	coin.[2]
Oslo	"	50	"	"	"	"
Hammeren	"	10	"	"	"	"
Drontheim	"	27	"	"	"	"
Skalholt	"	5	"	"	"	"
The Faroes	"	$1\frac{1}{8}$	"	"	"	"
Stavanger	"	$10\frac{2}{3}$	"	"	"	"
The Orkneys	"	$10\frac{5}{18}$	"	"	"	"

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[1] P. 150, n. 4.

[2] See Document XL.

CHAPTER IX.

GREENLAND CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

It need not be remarked that the Northmen, faithfully paying St. Peter's Pence, were convinced and dutiful Christians.

This, however, could not be said of them during the first years of their settlements in Greenland, for the ancient sagas plainly state that the first colonists were pagans;[1] and what we have read of the conversion of Iceland, the mother-country of nearly all the Greenlanders, strongly confirms the assertion. Yet there was at least one exception.

When Herjulf Bardharson, together with those first colonists, set sail for Greenland in the year 986,[2] he had on board a man of the South Islands or Hebrides, a Christian, considered by many as a regular friar.[3] While the tempest was raging which sunk or drove back more than one-half of the fleet, this pious Christian put his confidence in Almighty God and improvised a simple, beautiful hymn, called the "Hafgerdhingar Drapu" or Song of the ocean's enclosure, which here means the dangerous breakers of the Greenland seas.[4] Ari Polyhistor speaks a second time of the ancient poet, and records the first lines of the hymn, the last verse of which he had given before.[1] Rafn[2] copies both beginning and end:[3]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 20.

[2] Supra, p. 146.

[3] Landnámabók, pt. ii. ch. xiv.: "Sudhreyskr madhr Kristinn;" Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 18; Beauvois, Origines, p. 8; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 305; Moosmüller, S. 27; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iv. p. 17.

[4] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 18; Beauvois, Origines, p. 8, n. 1; Moosmüller, S. 170; Reeves, p. 62.

> "Let all listen to our song
> Of the halls of the fishy deep.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> I pray the searcher of the pure monks
> To assist me on my voyage.
> He that sustains the vault of the world's expanse,
> May He keep His hand over me!"[4]

But for his poetry, the Christian of the Hebrides would not have been noticed by Ari Polyhistor; and it is not unlikely that a few more of the same faith may have accompanied the expedition, although, less talented and important, they are not spoken of in the sagas.

The next Christian in Greenland of whom mention is made was Thorbjörn Vivilson. His father, as already remarked,[5] had been imported into Iceland as a thrall, but afterwards set free by Aeda, the princely Norwegian widow, and by her made the owner of the beautiful estate of Vivilsdale. Thorbjörn and his brother Thorgeir had married two sisters, daughters of Einar of Laugabrekka, probably Christians also, and of a prominent Scandinavian family.[6] By his wife, Hallveiga, he had a daughter named Gudrida, a maiden of wonderful beauty, whom he imprudently allowed to be raised in the pagan family of the wealthy Orm and of his wife Halldise. Thorbjörn had long been a friend of Eric the Red, and when, through high life, he had lost the greater part of his fortune, he followed him with all his family to Greenland in the year 999, where he accepted the hospitality of Thorkell, the richest man of Herjulfsnes.

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[1] Landnámabók, pt. v. ch. xiv., and pt. ii. ch. xiv.; cf. Heimskringla from Edda 49, in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, ch. civ., also Flateyarbók, juxta Moosmüller, S. 28, and Reeves, p. 62.

[2] Antiq. Amer., pp. 19, 188.

[3] See Document XLIV.

[4] Cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 19; Moosmüller, S. 170; Beamish, Discovery, p. 50; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 605.

[5] Supra, p. 125.

[6] Herbermann, Torfason's Ancient Vinland, ch. ix. p. 43.

When Thorbjörn landed there was dearth in the island; fish was unusually scarce. Thorkell, believing in the superstitions of Odinism, called to his house a soothsayer, Thorbiorga by name, and inquired from her how long the distress was still to last. The sorceress requested the women present to sing the song of spirit evocations, but none of them came forward. She asked, therefore, whether no one knew it. "I am neither magician nor enchantress," said Gudrida, Thorbjörn's daughter, "but my guardian, Halldise, has taught me in Iceland a lay which she called vardhlokkur," a spirits evocation. "You are lucky," Thorkell said. "But that song is of such a nature," Gudrida replied, "that I cannot sing it now, for I am a Christian woman." "And yet you might do a service to the company, and be no worse off after than before," the soothsayer rejoined. And Thorkell, Thorbjörn's host, insisted so strongly that finally the girl gave in and sang. As a matter of course, the spirits flocked by, and Thorbiorga foretold coming plenty for all and good fortune for each one. As might be expected, Thorbjörn had been more dutiful than his daughter: he had left the house before the superstitious rites had commenced, and returned only when they were over.[1] Soon after he took his family to Brattalidha.

These few Christians exerted, no doubt, some little influence upon the religious convictions of their fellow-colonists, but it was a rather unexpected event which gave the effectual impulse to Greenland's conversion.

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[1] Herbermann, Torfason's Ancient Vinland, ch. xi. p. 46; Saga of Eric the Red, ap. Reeves, pp. 25, 34; Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ch. iii., ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 104–113, and Beauvois, Origines, p. 122, *seq.*

Olaf I. or Tryggvason had been expelled from Norway and had taken refuge in England, where he embraced Christianity, and was baptized in a monastery of the Scilly Islands, according to the saga of his name; or at the hands of the bishop of Winchester, with King Ethelred as sponsor, in the city of London, if we are to believe English historians.[1] In the year 995 he returned to his country as king and as apostle, and his foremost concern was the introduction of Christianity into Norway and its propagation among all the peoples of Norwegian descent. A saga written by Odd Snorason, a monk of Thingeyren, praises him for having Christianized five different countries,—Norway, the Orkneys with the Shetlands, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland.[2] It is exaggeration to say that Olaf Tryggvason effected the conversion of Greenland, but it is true that Leif, son of Eric the Red, was influenced by him not only to introduce into his adoptive country a priest and several clerics, but also to exert all his power and eloquence towards bringing about this important event.

The Kristni saga or History of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland gives us the following brief information: "That summer,"—namely, of the year 1000, —"King Olaf went from the country southward to Vindland. Then he sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to proclaim the faith there. Leif discovered then Vinland the Good; he also found men on a shipwreck in the sea; therefore was he called Leif the Fortunate."[3]

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[1] Depping, t. ii. p. 178. Some authors pretend that he was converted in Russia, others that he was baptized at Rouen, in France.

[2] Pertz, t. vii. cap. lxxvii. p. 319; Beauvois, Origines, p. 12, n. 3; Chevalier, art. Olaf I.

[3] See Document XLV.

The "Heimskringla" and the "Flateyarbók" give a more minute account of the first Christian missions in Greenland. When fifteen winters had passed after Eric the Red had first gone to live in Greenland, his son Leif left for Norway, where, in the autumn, he landed at Drontheim, shortly after King Olaf Tryggvason had returned. Upon the invitation of the monarch, Leif and his companions went at once to visit him. Olaf was not slow in inviting the sailors to renounce idolatry and profess the new religion; and, after duly considering all the arguments, actuated by God's grace and convinced of the truth of Christianity, Leif readily consented, and was solemnly baptised with all his men towards the end of the year 999. He passed that winter, a favorite guest, at the royal court, where he was more fully instructed in the tenets and practices of holy religion.[1]

In the spring of the year 1000, in which he fell,[2] King Olaf sent the priests Gissur and Hjalti to further the conversion of Iceland,[3] and at the same time induced Leif Ericsson to accept a similar charge for Greenland. Hearing that his guest intended to set sail for home, "I think," quoth he, "that it would be well if you should sail thither for the purpose of propagating Christianity." "You have but to command," Leif replied, "but I think that it will be difficult to make a success of it in my country." "I know of no man better qualified for the undertaking," the king continued, "and you will succeed." "If I do," Leif rejoined, "it shall be through your assistance." And he accepted the mission.[4]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xvii. p. 127; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 15; Reeves, p. 61.

[2] Reeves, p. 160, n. 5; Chevalier, ad verbum Olaf I.

[3] Supra, p. 127.

[4] Saga of Thorfinn, ¶ 4, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 117, and Beauvois, Origines, p. 13.

Olaf sent along with him a priest named Thormod[1] and some other ordained men or clerics to baptize the people there and make them know the true faith.[2]

The Greenland convert sailed from the haven of Drontheim in the spring of the year 1000,[3] and, after having been tossed on the waves for a long time, he came in sight of land, at a place where he did not expect to find any. Curiosity made him disembark, and he found there self-sown cereals and native grapevines. There also were trees called maple, some of which large enough for building-timber. He took on board some specimens of all these natural products of the unknown country and set out for the open sea again. After some time he discovered a number of sailors clinging to the wreck of their ship, probably crushed by icebergs, and he took them home with him. By this act of charity, by the great qualities manifested on many other occasions, and by introducing the Christian religion into his country he secured to himself, for all his life, the title of Leif the Fortunate. Thus the History of Thorfinn Karlsefne, more circumstantial on this occasion than the other Icelandic records.[4]

Leif landed in Eiriksfjord towards the end of the summer, and was received most cordially by all the people of Brattalidha; but his father, the old sinner, gave him a cool reception. The act of rescuing men in danger of death was but an equivalent, he said, for bringing along a sorcerer; for so he called the priest.[5]

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 47.

[2] See Document XLVI.; Beamish, Discovery, p. 80, from the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, Kap. 231; alii.

[3] In his Norumbega, p. 42, Horsford places the discovery of America by the son of Eric the Red in the year 999; but more correctly in A.D. 1000, in his Landfall of Leif Erikson.

[4] Ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 118, 194.

[5] See Document XLVI.; Saga of Thorfinn, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer.,

Leif, nothing daunted, soon proclaimed the Christian faith to the Greenland colonists, and announced to them the messages of King Olaf Tryggvason, telling them of the excellence and great beauty of his new religion.

Eric the Red was slow to renounce his pagan worship and to abandon his accustomed rites in honor of a white bear;[1] but his wife, Thorhilda, consented at once to the invitation of her son, was baptized under the new name of Thjodhilda,[2] and caused a sacred edifice to be erected at some distance from the villa, just below the domain of Stokanes.[3] This structure was called Thjodhilda's church. Here she and other converts were wont to say their prayers. A circumstance of her conversion, easily explained by the excessive zeal of a neophyte, was that, from that moment, she refused all intercourse with Eric, her husband, who felt much grieved at her stubborn resolution.[4]

We will soon have occasion to notice that Leif the Fortunate succeeded also in convincing his brothers, while his sister, Freydisa, accepted the faith without submitting to the duties imposed by it, as afterwards her behavior showed. Eric the Red, his father, was finally softened also by his entreaties and baptized a Christian; and all the Greenland colonists became converts, at the example of their acknowledged leader.

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p. 192; Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 193; Codex Frisianus or Konungabók, ap. Reeves, p. 12; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xvii. p. 127, and Historia Rerum Norveg., t. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxxvii. p. 434; Gravier, p. 48; alii.

[1] Saga of Thorfinn, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 119; Flaomanna Saga, in Groenl. Histor. Mindesm., t. ii. pp. 224, 230, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 14, n. 2.

[2] Warrior, no more of the mythical Thor, but of the people.

[3] A Danish note on Skardza's Description of Greenland, ap. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 60.

[4] Saga of Thornfinn, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 119; Reeves, p. 36; Herbermann, p. 42; cf. Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 606; Beauvois, Origines, p. 14 and n.

Thus relate Torfæus and historians generally, after the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason.[1]

Björn Skardza, in his Saga of Karlsefne, asserts that Eric the Red died before Christianity was introduced;[2] and from this expression some authors have concluded that the old man died a pagan.[3] Smith mistranslates[4] the original and Beauvois misinterprets it,[5] to arrive at this conclusion. It is evident, however, from the statements of several sagas, that Eric the red accepted the Christian religion preached by his son. The History of Olaf Tryggvason plainly says that, "at the advice and exhortation of Leif, Eric and all the inhabitants of Greenland were baptized."[6]

That Eric did not die before the first introduction of Christianity into, and the partial conversion of, Greenland is evident from the fact that Leif succeeded during the first winter after his return from Norway in converting fifty villas or "reppos," as Skardza states, in the eastern district of the island,[7] while his father departed this life two years later, in the winter succeeding Leif's return from Vinland.[8] It is necessary, therefore, to understand the phrase of Thorfinn Karlsefne's saga as meaning the legal introduction of Christianity as the religion of state into Greenland, which took place shortly after Eric's demise.[9]

Leif Ericsson and his little band of clergy continued their zealous apostolate with ever-increasing success, while Greenland was continually receiving new colonists from the mother-countries, now almost entirely converted to Christianity; to such an extent that it could be said that, at the death of Thorvald Ericsson on the American continent in the year 1004, "the Christian religion had been established in Greenland;"[1] and that Thorstein, another son of Eric the Red, could, on his death-bed in the year 1006, allude to Christianity as "the religion of Greenland."[2]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xvii. p. 127, and Historia Rerum Norveg., t. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxxvii. p. 434; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 194; Beamish, Discovery, p. 80.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xvii. p. 127; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 111; Moosmüller, S. 48.

[3] Moosmüller, S. 48.

[4] Dialogues, p. 127.

[5] Origines, p. 14.

[6] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 194.

[7] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. viii. p. 32, ap. Moosmüller, S. 47, and Herbermann, Torfason's Ancient Vinland, p. 42.

[8] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 39.

[9] Cf. Gravier, pp. 56–58.

There were, however, at this time some colonists, notably in the western settlement, professing still the pagan cult of Odin. Among these was Thorstein the Swarthy, who, when receiving Thorstein Ericsson and his wife Gudrida as his guests, told them, "I follow a religion different from yours, yet I consider as more excellent the one which you have."[3]

The reason of this preference, and the principal motive of the conversion of the northern idolaters, seems to have been the perception of the powerlessness of their gods compared with the almighty strength of the God of the Christians. A half-converted Greenland woman had, in the year 1025, taken care, during his sickness, of Thormod Kolbrúnarskáld, the poet-laureate of King St. Olaf. She had a large chair on the back of which was carved an image of the god Thor. This was objected to her as a sign of her idolatry; but she exculpated herself in good style, and answered that if she seldom went to church to hear the priest, it was because she lived at a great distance and her family was small, "not because I am a pagan," she said, "for, when I look at this image of Thor," she added, "which I can burn up whenever I wish, how much greater appears to me the One who has created the heavens, the earth, and all things visible and invisible, the One who has given life to all his creatures, and whom no man can resist."[1]

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[1] Saga of Thorfinn, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 46; Herbermann, ch. iv. p. 32.

[2] Reeves, p. 26; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 49.

[3] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 50; Reeves, p. 70.

The great reliance of the first Scandinavian Christians on the power of the Almighty is manifested by their simple, fervent prayers on all occasions of danger and need. Thus, also, in a tempest which drove the Icelandic scald Helga to the coast of Greenland, one of the crew proposed that the men on board should fight one another to death, perhaps in the lingering opinion that none but warriors dying in a combat would enter the paradise of the Northmen; but Helga stood up and reminded them of the omnipotence of the true God. They prayed, and behold the wind subsided and the waves were calmed.

The same poet records in his rhymed chronicle a conversion in Greenland as late as the year 1018, the circumstances of which testify again to the confidence of the neophytes in the beneficent power of God, and seems to prove that the accession of the Northmen to Christianity was not accomplished without miraculous intervention of Heaven. Helga was affianced to a lady of Greenland who was a pagan still, but had resolved to prepare for holy baptism. She therefore, asked Helga to teach her the Apostles' Creed; but the man became so ill that he could not speak. His betrothed then placed between his teeth a thin leaf with the Saviour's name written upon it; and, he says, his color changed at once, his fever left him, and he was able to explain the Christian doctrine.[2]

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[1] Fostbroedhra-Saga, in Groenl. Histor. Mindesm., t. ii. p. 372, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 21.

[2] Rimur af Skáld Helga, in Groenl. Histor. Mindesm., t. ii. pp. 440, 488, 506, 514, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 21.

The conversion of Helga's bride was probably one of the last among the Scandinavians of Greenland, since, as noticed already, most of the people were baptized during the very first years of the eleventh century.

Several churches had soon been erected in the neighborhood of Brattalidha, along the banks of Einarsfjord and of Eiriksfjord. The first of these, if we except Thjodhilda's oratory, was the church of Dyrnesey or Dyrnes, not far from the mouth of Eiriksfjord, to the left when you sail up the inlet.[1]

It appears that there was no church, or, at least, no residing priest, in the western settlement yet in the year 1006; for, when Thorstein Ericsson was there at the time, and saw the men of his crew mowed down by an epidemic, he had their corpses laid in coffins and stowed away in his ship to transport them afterwards, for a Christian burial, to the church near Brattalidha. When he was on the point of death himself, he called his wife, Gudrida, and said to her, "Happy those who keep the faith, for in it are found mercy and salvation, and yet many keep it but ill. This is no proper custom," he said, "which prevails here, to inter men in unconsecrated ground with a little singing over them. It is my will that I be conveyed to the church, together with the others who have died here."[2] His wish was religiously fulfilled: his wife, Gudrida, and her host, Thorstein the Swarthy, sailed the following spring to Brattalidha, and had all the corpses buried with the proper ceremonies near the church.[3]

It had until then been the custom in Greenland since the Christian religion had been introduced, to bury the dead on the farmsteads where they had died. A pole was erected in the earth, touching the breast of the corpse, and afterwards, when the priest would come on a missionary tour, the pole was extracted, holy water was poured into the grave, and funeral services were held, although perhaps a long time after the interment had taken place. From the report of Thorvald Ericsson's death on the coast of the American continent, it would appear that the converted Northmen were also in the habit of placing on their graves, besides the pole over the breast, wooden crosses over both the head and the feet.[1] From this fact the place of Thorvald's burial was called "Krossanes" or Cape of the Cross, probably Gurnet Point of to-day. Discoveries have recently been made in the ancient graveyard of Herjulfsnes, showing that the Greenlanders also put wooden crosses in the folded hands of their dead. One of these crosses was eight inches long and bore on its outer face the name "Maria" in runic characters.[2]

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[1] Björn Skardza, ap. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 48; Theod. Thorlak, ap. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 76; Peyrère, p. 190.

[2] First Particula Gronlandorum, ch. iii., in Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. i. p. 230, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 119, Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 50, 55, 128.

[3] Rafn; Antiq. Amer., pp. 55, 130; Herbermann, Torfason's Ancient Vinland, p. 34.

The funeral customs of Christian Greenland were thus the same as those of most Catholic countries today, and the people justly attached the greatest importance to the sacred rites of a religious burial, as is proved by the very name of the famous "Líka-Lodhin" or Lodhin-of-the-Corpses, a contemporary of Leif the Fortunate. His principal occupation was to go as far as the northern deserts and the glacial bays in search of dead bodies, to procure them a Christian sepulture by the side of some church.[3] It is a well-established fact that many seamen who had perished in the frozen waters of the North were thus laid down in the blessed yard of the church of Herjulfsnes, as, among others, the priest Ingimund and Einar Thorgrimson, his brother; whose large ship had been crushed between the icebergs, and whose bodies had long after, in the year 1200, been found, that of Ingimund being still incorrupt, on the adjacent coast.[1]

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[1] First Particula Gronlandorum, ch. iv., and Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ch. v., in Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. i. pp. 230, 392, ap. Beauvois, Origines, pp. 15, 16; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 46, 129; Eiriks Saga Raudha, ap. Reeves, p. 39.

[2] Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845–49, p. 435.

[3] Beauvois, Origines, p. 16.

Another feature of the sincerity and devotion of the Scandinavian converts in Greenland was their liberality towards the poor and towards their churches, to which they secured an honorable support for all the time of their existence, as we shall notice farther on. It has been recorded of Thorstein Ericsson in particular that, when on the point of death, he also recommended to his wife, Gudrida, to distribute their moneys between the church and the poor.[2]

It is not all virtue, however, that we have to notice in the history of the Christian people of Greenland. Their ancient race was highly intelligent, but more passionate than we might expect them to be in their frigid clime. They readily embraced the true religious doctrines, but often fell back into their inveterate superstitions when man's corrupt nature goaded them to find in their former religion an excuse for their evil inclinations. Of this fact we find an excellent proof in the indulgent epistle of Pope John IX. to Harvy, bishop of Reims, about the year 901. This prelate had requested the Sovereign Pontiff to give him a line of conduct in regard to the Northmen, who, baptized and baptized over again, behaved as pagans still, killed Christians of the French nation and massacred priests, sacrificed to their forsaken gods, and ate the horse-flesh offered to their idols. This pope pleads in their behalf the attenuating circumstances of their ignorance and recent conversion, and advises the use of leniency, except when some of them might be found ready to submit to the rigor of canon-law.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iv. p. 19; Langebek, t. iii. p. 72.

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 129; Reeves, p. 39.

One of the most striking examples of lasting superstition among the Scandinavians is set forth in a letter of Alexander III. to one of the bishops of Sweden, dated July 6, 1161. The Pontiff expresses his horror on hearing that a man killed in the state of drunkenness was venerated as a saint by some of the people, according to the custom of ancient paganism. He adds: "Whilst it is hardly allowed by the Church to pray for people who die in such a condition, since the Apostle says that drunkards shall not possess the kingdom of heaven; even though, therefore, many wonders should be worked through him, you would not be allowed to venerate him publicly, without the inquest and approval of the Church of Rome."[2]

If it took so much pains and time to obliterate the tenets and practices of Odinism, it should be no wonder if, as old weeds appear on the newly broken land of the best husbandmen, some of the venerated vices of northern paganism have cropped out among the remarkable virtues of the Greenland converts.

As human scalps are yet the costliest finery of our Red Skins, so was a bloody record the brightest title among the pagan Scandinavians; and many of them, "diabolica fraude decepti," at the devil's instigation, killed their fellow-beings to drink with Thor in heaven. This belief, however unnatural, was not suppressed at once. Freydisa, the natural daughter of the pagan murderer Eric the Red, felt no scruple in sacrificing to her avarice the life of her partners during her sojourn on the American continent in the year 1012. Sanguinary broils were long the religious diversion of the Northmen, and we acknowledge our regret in stating that we could find no sufficient light to dispel the shadows cast upon the memory of Arnold, the first resident bishop of Greenland, by the feuds of the grandees under his jurisdiction. This pagan worship of Thor's murderous hammer was probably in Greenland, as it was in Iceland, the sad cause of the ruin of their independent republican government.

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[1] See Document XLVII.

[2] See Document XLVIII.

Next to religious killing was the unchristian right of enslaving fellow-men. We do not wish to enter upon all the intricacies connected with slavery, serfdom, and vassalism as ethical subjects, but we are sorry to state that Christianity could not, at its very beginning, abolish the customs introduced by all the branches of the Scandinavian race during their long-lasting and terrific raids into the Christian countries of central Europe. The first Scandinavian explorers of our continent employed the services of two men,—the Scotch Hake and Hekia,—who were given as a present by the Christian king, Olaf Tryggvason, to Leif the Fortunate;[1] and, when taking into consideration the general circumstances of those times, we feel inclined to think that the first American freemen held under their sway many vanquished natives of Ireland and France, who proved afterwards to be great helps towards the increase of the religion of martyrs.

The hammer of Odin's son, that had brought down so many Christians to death or into servitude, was now better employed in Greenland in breaking the rocks that hindered the cultivation of the land and in reducing them to building-material; but the imaginary power of the god did not cease all at once. Thorhall, one of Thorfinn's companions on his expedition to our coasts in the year 1007, had been baptized a Christian, without abjuring sincerely his pagan belief. He was noted as a bad Christian and as the evil spirit who had induced his master, Eric the Red, to resist so long the zealous entreaties of Leif the Fortunate. One day Thorfinn and his crew were in a sore plight: they were short of the necessaries of life, bad weather preventing them from hunting and fishing. But lo! a dead whale was unexpectedly thrown out by the waves, and they all feasted on its blubber. Then Thorhall triumphantly exclaimed before his companions, "Now you see that the Red-beard [he meant Thor] has helped us sooner than your Christ, for this is the reward I obtained for the song which I composed in honor of our protector Thor; he has seldom disappointed me!"

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 10; Antiq. Amer., p. 139.

Yet Thorhall convinced no one of his superstitious belief; for, when the crews heard his impious boast, they threw the fish back into the sea, recommending themselves more fervently to the providence of God. Their faith proved to be their salvation. While they were recovering of a disorder entailed upon them by eating of the whale, the weather grew more favorable to fishing purposes; and from that day on they suffered no more of scarcity of food: they found game on the continent, eggs on the islands, and fish in the ocean.[1]

The text of the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne affords to some modern authors another instance of the superstitious credulity of the first Christians in Greenland. It is, indeed, related that when Thorstein Ericsson was lying in state in the house of Thorstein the Swarthy, who was still a credulous pagan, the dead man erected himself in a sitting position, called his wife, Gudrida, gave her advice and told her her fortune, and then sank down dead again. Such stories are evidently nothing but a version of facts, embellished in the fashion of popular tales, which, in the early literature of all nations, as well as in the romances of this day, clothe the most common incidents of their hero's life in such a garb as makes them appear stupendous and miraculous events. It is evident that the Swarthy spoke of his guest as dead when the son of Eric, in the throes of death, was able still to whisper to his wife a few parting words of consolation.[1]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 143. 175, *seq.;* Beauvois, Origines, p. 17; Herbermann, p. 52; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 614. Gravier, p. 77, allows on this, as on other occasions, his hatred of the true religion to subvert the truthfulness becoming a historian. He wantonly turns upside down the unmistakable statements, as if he were a devotee of the Scandinavian Red-beard.

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[1] Cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 126, *seq.;* alii. The whole story, in its superstitious form, as copied by the American Catholic Quarterly Review, vol. xiv. p. 610, is as follows:

"The Icelandic sagas relate thus: 'Now, it was not long before the sickness came also into Thorstein the Black's house, and his wife, who hight Grimheld, took the sickness first. She was very large and strong as a man, but still did the sickness master her; and soon after that the disease attacked Thorstein Erikson, and they both lay ill at the same time; and Grimheld, the wife of Thorstein the Black, died. But when she was dead, then went Thorstein out of the room after a plank, to lay the body upon. Then said Gudrid, "Stay not long away, my Thorstein!" He answered that so it should be. Then said Thorstein Erikson, "Strangely now is our housemother, Grimheld, going on, for she pushes herself upon her elbows, and stretches her feet out of bed, and feels for her shoes." At that moment came in the husband, Thorstein the Black, and Grimheld then lay down, and every beam in the room creaked. Now Thorstein made a coffin for Grimheld's body and took it out and buried it; but, although he was a large and powerful man, it took all his strength to bring it out of the place. Now the sickness attacked Thorstein Erikson, and he died, which his wife, Gudrid, took much to heart. They were all in the room. Gudrid had taken her seat upon a chair beyond the bench upon which Thorstein, her husband, had lain. Then Thorstein, the host, took Gudrid from the chair upon his knees, and sat with her upon another bench just opposite Thorstein's body. He com-

The story of Gudrida singing at a soothsayer's performance is also invoked by authors unfriendly to the Christian religion, as if the Church had not, from that day and before until now, combated all kinds of superstition as foolish and sinful; but it is apparent that, in this instance, the young girl yielded to importunities through the weakness of her sex and age, while her father's behavior clearly testifies to the teachings of Christianity.[1] Beauvois says well that, if pagan superstitious practices continued for a long while among the converted Northmen, yet, from the very time of the Scandinavians' conversion, they were condemned by the better-informed among them. It may not be out of place to remark here that, while duelling, a savage crime originating in pagan superstition, was a kind of judicial process in England as late as the year 1818, and is still in vogue in some countries, it was

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forted her in many ways and cheered her up, and promised to go with her to Eriksfjord with her husband's body and those of his companions; "and I will also," added he, "bring many servants to comfort and amuse thee." She thanked him. Then Thorstein Erikson, the dead husband of Gudrid, sat himself up on the bench and said, "Where is Gudrid?" Three times said he that, but she answered not. Then she said to Thorstein, the host, "Shall I answer his questions or not?" He counselled her not to answer. [*These incidents differ in other sagas.*] After this went Thorstein, the host, across the floor and sat himself on a chair; but Gudrid sat upon his knees, and he said, "What wilt thou, namesake?" After a little he answered, "I wish much to tell Gudrid her fortune, in order that she may be the better reconciled to my death, for I have now come to a good resting-place. But this can I tell thee, Gudrid, that thou wilt be married to an Icelander, and ye shall live long together and have a numerous posterity, powerful, distinguished and excellent, sweet and well-favored; ye shall remove from Greenland to Norway, and from thence to Iceland; there shall ye live long, and thou shalt outlive him. Then wilt thou go abroad and travel to Rome and come back again to Iceland to thy house; and there will a church be built, and thou wilt reside there and become a nun, and there wilt thou die." And when he had said these words Thorstein fell back, and his corpse was set in order and taken to the ship.'"

[1] See supra, p. 179.

solemnly declared illegal in Iceland, and likely in Greenland, as early as the year 1011.[1]

The rapid and radical change of religious belief and worship in Iceland and Greenland in the beginning of the eleventh century testifies to the zeal of the first Christian missionaries in those countries; especially when we take into consideration the paucity of their number, which must necessarily have been very small at the time when the mother country, Norway itself, was yet in great need of foreign priests. The Norwegian king, St. Olaf, still took along with him from England a great number of bishops and priests, for the further evangelization of his native country.[2]

Besides that of Thormod, who accompanied Leif the Fortunate in the year 1000, we find hardly any names of priests who labored in the missions of Greenland during the eleventh century. Lyschander mentions a certain Eric or Henry among the clergymen of the island in the year 1024; and, in the year 1052, another Eric, priest or bishop, seems to have been ministering to the Greenland colonists.[3]

There is no doubt, however, that some other missionaries arrived in Greenland during the first decades of this century, as it is plainly stated by Adam of Bremen that "St. Olaf gave charge to the bishops and priests introduced from England and from the archdiocese of Bremen to preach and establish the kingdom of Christ, not only in Norway, but also in Gothland and Sweden and in all the islands beyond Scandinavia."[4] The saintly king did not forget Greenland in his pious zeal, keeping up friendly relations with the lay apostle, Leif the Fortunate, and his son, Thorkell Leifson.[1] His influence seems, on the contrary, to have been so extraordinarily effective that Nicholas V., in the year 1448, ascribed to his efforts the conversion of the distant island.[2]

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[1] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 39, n. 1.

[2] Adam Bremensis, ap. Pertz, t. vii. cap. xciv. p. 326.

[3] Cf. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxix. p. 240.

[4] See Document XLIX.

It appears to have been during St. Olaf's time that Greenland enjoyed the ministry of the personage who is the first to be called "Grónlendinga Biskup" or bishop of Greenland. His name was Olaf, and he is reported as having visited Iceland after Bishop Bernard had left probably in the year 1021, and before the arrival of Bishop Kól, in A.D. 1095, according to the list of visiting bishops drawn up by Skardza, in his "Additions to the Landnámabók."[3] The authors of the Historic Monuments of Greenland seem to have confounded him with the Bishop Olaf who sojourned in Iceland in the year 1265, because Ari Frode does not mention the former in his Islendingabók; but there are no reasons to show why Skardza should have disturbed the chronological order, while Ari justly neglected to place him on the roll of the bishops who visited Iceland in their official capacity.[4]

The small city of Bremen was in the eleventh century regarded and visited as the Rome of the North. Among the most distant pilgrims who called upon Archbishop Adalbert were the Icelanders, the Greenlanders, and the people of the Orkney group. They came to ask him for preachers of the gospel, and the primate granted their request, says his contemporary, Adam of Bremen. He consecrated a number of bishops for Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and for the islands of the sea, it is said; although none of them is named as destined for Greenland.[1]

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[1] Wetzer und Welte, 2te Aufl., art. Grönland.

[2] See Document XXIX.

[3] Islendinga Saegur, p. 331, ap. Beauvois, Origines, pp. 24, 25.

[4] Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. p. 896; Islendinga Saegur, p. 13; Beauvois, Origines, pp. 24, 25.

The foregoing statement leaves no doubt of the fact that Adalbert of Bremen sent missionaries to Greenland in the year 1044, when, according to Messenius,[2] the request was made the first time; but it is not certain that he, either then or afterwards, also granted a bishop to this remote portion of his province. The affirmative opinion is, however, probable in the highest degree, and held by such conscientious scholars as Moosmüller, Magnussen, and Rafn.[3] The learned Fidel Fita[4] takes the same view, although he mistakes more than once when he says, "Albert became the first bishop of the cathedral of St. Nicholas of Gardar, in Greenland, in the year 1055." Beauvois doubts, and is inclined to the negative,[5] but his opponents' arguments carry more weight than his inaccurate objections. Adam of Bremen writes that of the several bishops consecrated by him, Archbishop Adalbert "assigned one, a certain Thurolf, to the Orkney Islands, and another, named Adalbert." This obscure expression might signify that the Orkneys received two bishops at once, but the small importance of this group would hardly bear out such an interpretation. It seems, therefore, that the archbishop had rather conceded the second to one of the two other applicants,—namely to the Greenlanders, while those of Iceland received, one year after, the saintly man Isleif, as their first regular, resident bishop. On the other hand, Messenius[6] relates that, in the year 1055, the metropolitan of Hamburg-Bremen sent to Iceland

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[1] Adam Bremensis, ap. Pertz, t. vii. cap. cxlii. p. 344; Pontanus, lib. v., ad an. 1066, p. 188.

[2] T. ii. lib. i. cap. xxiii., ap. Moosmüller, S. 53.

[3] Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, S. 53; Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. p. 423.

[4] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 237.

[5] Origines, p. 129, *seq.*

[6] T. ii. p. 86, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 26.

Bishop Jón, Albert to Greenland, and Thurolf to the Orkneys. Messenius, it is true, does not give any authority for his assertion, but he is a reliable author, and is rather sustained by an ancient scholium, where it is said that the vicar of Hamburg's archbishop sent out Bishops Albert and Meinhart to Norway and to the oceanic isles. Adalbert and Albert are doubtless the same person.

A last argument originates in a later statement of Adam of Bremen,—namely, that Isleif, a short time after his consecration for the see of Skalholt, was charged by Adalbert, the northern metropolitan, to carry his letters of greeting to the churches of Iceland and of Greenland, "Eorum salutans ecclesias,"—which is a mediæval expression, referring to cathedral churches or dioceses. Hence it would seem that there was a bishop in Greenland at the time. The archbishop told Isleif, moreover, of his intention to visit ere long those distant missions,—a purpose which, however, he did not accomplish.[1]

A demurrer to the last evidence might be interposed from the commonly accepted opinion that Greenland, at this time, had no "church," no episcopal see; but it is stated in various passages of the ancient Icelandic and Greenland records that Gardar was but the second cathedral of Greenland. The episcopal residence and church of Steines were built a number of years before.

It is admitted that the first diocese of Greenland had its see located in the northern province, called Vestrebygd or western settlement; but the name of this see is given with some variation by different authors. Peyrère says,[2] "The country is uninhabited and barren between Ostrebug and Vestrebug. Near this desert there is a church called Stornes, which was formerly the metropolitan and the residence of the bishop of Greenland." Torfæus relates,[1] after the ancient Ivar Bardson, that "there is a distance of twelve Danish miles between Easterbygd and Westerbygd, a worthless desert; but in Westerbygd there is a large church named, in the Danish old translation, Steinsnes kirkia, which, for a while, was the cathedral and the episcopal see." The German version of Bardson's description calls it Strömsnes. Björn Skardza, revised by Theodore Thorlak, when describing Greenland, says, "There is in the western province a bay called Straumfjord, and I think it was on its coast that was situated the episcopal see of Straumnes."[2]

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[1] Adam Bremensis, De Situ Daniæ, cap. xxxvi., ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 26, n. 4.

[2] P. 191.

From this fact of an episcopal residence at Steines during the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth has risen the question whether Greenland, at one time, was divided into two dioceses, as would appear to be the case when we consult the venerable manuscripts that contain the lists of bishoprics in olden times. The old "Provincial Book" of the year 1182, as preserved by the Poor Scholar Albinus, mentions as suffragan of the archbishop of Drontheim, the Greenland bishop, the "Grónlendingabiskup;" and the appellation of the "Greenland diocese" has been kept on the most ancient tax-rolls of the pontifical treasury, together with that of the later "diocese of Gardar."[3]

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[1] Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 50.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 75.

[3] Cajetanus Cennius, in presenting the "Provinciale Vetus" of Albinus, remarks: "Albinus, pauper scholaris, perspicue testatur se antiquioribus ex codicibus quidquid posteritati mandavit desumpsisse." He continues: "Quæ Censius anno 1192 se collegisse ait, ante annos minimum octo aut decem Albinus collegerat; *Provinciale Vetus* et Librum Censuum exhibeo, octo minimum annis ante Censium, conscriptum." That Albinus's authorities knew of a bishop of Greenland, but had no very correct ideas

The reliable historian Albert Krantz admits the early existence of two cathedral churches in ancient Greenland.[1]

The agreement of the Roman officials with the northern chorographers hardly leaves any doubt regarding the reality of a "Greenland diocese," whose incumbents resided at Steines in the western settlement. Was this bishopric suppressed at the erection of the one of Gardar in Östrebygd in the year 1123? This would seem most likely in the absence of documents; but while the Greenland diocese continues to be mentioned conjointly with that of Gardar in the pontifical registers, we have a bull of Innocent III., dated February 13, 1206, by which he confirms former papal constitutions, subjecting to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Drontheim the dioceses of Osloe . . . and of "Greenland,"[2] and similar to that issued by Innocent II., on the 27th day of May, 1133, in which mention is also made of the "bishopric of Gronland."[3] We do not insist, however, upon the probatory force of these two documents, and admit the possibility of the official title of the bishops of Steines being used to designate the bishops of Gardar.

To return to our unfinished disquisition, we must add the remark that, if Albert was not sent to Greenland in the year 1055, another bishop must have been there at the time; because Pope Victor II. speaks of

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of geography, follows from the following extract: "In Regno Norwesie, Metropolis Trondum hos episcopos suffraganeos habet: Bergensem, Strangensem, Hamarchopensem, Halsflonensem. Habet quoque in Regione Granellandia episc. Horchadensem, et in insula Islandia episc. Phare. Sunt igitur num. VII." (Migne, vol. xcviii. cols. 451, 455, 469.) Cf. Document L.

[1] Rerum Germanicarum Historia, ed. Francfort, p. 479, ap. Moosmüller, S. 55.

[2] Potthast, vol. i. p. 230; Raynaldi, ad an. 1206, n. 26.

[3] Supra, pp. 54, 55, and Document XXVI.

the bishop of that island, on October the 29th of that same year, as subject to the jurisdiction of the Hamburg-Bremen metropolitan.[1]

Nothing is known of Bishop Albert's administration or doings in Greenland, nor is there any record to tell us how long a time he presided over, or did missionary work in, this diocese; neither is there any positive reason to believe that he had a successor before the year 1112.

De Costa[2] assures us that the Greenlanders selected for bishop, Eric Gnupson, an Icelander, who proceeded to Greenland about the year 1112, without being regularly consecrated. This view is in a slight manner confirmed by an entry in the Lögman's Annals under the year 1112, wherein a journey of Bishop Eric is recorded, a voyage presumably to Greenland.[3] But the chronology of the Flateyarbók places this event between St. Bernard's entry into the monastery of Citeaux in the year 1113, and the death of Olaf Magnusson, king of Norway, in 1115.[4]

Gams states[5] that "Erich" or "Eirikr" was consecrated in the year 1112 or 1113; and, with equal lack of authorities, De Costa, that he returned to Iceland in 1120, and afterwards went to Denmark, where he was consecrated in Lund by Archbishop Adzer.[6]

The most trustworthy as well as the briefest notices regarding the advent of Bishop Eric are that of Torfæus,[7] who simply states: "1121, at the time of Sigurd the Jerusalem-pilgrim, king of Norway, there was Bishop Eiric;" and the one of Langebek:[8] "Bishops of

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[1] See supra, p. 54.

[2] Precolumbian Discovery, p. 27.

[3] Reeves, p. 82, from Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. p. 6, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 30.

[4] Ed. Christiania, iii. p. 511, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 30.

[5] P. 334.

[6] Precolumbian Discovery, p. 27.

[7] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 242.

[8] T. iii. p. 138.

Greenland . . . Eric, 1121." That he was a bishop at that time is, indeed, universally accepted; and that he left Greenland, or had left it already in that year, for the American continent appears from numerous reliable evidences, as we shall see hereafter.

The "Lögman's Annals" give this prelate the surname Upsi, which should more correctly be Gnupson, from his father, known by the name of Gnup. His ancestry, as recorded in the Landnámabók, ascends to the ancient "herses" or chiefs of the province Sogn in Norway, and shows that Orlyggr the Old, who so zealously contributed to the conversion of Iceland,[1] was one of his honored forefathers, who had, for more than a century, occupied the southern portion of Reykiadal, near the present capital of that island.[2]

Lögman Snorri[3] tells us that Eric Gnupson was the first bishop of Greenland, and the "Rimbegla"[4] places him at the head of the bishops of Gardar. The latter saga is followed by several modern writers,[5] although in the Flateyarbók his name is more truthfully mentioned third, inasmuch as he seems to have been the third bishop of Greenland, though not of Gardar.[6] He may, indeed, be the first Greenland bishop who resided for a while near the capital of the eastern province, but the greater number of authors assign him yet to the see of Steines or Straumnes in the western settlement; and this view appears to be the more correct when we read the particulars of the erection of the diocese of Gardar in the year 1123 or 1124. In fact,

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[1] Supra, p. 125.

[2] Rafn Mémoire, pp. 50, 51; Moosmüller, S. 54, 55; Beauvois, Origines, p. 31, ref. to Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. p. 6; Landnámabók, pt. i., ch. xiv.; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 262, n. b.

[3] Antiq. Amer. of Rafn, p. 262.

[4] Ed. Copenhagen, 1801, p. 320, ap. Beauvois, Origines, p. 31.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., pp. 241–256; Gravier, p. 237; alii.

[6] Cf. Reeves, p. 82.

Eric ought to be still reckoned among those regionary or missionary bishops who had neither certain revenues nor a determined see, but were assigned by the metropolitan of the province to more or less circumscribed districts, in which they travelled about, preaching, erecting churches, and ordaining priests; choosing for their habitual head-quarters, when they wished, some locality or church, better fitted than others for their personal comfort or the success of their ministrations; as we may presume Steines was during the first century after Greenland's conversion.[1]

Whether Eric went over to Gardar, after having resided some time at the former see, is doubtful; nor is it even certain whether he ever was in Greenland at all. We only know that, if he was there, he left the island in or before the year 1121, never to return; as perambulating bishops were apt to do.

Uncertainty and doubt are the rule in all matters pertaining to the history of the northern regionary bishops; and this proceeds from the fact that they were not chosen or appointed by the court of Rome, where ancient records are religiously preserved, but by the metropolitans of Bremen and of Lund, whose sees and archives have been repeatedly destroyed by the barbarians of the North and the Reformers of the South.

There is no need of saying that the primeval Christianities north of Ireland and Scotland originally were under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Great Britain, and in particular of the archbishop of York;[2] but after Gregory IV. had made St. Ansgar archbishop of Hamburg and his delegate to all the northern countries in the year 835,[3] the jurisdiction of the prelates of

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxvi. p. 239; Adam Bremensis, ap. Pertz, t. vii. p. 314.

[2] Cf. Beauvois, Origines, p. 27.

[3] Supra, p. 47.

Hamburg-Bremen gradually expanded, along with the conquests of the Scandinavians in the North Atlantic Ocean. It was to Adalbert of Bremen, as to their supreme pastor, that towards the middle of the eleventh century all the islanders of the North applied for priests and bishops.[1]

The authority over all the Danish and Scandinavian nations and over their settlements in the Northwest had been repeatedly confirmed by the Roman Pontiffs in favor of St. Ansgar's successors, and in particular by Benedict IX. in the year 1044, by Leo IX. in 1053, and by Victor II. in 1055, in behalf of Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.[2]

Pope Paschal II. made an important change in the hierarchy of the North. At the request of King Eric the Good, who visited Rome in the year 1098, Pope Urban II. had promised to discontinue the spiritual subjection of the northern provinces to the archbishops of Hamburg and to grant them a metropolitan of their own. His successor fulfilled the promise by appointing Ascer or Adzer,[3] bishop of Lund in Sweden, as archbishop of that place and metropolitan of all the Scandinavian Christianities. Adzer received the pallium in A.D. 1104, or 1106, as Moosmüller claims,[4] at the hands of Alberic, the pontifical delegate in Denmark.[5] In the year 1122 Adzer was still the primate of all the North.[6] In consequence of this fact, we can easily admit that, as some writers state, Eric Gnupson was consecrated a bishop by the metropolitan of Lund.[7]

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[1] Supra, p. 196.

[2] Supra, pp. 52, 54, 61, 62; Beauvois, Origines, pp. 28, 29; Diplomatarium Islandicum, pp. 57, 60; cf. Spruner-Menke, Map No. 65.

[3] Spelled also "Oezsor, Oezur."

[4] S. 58.

[5] Beauvois, Origines, p. 29; Langebek, t. ii. p. 520, from a chronicle of A.D. 1020 to 1323.

[6] Grágás, p. xxii.

[7] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 51; Beauvois, Origines, p. 30; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 27.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to remark that the ancient rights of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen were restored to them by Calixtus II. in the year 1123, and more completely by Innocent II. in 1133,[1] that Adzer of Lund was ordered to submit again to the authority of Adalberon, the metropolitan of Hamburg,[2] and that the Hamburgian prelates freely exercised their rightful powers all over the North, until the erection of the archdiocese of Drontheim in the year 1148.

But it is of importance to notice more attentively the unusual privilege which the northern metropolitans had obtained from the Supreme Pontiff,—namely, of erecting new dioceses in their immense ecclesiastical province, and of consecrating, either as resident or as missionary bishops, such of the priests as they might select themselves, or whose presentation by the people they might approve and confirm. It was, indeed, this great power which made Bremen like another Rome, and Archbishop Adalbert like another Pope, as Adam of Bremen remarks; and it was also the very motor and source of the wonderful progress made by Christianity among the Scandinavian nations from the time of St. Ansgar until the total conversion of Greenland.

Gregory IV., in the year 835, and Sergius II., more explicitly, in 846, gave authority to St. Ansgar to "establish churches in convenient places, to consecrate priests, and to ordain bishops for determined districts, of all of whom he should be the archbishop."[3]

In like manner did Pope Agapitus II. depute Adaldag, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, on the 2d of January, 948, to consecrate, in his stead, bishops for

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[1] Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. pp. 811, 860; Diplomatarium Islandicum, p. 176, n. 27.

[2] Jaffé, Loewenfeld, t. i. p. 860.

[3] Supra, p. 47; Document LI.

Denmark and for all the countries of the North.[1] The zealous prelate made ample use of these faculties.[2]

A bull to the same effect was issued on January 6, 1053, by St. Leo IX., in behalf of the famous Adalbert of Bremen;[3] and the metropolitan of this see, in the year 1217, was still confirmed in the ancient privilege by Pope Honorius III.[4]

It is most probable that the archbishop of Lund, Adzer, enjoyed like faculties during the few years of his primacy over the North, and that he rightfully approved the selection which the Greenlanders had made of Eric Gnupson to be their leader in spiritual affairs and, likely also, their adviser in temporal concerns.

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[1] Pertz, t. vii. cap. l. p. 307.

[2] The names of the regionary bishops whom he consecrated were still preserved at the end of the eleventh century, although the records did not show to what special localities they had been assigned. (Pertz, cap. lxix. p. 314 of t. vii.)

[3] See Document LII.

[4] Potthast, t. i. p. 493; Raynaldi, t. xx., ad an. 1217, n. 46.

CHAPTER X.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF GREENLAND.

IT was, presumably, more in his quality of a useful citizen than of a religious supervisor if Bishop Eric went over to Greenland, and moved from Steines to Gardar, near the capital of the country, even before being consecrated; as it is related by De Costa and intimated by others.[1]

However this may be, there is every reason to believe that the bishops of Greenland took an active part in the deliberations of the civil government of the people; nor can it be doubted that the Greenland colonists, as sincere converts to Christianity, like their cousins of Iceland, followed the example of these by giving to their bishop one of the first seats at their national conventions.[2] The bishop, the spiritual father of the land, of whom the Greenlanders of the twelfth century were not willing to be deprived, was naturally the born support of a governmental system which was truly patriarchal in its beginnings.

Eric the Red enjoyed the highest confidence and supreme authority among his fellow-colonists: they all submitted to his will,[3] and he was both their protector and their judge.[4] His children proved worthy of being intrusted with their father's jurisdiction, and Leif the Fortunate and his son Thorkell, after him, continued to govern with moderation the new, growing nation. Brattalidha, their farm and homestead, was, without any dispute, the capital of the whole country,[1] even though successive immigrations had made the more northern province sufficiently important to be chosen by the first bishops as the place of their principal head-quarters. De Costa[2] communicates an interesting detail in regard to this capital, from the Description of Greenland by Ivar Bardson, "translated in the yeere 1608 for the use of me Henrie Hudson:" "Farther in the Sound of Ericks Ford standeth a church called Leaden Kerke [elsewhere, Leyder or Leidhar Kyrka,—*i.e.*, Church of the Assembly].[3] To this church belongeth all thereabout to the sea. . . . There lyeth also a great orchard, called Grote Lead (Brattalidh), in which the Gusman (that is, a chief or Bayliffe over the Boores) doth dwell."

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[1] Supra, p. 201.

[2] First Part of the Grágás, ed. Magnussen.

[3] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 20.

[4] Cf. Moosmüller, S. 24.

From this particular it appears that the people of Greenland had their general convention, called Althing in Iceland, at a determined place near the home of the chief magistrate, and convened under the auspices of religion, probably in a church dedicated for this purpose. There was no divorce of Church and State in the oldest American republic. The circumstances of the election of Arnold as bishop of Gardar in the year 1123 will further confirm the fact that in ancient Greenland there existed no antagonistic dualism betwixt man as a Christian and man as a citizen.

A further remark of Beauvois[4] would, however, give us to understand that the people's assembly church was none other than the very cathedral of Gardar.[5]

The Scandinavians of Greenland, if not of Iceland, were the first in the western hemisphere, as far back as history may inform us, who, after having fled from European tyranny, appeared as a free, independent people, in the solemn councils of a government of, for, and by themselves.

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[1] Beauvois, Origines, p. 33; Gravier, p. 34, n. 2.

[2] Sailing Directions, p. 74 or *seq.*

[3] Cf. Beauvois, Origines, p. 33.

[4] Origines, p. 33.

[5] Referring to 2e Épisode des Groenlandais, ch. v., in Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. ii. p. 704.

As their countrymen in England and in Normandy, as those in southern Italy and in Iceland, so they established in Greenland a new State, independent of the mother-countries, republican in its general outlines, yet aristocratic in reality. And, indeed, where is to be found a republic that is democratic?[1] As in Iceland, so in Greenland, there were Norwegian vikings, who volunteered to take other families under their protection, provided the latter should become their abettors and supporters in the feuds that ere long arose among the richest farmers, hunters, and fishers of the country; and provided they should pay them, either in produce or labor, a duty consequent upon proffered tutelage and correlative right of vassalage.—Will humanity ever attain a higher degree of independence?—The first white Americans that we know of with certainty rose up to this apex of social progress.[2]

The grandees of the country, strong with the fidelity of their *protégés*, felt independent of one another, and had no rule of behavior but the general laws that were sanctioned by the assembly of the people at the "Things" of Gardar.

As the form of government, so are also these laws an imitation of, if not the same as, those of Iceland and of Norway.[3] The ancient code of the Northmen carefully provides for all occurrences of the settlers' daily avocations. Thus the lessee of a horse cannot let the animal grow thinner, there is a law against tying up a horse so that it cannot graze, and there is a special chapter on letting out horses to pasture. Further we find several chapters on milch-cows and other larger and smaller cattle.[1] In Section IX. of the Grágás's Second Part, Chapter VI. is "Of Pasturage;" the fourteenth, "Of the Division of the Land;" the fifteenth, "Of Building Fences;" the twenty-second, "Of Burning Grass on the Field;" the twenty-sixth, "Of Fencing One's Hay-Stack on Another Man's Land;" the thirtieth, "Of Hay-Barns; the thirty-second, "Of Irrigation Ditches; the thirty-third, "Of the Repartition of Water;" and Chapter XLII., "Of Winter Pastures and of the Number of Animals allowed on Common Pasturage."[2] The safety of all other property, the security of persons, and the prosperity of commerce are attended to in equally careful details.

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[1] Cf. Ch. C. Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, pp. 99, 126.

[2] Cf. Hin forna Lögbók Islendinga, p. ii.

[3] Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1840–44, p. 97.

The statutes of the country were enforced and their violations punished by the chief magistrate, called "Lögmadhr" or Man of the Law, who resided at the capital, Brattalidha, and by the prefects of the various centres of settlements. These officers were named and paid by the people. When Björn, a magistrate of Iceland, returned from Jerusalem, in the year 1391, he was cast upon the coast of Greenland, and, after escaping starvation by hunting along the shore, he met with some of the colonists, who received him well, and appointed him as prefect of Eiriksfjord, at a salary of "one hundred and thirty sheep's forequarters, together with such parts of the sides as are usually left attached to them."[3]

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[1] Grágás, ed. Magnussen, pp. 139, 427.

[2] Magnussen, Grágás.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxxii. p. 260.

The Greenlanders thus lived happy and free under a well-regulated administration; and, although independent from, and paying no tribute whatever to, the mother-country,[1] they still enjoyed the benefits of the good-will and protection of Norway's first Christian kings, who, like St. Olaf and Sigurd the Crusader, materially assisted them in promoting both their religious and material interests. Their colonies prospered and increased with wonderful rapidity. Every available spot in both Östre- and Vestrebygd was soon occupied by new-comers, and their bold vessels were ploughing the ocean in every direction. By a wonder of nature the infancy of this new State was stronger than its adult age. It had, almost from its beginning, men and means to expand its activity and enlarge its vast domains. The continent of the western hemisphere lay at its door, and the frozen island of America soon followed in the New World the example set by barren Scandinavia in the Old; the sunnier countries on both sides of the Atlantic were found and claimed by the sturdy race of the frigid outposts of the earth.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iii. p. 17.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCANDINAVIANS ON OUR CONTINENT.

According to a relation of the "Flateyarbók," the first of the Northmen who had a sight of American countries south of Greenland was Bjarne Herjulfson, in the year 986.[1] Payne[2] tells us that Bjarne then saw the coasts of New England, and Gaffarel, with more enterprise, that the son of Herjulf was the leader of the first Norwegian expedition to the American continent.[3]

We have noticed already[4] that Herjulf Bardson accompanied Eric the Red to Greenland in the year 986, and settled on the headland of Herjulfsnes. At the time of his emigration from Iceland his son Bjarne was absent on a mercantile voyage to Norway, and learned of his father's departure only in the summer of the following year, when he returned with the intention of passing the winter, as he used to do, at his father's home. Perplexed but not discouraged, he resolved to follow his father's track and spend the next winter with him still. He gathered all possible information regarding the new country and the route to it, but he would not hide from his crew the dangers of the undertaking. "Our next voyage seems to be foolhardy," he said, "for none of us has ever navigated the Greenland sea." The sailors had confidence in their captain and they spread the canvas.

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[1] Ch. C. Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiquaires, 1845–49, p. 130; North American Review, New Series, vol. xlvi. p. 171.

[2] P. 77.

[3] T. i. p. 303 or 304.

[4] Supra, p. 146.

The favorable breeze under which they set sail was not sufficient to take them up against the polar currents. Northern winds soon carried along dense fogs, and, after a few days, they knew not where they were. When the mist cleared away and they found again the means to orient themselves, after many days' sailing there appeared at the horizon the outlines of land, hilly, but not mountainous, and covered with woods. Bjarne, knowing that it could not be Greenland, ordered the sails reset and left the land to larboard or to the left. After two more days they descried another land, level and woody. "This cannot be Greenland," Bjarne said, "for it is told to have high mountains covered with snow." He therefore steered northward into the open sea, sailing for three days under a southwest breeze. A third time they saw land, this time a mountainous land covered with glaciers. They made for it and coasted along the shores, but soon discovered that it was but an island without any of the charms reported as belonging to Greenland. They therefore, bore away northward again with the same wind, now grown into a gale; and, after two more days and nights,[1] successfully landed on the coast of Herjulfsnes, near the home of Bjarne's father.[2]

Greater precision of time and place might be desired in the foregoing account, but some writers conclude from it that Bjarne Herjulfson, with the aid of adverse weather, was the first Northman to approach the American continent. Yet the most prominent among the learned are of the opinion that he saw only some of her islands. The rhumb of the winds, the particulars of the voyage, the well-known direction of the ocean currents, the presumable distance between discovery and discovery; everything, in fact, allows us to conclude that the three American lands sighted by Bjarne Herjulfson were none other than Nantucket, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland islands.[1]

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[1] Rasmus Anderson, p. 69, says, "Four days."

[2] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 4; Peschel, Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 80; Moosmüller, S. 27, *seq.*; Gravier, p. 42, *seq.*

Should the narrative of the Flateyarbók tell the truth, the learned would have occasion still to discuss the relative merits of Bjarne Herjulfson, of Leif Ericsson, and, they say, of Thorfinn Karlsefne, not to speak of Cabot and Vespucci, in first discovering the terra firma of our western hemisphere.

The account of Bjarne's voyage continues to relate how he was afterwards blamed by his friend Eric, an earl of Norway, for not having explored more carefully the new lands which he had sighted; while many schemes were set forth in Greenland to start an expedition in search of the countries descried. It is further added that when Bjarne settled down on his deceased father's estate on Herjulfsnes, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, bought his ship and set out on his voyage to the American coast in the year 1000.

Such is the report of the Flatey codex admitted by Rafn and a few more writers,[2] but discarded by historians generally. Peschel[3] places Bjarne's voyage in the year 1000, Maltebrun,[4] in 1001; and, according to the Saga of Eric the Red, Bjarne sailed to Greenland no sooner than 1002,[5] when Leif Ericsson had first discovered and then already explored the American coast. Rafn gives us the text of the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, stating that Leif accidentally found new lands in the direction of the American continent, and took with him specimens of their native products when sailing from Norway to Brattalidha in the year 1000.[1] All the other Icelandic chronicles agree on this point.[2] The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason and an ancient geographical fragment are no less explicit: "In the spring" of the year 1000, the former says, "King Olaf sent Gizur and Hjalti to Iceland. Then also he sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland, to publish there the Christian religion. . . . Leif returned to Greenland that summer. He took up the crew of a vessel who were powerless, abandoned on the broad ocean and drifting on the timbers of their wreck. On this same voyage he also found Vinland the Good." The latter document states that "Leif, surnamed the Fortunate, was the first to discover Vinland, and that on his voyage he found some merchants in danger of perishing in the ocean, and succeeded, through the mercy of God, in saving their lives."[3] Finally, the Kristni Saga of Ari hinn Frode is equally plain when saying, "Hjalte and Gizurr sailed to Iceland that spring, and the following summer King Olaf sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to announce the truth there. Then did Leif discover Vinland the Good. He also found men on a wreck in the ocean; wherefore he was called Leif the Fortunate."[4]

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[1] Reusch, vol. ii. p. 294; Peschel, Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 81, n. 2; Alex. von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 457, n. 22; Gravier, p. 43.

[2] Gravier, p. 49, n. 1.

[3] Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 80.

[4] T. i. p. 362.

[5] Reeves, p. 40.

If the Flateyarbók be an exception, Torfæus tells us that it does not agree with its own self, "Nec sibi ipsi consentit,"[5] while Reeves sets forth some more of its inaccuracies. Among the ancient Icelandic manuscripts that are the most explicit in asserting not only Leif's first exploration but also his discovery of our continent may be mentioned the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason[1] in Snorre Sturluson's Heimskringla. We noticed before[2] the few particulars relating to Leif's discovery.

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[1] Antiq. Amer., p. 118.

[2] Reeves, pp. 55–58.

[3] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 193, 291; see Document XXXIV., *d.*

[4] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 293; see Document XXXIV., *d.*

[5] Historia Rerum Norvegicarum, t. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxxvii. p. 434; Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. xvii. p. 128.

It is sufficient to know the enterprising spirit of the Scandinavian mariners to be convinced that the American coast could not long remain unexplored after a sight had been gotten of it.

Leif the Fortunate, having returned to Greenland in the fall of the year 1000, had faithfully and successfully discharged the pious duties accepted from the king, Olaf Tryggvason, and converted to the Christian faith during the following winter most of the people of Eiriksfjord.[3] As soon as the weather allowed him, the next year,[4] he rigged his ship for an exploring expedition. Rafn and Moosmüller place this latter event in the year 1000,[5] in consequence of information from the Flatey manuscript, but this date would interfere with the well-established time of Leif's return from Norway.[6]

It is said, but hardly seems likely, that Bjarne Herjulfson was one of the sailors on this voyage.[7] Leif, anxious to avail himself of his father's long experience, requested him to take command of the expedition. Eric, alleging his advanced age, at first declined the invitation, but finally accepted, at the repeated instances of his son. The crew was composed of thirty-five picked men, among whom was one German named Tyrker or Dietrich, who had long been a servant of Eric the Red and Leif's faithful guardian in boyhood.

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 193; Beamish, Discovery, p. 79; Moosmüller, S. 6; Herbermann, ch. vii. p. 40; cf. Groenl. Hist. Mindesm., t. ii. pp. 224, 230.

[2] Supra, p. 182.

[3] Supra, p. 183.

[4] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 99; Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 85, and Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 81; Kunstmann, S. 26.

[5] Mémoire, p. 6; Europäer, S. 80; alii.

[6] Supra, p. 182.

[7] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 99; Gravier, p. 50.

When all was ready, the old man Eric rode to the harbor where the vessel was waiting; but it happened that his horse, by stumbling, caused him to fall and to injure his foot.[1] "I shall not have the good fortune," he said, "of finding lands other than the one I now live in; and shall go no farther with you."[2]

Leif, therefore, took command himself and ordered the sails set, the prow veered to the Southwest. Ere long they were in sight of a land which, even along the coast, was closed in at the horizon by snow-covered mountains. They cast anchor, took to the row-boat, and went ashore. The country, identified as the present Labrador, was devoid of vegetation and stony. Leif gave it the name of "Helluland," Stoneland.[3] Next upon it followed "Litla Helluland," which is generally considered as being the Newfoundland of today. This island is represented in modern descriptions as partly consisting of naked, rocky flats, where no tree, nor even a shrub, can grow, and which are usually called Barrens; thus answering exactly to the "hellur" or flat stones, after which the Northmen named that country.[4]

The explorers stood out to sea again, and, after a few days' sailing in their main course, discovered another land, level and low to the seaward, covered with woods and remarkable for its coast being formed of banks of white sand. Nova Scotia is described in the very terms of the ancient Icelandic record by J. W. Norrie in the *American Pilot.*[1] The timber principally engaged Leif's attention, and he called the new country "Markland,"—*i.e.*, Wooded Land.[2]

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[1] The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne states that Eric the Red, through the fall of his horse, had some of his ribs broken and the shoulder-joint of his arm dislocated. (Ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 121.)

[2] Moosmüller, S. 80; Gravier, p. 49, ref. to Rafn's Particula de Groenlandis, p. 27; Heimskringla, Kap. cvi. S. 306; Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, p. 121; Torfæus, Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, p. 4; Reeves, p. 64.

[3] Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 85.

[4] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 16; Bancroft, vol. v. p. 106, n. 219; Gravier, p. 50.

He then put out to sea once more, and descried land a third time, after two days' more sailing under a northeast wind. This was an isle, east of the continent and on a line with the headland,—probably the island Nantucket, situated at a distance from Nova Scotia corresponding to about two day's voyage of the Northmen, who, at an average, made their one hundred and ten miles, and more with favorable winds, in twenty-four hours.[3] One beautiful morning Leif and some of his companions went on shore, and found the grass and the shrubs covered with abundant dew. They gathered some of it in the palms of their hands and tasted it, and great was their astonishment when they found it to be "sweeter than anything they had ever known before." According to information of Mr. Webb, honey-dew is distilled yet in the island of Nantucket.[4]

After this they entered a smaller body of water, lying between this island and a peninsula which extended to the North and the East,—evidently the island Nantucket and Barnstable peninsula.[5] Thence they sailed westward, and found at low tide many shallows.[6] Modern navigators mention numerous reefs and shoals at the same place, and say that the whole presents an aspect of drowned land.[1]

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 16. "Level" answers to the Icelandic "slètt;" "low to the seaward," to "ósaebratt;" "the white sandy cliffs," to "sandar hvítir."

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 30, 138.

[3] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 106, n. 219; p. 107, n. 221; Peschel, Zeitalter, S. 81.

[4] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 21; Moosmüller, S. 82.

[5] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 17.

[6] "Grunnsaefui mikit." (Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 31.)

In their western course they necessarily struck the lower coasts of the New England States. "Here they went ashore at a place where a river, issuing from a lake, emptied into the sea. They had left their vessel on the dry shore, but, when the flood-tide had run in again, they brought it up the river and let it ride at anchor on the lake." Thorfinn Karlsefne gave, a few years later, to this region the name of "Hóp," signifying a small bay at the mouth of a river; and this appellation may have been preserved by the late Scandinavian stragglers and by their associates, the Rhode Island aborigines, so that we may find it still in "Hop Island" and in "Mont Haup Bay." The river of the sagas was the Pocasset, opening into the lake-like bay fed by the Taunton River. The remark of Thorfinn's saga,—namely, that near the mouth of the river there were large islands,—that is, Rhode, Cononicut, and Hop Islands,—strongly confirms our identification of localities.[2]

Leif and his men first built a few huts on the shore; but when they had ascertained the abundance of salmon and other fish in the waters and of luscious berries and fruit on the land,[3] they resolved to pass the winter there, and set to work to erect larger and more substantial buildings, which were afterwards known as "Leifsbudhir" or Leif's Booths.[4] The climate was another enticing feature of the place, for the weather was that year unusually mild; cattle might have wintered without being fed, as there was no ice, and the grass continued green.[1] A branch of the Gulf Stream procures until this day to Newport County, Rhode Island, a higher temperature in winter than that of the other New England States. Warden assures us that the climate about Narragansett Bay is so mild that vegetation rarely suffers from the frost, and the vicinity may be called an American paradise. Such must have been the case, particularly in centuries gone by, when the temperature was generally much higher in the North than it is to-day. Ebeling wrote, a hundred years ago:[2] "The winter is usually mild along the coast and of short duration, and the snow does not remain long on the ground. The vicinity of Narragansett is, therefore, one of the best districts for raising cattle." The Scandinavians had noticed already that live-stock was thriving so well on the rising lands, that the steers were growing wilder, and extended the scope of their sportive races.

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[1] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 107, n. 221; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 17.

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 31; Mémoire, pp. 11, 19; Gravier, p. 52; Peschel, Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 81.

[3] Moosmüller, S. 82; Gravier, p. 52.

[4] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 32, 40, 57.

The Northmen also observed the duration of day and of night to be more equal here than in Iceland and Greenland, the sun remaining on the shortest day above the horizon from half-past seven o'clock in the morning till half-past four in the evening, or nine hours, according to Rafn's learned calculations.[3] This observation locates Leifsbudhir at forty-one degrees twenty-four minutes and ten seconds of northern latitude; thus confirming our former conclusions in regard to their identity with Newport County, Rhode Island.[4]

When the buildings were finished, Leif spoke to his companions. "I will now explore this country," he said, "and we must divide our number into two companies that shall alternately remain at home and search the neighborhood; but do not advance too far, so that you may return every evening, and do not stray from one another." Leif went on duty as regularly as his men. These excursions had gone on for a while, when one evening a man of the returning party, the old German Tyrker, was missing. Displeased at the neglect of his orders, Leif picked out at once twelve men to go with him in search of the straggler. They were not gone far, when Tyrker came up to them; at which they all were much rejoiced. "Why, my tutor," Leif said, "do you come so late, and why did you stray away?" The old man seemed excited, and, his eyes rolling, he commenced to talk German. But, as they understood him not, he answered, after some reflection, in the Norse language: "I was not far away, and yet I bring you something new. I have found grape-vines and grapes!" "Is it but true, my tutor?" Leif said. "I know, it is a fact," Tyrker rejoined; "for at the place where I was born and raised were many vineyards."

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 20; Moosmüller, S. 82; cf. Reeves, p. 27.

[2] Bd. ii. S. 4–12, ap. Moosmüller, S. 123.

[3] Mémoire, p. 23, *seq.*: "Sólhafdhi thar eyktarstadh ok dagmálstadh um skammdegi."

[4] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 269; Gravier, p. 55; Moosmüller, S. 82.

Until this day grape-vines are found to grow in great profusion not only in Rhode Island but in all the adjoining States. An island off the coast has in modern times been called Martha's Vineyard, because of its abundance of grapes; and I learned from Professor Puissant, a great botanist, that he had discovered in the neighborhood of Troy, New York, no less than eleven varieties of native grape-vines, which generally were acidulous, but could be improved by cultivation. It is well known, indeed, that some of our finest grapes to-day are of New England stock.[1]

The discovery of the old German was considered as very important, for on its occasion Leif gave a beautiful name to the country, calling it "Vínland it Gódha" or Wineland the Good. The news soon spread all over the northern countries, as we may conclude from the statement of a well-known historian of the eleventh century, Adam of Bremen, who assures on the authority of the Danish king, Sweinn Estridson, that in Vinland grape-vines grew spontaneously.[1]

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[1] Cf. Rafn, Mémoire, p. 20.

After the vines loaded with grapes had been found and admired by all, Leif employed his men in preparing a cargo for his vessel. Besides ample provisions of water and wood and of game and fish, they loaded samples of all useful products of Vinland; but the grapes and the building-timber were the two principal articles of the lading. The long boat was filled with the fruit of the vines, and the great ship was made to carry hewn beams and other lumber in quantity sufficient to erect a Greenland villa.

The next spring the daring explorers spread their canvas, retraced their ocean route, and soon landed in Greenland's Eiriksfjord in the presence of an admiring crowd.[2]

The expedition of Leif the Fortunate and his discoveries formed the subject of every conversation in Greenland, and all agreed on the advisability of further researches along the American coast. Leif was, however, satisfied with the riches and the glory he had won, and wished to remain with his failing old father, who died during the following winter.[3] Thorvald, on the contrary, the second son of Eric the Red, expressed his desire of continuing his brother's noble and useful work. Leif, therefore, said to him, "If you are eager to see Vinland, take my ship and sail to it." The offer was readily accepted, and the vessel, manned this time with thirty sailors, was soon fitted out for a new voyage. After taking Leif's directions and advices, Thorvald stood out to sea, the same year of his brother's return, in 1002.[1]

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[1] De Situ Daniæ, and Historia Ecclesiastica, cap. ccxlvi., ap. Gravier, p. 54.

[2] The incidents of the narrative are compiled from the epitomes of the ancient sagas, made by Moosmüller, S. 80, *seq.*; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 5, *seq.*; Peschel, Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 81; Bancroft, vol. v. p. 105, *seq.*

[3] Farnum, p. 31; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 39.

No incidents are recorded of his sailing outward, but we know that he landed in Vinland and wintered at Leifsbudhir, finding plenty of provisions for himself and his men in the waters of the neighborhood.

In the spring of the year 1003 Thorvald sent out some of his companions in his long boat to explore the coast towards the South and the West. This expedition lasted until the fall, and Rafn does not exaggerate when assuming that the daring seamen sailed forth in sight of the modern States of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.[2] The description which they gave of these shores is fitting yet until this day. The land, they said, was beautiful and covered with forests; the space between the water and the trees was generally small and in most places covered with white sand, and all along the coast they found many shoals and islands. Of human vestiges they had not met any, nor any sign that man had ever set foot in that country before; with the exception, however, of a shed or barn built of wood and presumably destined to shelter corn or other produce in one of the westernmost islands.

All passed the next winter at Leifsbudhir again. In the summer of the year 1004 Thorvald chose a number of his men to accompany him on another reconnoitring excursion. He rigged the large craft, and sailed first to the East and then to the North,—through Nantucket Sound and along Barnstable peninsula. But it happened that heavy weather overtook him, and drove him against a tongue of land with sufficient force to break the keel of his vessel. Here, then, they were compelled to disembark and to spend a long time in repairing their ship. Rafn,[1] Kohl, and Beauvois think the headland to be Cape Cod.[2]

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[1] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 607; Moosmüller, S. 88; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 7; Gravier, p. 60; Bancroft, vol. v. p. 107; Gaffarel, Histoire, p. 311; Kunstmann, S. 26. We compare these authors, all based upon their Icelandic predecessors, in giving the following account of Thorvald's exploration.

[2] Mémoire, p. 26.

When the ship-carpenters had finished their work, Thorvald set sail again to coast along the eastern shores of the continent. Passing by several bays, he soon came to a remarkable promontory covered with trees, where he dropped anchor in a small inlet, swung a bridge to the strand, and disembarked with all his men. Looking around, he exclaimed, "What a beautiful place this is; here I wish to establish my home!"

While walking along the beach, the explorers noticed at a distance three puzzling eminences. They made for them, and found them to be three canoes turned upside down, and under each one were three men, Skraelings, or natives of low stature.[3] The Northmen had not yet lost the spirit and habits of their piratical ancestors. A battle ensued, if so it can be called, in which eight of the Skraelings were put to death, while the ninth succeeded in fleeing to the ocean with his canoe. Farther up the adjoining bay other elevations were descried, which the explorers supposed to be human habitations.

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[1] Mémoire, p. 17.

[2] Gravier, p. 61, ref. to Kohl, A History of the Discovery of the East of Maine, 2d ser. 1st vol. of the Documentary History of Maine, p. 67, and Beauvois, Découverte, p. 112, n. 1.

[3] Rasmus Anderson, p. 73, n., remarks that this name is derived from the adjective "skrall" (Sw. "skral," weak, sickly), which means lean: hence "Skraeling" is an allusion to their low, shrivelled features.

Tired after their long search and bloody crime, the crew returned to the ship and fell asleep, not one being able to keep watch. But all of a sudden one of them was roused, and cried out with terror, "Thorvald, awake, and men, all of you, if you want to save your lives!" Lo! there was shooting forth from the depth of the bay an innumerable multitude of canoes, full of warriors, making straight for the vessel. "Men," Thorvald spoke, "get what you can and build a parapet along the sides; we will defend ourselves as valiantly as possible, yet not return the attack." So they did. The Skraelings hurled volleys of arrows at them for a while, and then took to flight in the greatest disorder.

Thorvald asked his companions whether any of them had been struck, but they all answered, no. "I," said he, "have a wound under my arm from an arrow that passed through a flaw of the breastwork and glanced on my shield. See here that arrow, of which I shall die. Now, it is my advice that you prepare to return home as quickly as possible, but me you shall carry to the headland, which seemed to be so pleasant a place to dwell upon. Forsooth, the words that fell from my lips shall prove true, and I shall, indeed, abide there for a season. Bury me there, and place crosses at my head and at my feet, and call that place for evermore Krossanes," Cape of the Cross. "Greenland," an ancient chronicle adds, "had become Christian at that time."[1]

The learned identify Krossanes with either Gurnet Point or Point Allerton, southeast of Boston Bay.[2]

As soon as Thorvald's companions had performed the sad duty of burying their captain, they sailed back to

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 44–46, 426, 430; Heimskringla, Kap. cviii.; Torfæus, Vinland. Ant., pp. 10–14.

[2] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 19; Gravier, p. 63; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 608.

Leifsbudhir, where they passed the third winter in preparing a cargo of lumber, grapes, and other useful articles; and in the spring of 1005 they returned to Greenland, bearing the mournful news of Thorvald's tragic death to Leif Ericsson and other relatives, together with the interesting account of their explorations and a share of the fruit of their labor.

The tidings of his brother's loss and burial in unblest ground fell particularly hard on Eric's youngest son, named Thorstein; and he resolved to make a voyage in search of the body. He fitted out a good ship, and, accompanied by his wife Gudrida, Thorbjörn's daughter, and twenty-five strong men, he left Greenland that same spring of the year 1005. He tossed about on the ocean the whole summer, and at last accidentally arrived at the coast of Greenland's Vestrebygd, or northern settlement, at the end of the first week of the following winter,—*i.e.*, about the 20th day of October.[1] His efforts had proved a failure: he had come in view of Iceland and noticed the sea-fowl of the Irish shores, but had not found the route to Krossanes.[2]

Worn out with fatigue and disappointment, Thorstein and his wife concluded to sail no farther, and to pass the winter on Lysufjord, where they were, although without a home and far away from their friends. Their first care was to provide their crew with shelter on land, remaining themselves on their ship. It happened, however, that one early morning some strangers came near them, and their leader asked who they were. Thorstein answered, "Here are two persons; but who asks the question?" "Thorstein is my name," said the other,

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[1] Snorre Sturluson, Heimskringla, S. 315, n. f: "Initium hiemis veteres nostrates a 14 mensis Octobris computarunt," ap. Gravier, p. 66; Finn Magnussen, De calendario Veterum Borealium, ad calcem iii. vol. Edda, p. 1115, ap. Moosmüller, S. 91. n.

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 48, 120.

"and I am called Thorstein the Swarthy; but my business here is to bid ye both, thee and thy wife, to come and stop at my house." Thorstein Ericsson said he would talk the matter over with his wife; but she told him to decide, and he accepted the invitation. "Then will I come after thee in the morning with horses, for I am in want of nothing to entertain ye both; yet it is very wearisome in my house, for we are there but two, I and my wife, and I am very morose; moreover, I have a different religion from yours, although I hold far the better that which you have." He came after them in the morning with horses, and they went to lodge with Thorstein the Swarthy, who entertained them with the kindest hospitality.

Early that winter sickness came among Thorstein Ericsson's men, and many of them died. Thorstein had coffins made for the bodies of the dead, and caused them to be taken out to the ship and there laid aside, "for I will," he said, "have all the bodies taken to Eiriksfjord in the summer." The saga continues to tell how the epidemic also entered the house of Thorstein the Swarthy, where first his wife, Grimheld, died, and then Thorstein Ericsson. It also relates (to the greater evidence of its authenticity in the judgment of serious critics) the wonderful temporary revival of these dead persons, the telling of Gudrida's fortune by her deceased husband, and the consolations which Thorstein the Swarthy endeavored to afford the disconsolate widow by promising to go with her to Eiriksfjord, and to convey to the church and church-yard there the body of her husbund and those of his companions.[1]

The good-hearted host had also, during the rest of the winter, his servants to comfort and amuse Gudrida, and he kept the promises which he had made her; for, in the spring of 1006, he sold his farm and his cattle, betook himself to the ship with her, and sailed for Eiriksfjord. The bodies were buried near the church. Thorstein made himself a dwelling at the firth and resided there as long as he lived, and, the saga adds, was looked upon as a very able man. Gudrida repaired to Brattalidha, to the villa of Leif the Fortunate, her oldest brother-in-law and now the head of Eric the Red's family.[1]

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[1] See supra, p. 193, n.

During the summer of that same year there arrived in Greenland two vessels from Iceland. One of them was commanded by Thorfinn "Karlsefne" or the Future Great Man, a son of Thordun Hesthöfdi, a descendant of kings and princes of the three Scandinavian kingdoms and of Ireland, and a wealthy trader himself. In his company was Snorre Thorbrandson, also a man of a prominent family. The officers of the other ship were Bjarne Grimolfson of Breidafjord and Thorhall Gamlason of Eastfjord. Each craft had a crew of forty men.

Thorfinn and his companions were hospitably received by Leif Ericsson in Brattalidha, where Gudrida's high qualities now greatly contributed to the social pleasures and soon won the heart of the principal visitor. The solemnity of Christmas, formerly Odin's jól, celebrated with pious rejoicings, was ere long followed by another feast, the wedding of Thorfinn to the fair widow.[2]

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[1] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiv. p. 609, *seq.;* Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 120, *seq.;* Torfæus, Vinland. Ant., p. 15; Moosmüller, S. 91.

[2] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 9; Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, p. 130, *seq.;* Particula de Groenlandis, Antiq. Amer., p. 55, *seq.;* Gravier, p. 71, *seq.;* Moosmüller, S. 94, *seq.;* Torfæus, Vinland. Ant., p. 47, *seq.* We shall follow these authorities mainly, as also Bancroft, vol. v. p. 108, *seq.*, in the relation of the next voyage to the shores of our continent.

On this occasion, as often before, the discoveries of Vinland the Good formed the main topic of conversation. A new voyage to the great continent was generally recommended as a source of glory and riches, and all agreed that no man was better able than Thorfinn Karlsefne to make the undertaking a success. The noble Icelander was urged and finally persuaded by his friends and bride to take the leadership of the adventurous enterprise. Together with Snorre Thorbrandson he fitted out his ship and manned it with sixty mariners, to whom he promised one-half of the profits. Bjarne Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason, his former voyage companions, equipped theirs to follow him on this expedition; and a third vessel, that of Thorbjörn, Gudrida's father, was put in readiness by Thorvard, the husband of Freydisa, a natural daughter of Eric the Red. On board this last vessel was another Thorhall, a man who had for many years served the family of Eric as hunter in summer and wood-chopper in winter; and who, in his ignorant prejudice, was still secretly attached to pagan superstition. The fleet was supplied with provisions, tools, and implements of all sorts, and, as it was Thorfinn's intention to establish a regular settlement on the coast of the beautiful and rich country, several head of cattle and domestic animals of various kinds were taken on board the ships.[1] One hundred and sixty men,[2] with Gudrida, Freydisa, and five more women, were ready to sail in the spring of A.D. 1007.[1] They sailed first to the Vestrebygd, and afterwards to "Biarney," the present island Disco. So it is stated by most authors; but we think that there is some confusion here with an island near Markland, upon which they afterwards killed a bear and, for this reason, named it "Biarney" or Bear Island.[2] It is simply incredible that Greenlanders should have navigated as far or farther north than it was their object to reach in the South. After crossing Davis' Strait, they sailed in a southerly direction to Helluland, where they found many foxes. From thence they continued southward two days, and recognized Markland, a country overgrown with wood and plentifully stocked with animals. Leaving this, they sailed in a southwesterly course, having the land to starboard, until they came to Kialarnes, where they saw trackless deserts and long narrow beaches and sandhills of a peculiar appearance, to which they gave the name of "Furdustrandir" or Wonderful Shores.

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[1] Cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 57.

[2] Moosmüller, S. 95, after Magnussen, says "one hundred and forty," forgetting that the Northmen had also a "stort hundrad," composed of ten dozen. On p. 137 of Rafn's Antiquitates Americanæ we read: "Omnino centum et sexaginta homines erant, cum ad Vestbygdam navigarunt, et inde ad Bjarneyam;" in the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ibid., p. 169: "Navibus eorum vehebantur centum et sexaginta viri." True, it is said, ibid., p. 157, that Gudrida and Bjarne remained at Streamfirth with one hundred men, while Thorfinn went out on an exploring excursion with another forty men. But we must remember that this

The learned generally identify Furdustrandir with the eastern portion of Barnstable peninsula: Nauset Beach, Chatam Beach, and Monomoy Beach. Hitchcock, in his "Report on the Geology of Massachusetts," makes some remarks on these districts, which are a fitting illustration of the Scandinavian name. "The dunes or sandy hillocks," he says, "that are almost or altogether devoid of vegetation, forcibly attract the at-

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happenend three years after their departure from Greenland, six months famine, and a bloody combat with the natives; long after Thorhall, the hunter, had left the expedition with eight more men. (Gravier, p. 94, n. 1.)

[1] Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, ed. Sophus Ruge, S. 86, corrects the mistake he made in his Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 82 and n. 1, ibid., by giving the date of 1003; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 55; Rasmus Anderson, p. 81.

[2] Gravier, p. 74, ref. to Torfæus, Vinland. Ant., p. 50, and Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 56, n. 2.

tention on account of their peculiarity. . . . Passing through the deserts of that country, I have noticed a singular effect or mirage. Near Orleans, for example, it seemed to me that we ascended at an angle of three or four degrees, and I was undeceived only when, turning around, I observed that the ground over which we had just passed appeared to rise in the opposite direction." Was Thorfinn perhaps the victim of the same optical illusion, and did he, therefore, impose the name of Furdustrandir?[1]

When the voyagers had passed the wonderful shores of Barnstable peninsula, they saw that the land was indented by bays; as, indeed, it is all around Nantucket Sound until this day.

They had two Scots with them, Haki and Hekia, whom Leif had formerly received from the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvason, and who were very swift of foot. They put them on shore, recommending to them to proceed in a southwesterly direction and explore the country. After a lapse of three days they returned, bringing with them some grapes and some ears of wheat, that grew wild in this region.

From thence the fleet continued its course to a place where a firth penetrated far into the country. Off the mouth of it lay an island about which strong currents ran; and such was also the case farther up the firth. On the island they saw an immense number of eider-ducks, and it was scarcely possible to walk without treading on their eggs. They called the island "Straumey," Stream Isle, and the firth "Straumfiordhr" or Streamfirth.

This Streamfirth is probably our present Buzzards Bay, and Stream Isle, Martha's Vineyard; although the account of the many eggs found there corresponds better to-day to a small island off the Nantucket Sound, which, for the same reason, is called Egg Island. We learn from modern descriptions of Massachusetts that several small uninhabited islands off its coast are still the breeding-places of great numbers of common- and of eider-ducks, and that the name of Egg Islands is given to some of them, and not only to one situated close by Monomoy Beach, which is more likely the one alluded to by the sagas.[1] The currents and counter-currents about these localities are caused by the Gulf Stream, which, in its northern course, is barred by the islands Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard and by the protruding peninsula of Barnstable.

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 18.

Thorfinn landed on the shore of Straumfiordhr, and, finding the country to be extremely beautiful, concluded to winter there. He and his men confined their operation too exclusively to exploring the neighborhood. Cold and bad weather set in and continued, while their stock of provisions grew smaller and hunting and fishing more difficult and less remunerative. Food had finally become so scarce that they gladly feasted on the blubber of a dead whale thrown out upon the shore, until the pagan at heart, the old Thorhall, boasted that at his prayer the fish had been sent them by Thor, the Scandinavian god. Hearing this, they cast the whale into the waves again, invoked with greater confidence the Providence of Almighty God, and ere long found fish, game, and eggs in abundance.[2]

This incident could not fail to create ill-feeling between Thorhall and nearly all the other members of the expedition. He wanted to start in quest of Vinland, which he pretended was lying to the North, while Thorfinn knew well that it was to be found farther south. Thorhall had succeeded in convincing eight of the men, and Thorfinn placed at their disposal one of the ships or of the long-boats. The malcontents then left their companions and sailed past Furdustrandir and Kialarnes, but they were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, where, according to the accounts of some traders, they were seized and made slaves in the year 1008.[1]

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 22.

[2] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 137; supra, p. 192.

Karlsefne, together with Snorre and Bjarne and the rest of the crews, in all one hundred and fifty-one men, sailed southward, and arrived at a place where a river falls from a lake into the sea. Opposite to the mouth of the river were large islands. They steered into the lake, and called the place Hop, "í Hópe." On the rising grounds they found grape-vines, and on the low lands fields of wheat growing wild.[2]

Of these wheat-fields Adam of Bremen wrote already in the eleventh century: ". . . Sweinn, king of Denmark, spoke of still another country, named Vinland, seen by many in that ocean; and we have learned, not from deceiving presumptions, but from reliable reports of the Danes, that it abounds with cereals not sown.[3] Rafn,[4] Moosmüller,[5] and others think this native wheat to be the maize or Indian corn, zea mays; but Ruge correctly remarks[6] that this useful plant does not grow spontaneously in the New England States, and was not, before the beginning of the seventeenth century cultivated as far north as the forty-fourth degree. Cartier saw fields of grain on the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the year 1534. On the occasion of his discovery of Chaleur Bay, he describes the wild wheat as having an ear like that of rye and berries similar to those of oats.[1] The spontaneous wheat is evidently the American wild rice, zizania aquatica, which grows along the banks of the rivers and in marshy places, as far as the fiftieth degree of northern latitude.

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 147.

[2] "Sjálfsána hveitiakra," ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 147.

[3] Fruges ibi non seminatas habundare comperimus. (Adam Bremensis, De Statu Daniæ, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 338.)

[4] Mémoire, p. 21.

[5] S. 125.

[6] Entdeckungsgeschichte, Bd. i. S. 12.

After exploring the country around Mont Haup Bay, Thorfinn chose, for the location of his buildings, the western shore in preference to the eastern, where he found the booths of Leif Ericsson. For the sake of greater security and other obvious advantages, he built the dwellings of the different crews at intervals, all the way from the southernmost point of the land or Bristolneck to quite a distance along the Taunton River, claiming as a new Bygd or province of Greenland, and taking possession of, all that district contained within the Taunton on the East, the Black River on the West, the ocean on the South, and on the North the Blue Hills, of which he speaks farther on.[2]

The new-comers soon obtained the encouraging assurance that there was no danger here of any scarcity of food or clothing. They found every stream to be full of fish, and especially of excellent salmon, while the sea-coast was equally rich. To spare the trouble of fishing, they dug holes along the shore, which the waves would cover at the tidal flow, and at ebb-tide they went and took with their hands all the halibut[3] they wanted. Farther off the land they had good opportunities to catch whales, especially of the species which they called "reidhr," the balæna physalus. Modern descriptions of Rhode Island continue to mention the abundance of fish in its rivers, and halibut is still plentiful on the New England coast, while not so very long ago the whale fishery was still remunerative there.

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[1] "Qui a l'espy comme le seigle et la graine comme de l'avoine." (Discours du Voyage, Rouen, 1598, p. 48.)

[2] Moosmüller, S. 118; Rafn, Map in Antiq. Amer.

[3] "Helgir fiskar."

The adjoining woods, now mostly destroyed, were then the abode of all kinds of game and wild animals,[1] whose flesh and furs abundantly provided for the wants of the Northmen.[2]

Neither were the colonists obliged to dispense with the delicacies,—the white-meats of their native countries. They let their cows roam on the grounds adjoining their residences, and every day they had a competent supply of milk. No snow fell deep enough that winter to prevent the cattle from grazing in the open fields.

A fortnight after their arrival, while looking about one morning, they observed a great number of canoes with men rowing towards them and agitating long poles so as to make them whistle. "What thinkest thou of this?" Thorfinn said to Snorre. "I think," answered he, "that they are making signals of peace, and it behooves that we set up the white shield." At the sight of this friendly token the natives approached the shore and gazed wonderingly at the fair strangers. These people were all sallow-colored and ill-looking, had ugly heads of hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks. After staring at the Northmen for a while, they rowed away again to the Southwest, past the cape now called Bristolneck.

One day in the beginning of the year 1008 the Northmen saw again a multitude of canoes gliding towards them, and, after an interchange of the signals of peace, the aborigines drew nigh, and immediately commenced bartering. As our Indians still do, they showed a marked preference for red cloth, and gave in return skins and furs all gray.[1] They would fain have bought swords also and spears, but Karlsefne and Snorre forbade their people to sell these to them. In exchange for a pelt entirely gray the Skraelings took a piece of cloth of a span in width, and bound it round their heads. The exchange was carried on in this way for some time. But the Northmen perceived that their stock in trade was beginning to grow scarce; whereupon they cut it up into narrower strips, not wider than a finger's breadth; yet the natives gave as much for these smaller bits as they had formerly given for the larger ones, or even more. Thorfinn also ordered the women to bring out milk-soup, and when the Skraelings had tasted of it, they relished it so well that they bought it in preference to anything else, casting away what they had the most precious for the satisfaction of their gluttony, and wasting in their bellies, the saga says, the price of valuable merchandise which the white men carefully stowed away in their ships. Thorfinn's crew thus formed the first of those fur companies whose greed and dishonest traffic have since caused the ruin and extinction of many an Indian tribe.

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[1] "Mikill fióldi dýra á skóginum medhr allu móti."

[2] Rafn, Mémoire, pp. 22, 23; Moosmüller, S. 126, 127; Gravier, p. 82.

Whilst this bartering was going on, it happened that a bull, which Thorfinn had brought along, came out of the woods, bellowing loudly. At its appearance the Skraelings became terrified, rushed to their canoes, and rowed away to the South; nor did they return any more as they used to do. The prudent Scandinavian leader, doubting their further dispositions, erected a strong palisade around his villa.

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[1] "Algrá skinn."

The men of the expedition were mainly employed in felling and hewing timber for ship-building and similar purposes, in hauling it near the shore to dry on the sand, and afterwards in lading the vessels with it. They also collected precious wood and other natural produce of the country. It is specially related that for a time they were engaged in dissecting a huge whale, stranded by the waves, and in drawing its oil.

An important event took place in the fall of that year, 1008. Gudrida, Thorfinn's wife, gave birth to a son, who received the name of Snorre, and was the first child of white parents mentioned as born on the American continent. He made himself worthy of the distinction by his conduct in riper age, and is noted as the ancestor of one of Iceland's most prominent and illustrious families.

While watching by the cradle of her child one day, Gudrida, as a popular tradition tells, witnessed a strange apparition. She saw, as it were, a shadow enter by the door, and suddenly there stood before her a woman of low stature, dressed in black, with gray hair encircled by small bands, with pale lips and strange eyes. "What is thy name?" the stranger asked. "Gudrida. And thine?" "Gudrida," she said. "Then Thorfinn's wife bade her sit down; but a great noise was then heard about the house, and the visitor vanished away." More serious facts were taking place out of doors. It was in the beginning of the winter of 1009, and behold! the natives who had not shown themselves for a long time, appeared all at once in much larger numbers than they were wont to come before. They landed and set down their packages, before receiving the price. Thorfinn, who suspected hostile intentions, was on his guard, yet ordered milk-soup, but nothing else, to be offered to them. They understood his words, and, all together, threw their furs over the palisade, thus causing some confusion, of which, it seems, they wanted to profit; for one of them, assailing a Scandinavian, tried to rob him of his arms. The Skraeling, however, was no match for the Northman, and soon lay dying on the ground. Seeing their companion slain, the natives took to flight, not even minding the milk that was being set out before them.

"They will come back three times more numerous to take revenge," Thorfinn said. He did not mistake. Soon after a multitude of them made once more their appearance, showing evident signs of hostility and setting up loud yells. Karlsefne ordered the red shield to be borne against them; but they came nearer, nothing daunted, and the battle commenced. There was a galling discharge of missiles from the Skraelings' war-slings. They raised on a pole a tremendously large ball, almost of the size of a sheep's paunch and of a bluish color, which, swung from the pole among the Northmen, came down with a fearful crash. This engine struck terror into the colonists, and they fled up the river.

One of the natives in their pursuit found an axe next to a dead man, and stood wondering as he tried it upon wood; but when he found that it would not cut stone, he cast it aside with contempt.

Freydisa, seeing her countrymen flee, exclaimed, "How can you, stout men, run before these miserable caitiffs, whom you might kill like cattle? Had I but a weapon I would fight better than any of you!" They heeded not her words. She tried to keep pace with them, but the advanced state of her pregnancy retarded her. She followed them, however, into the woods. There she found a dead body with a flat stone sticking fast in the head. It was the corpse of Thorbrand

Snorreson, whose naked sword lay by his side. Freydisa picked up the sword, turned around, and brandished it in a menacing manner. There she stood, a large woman with bared breast, dishevelled hair, and eyes blazing, like a goddess of war protecting her people. The Skraelings were awe-struck at the threatening spectacle, and returned to their canoes.

Thorfinn and his companions came down to Freydisa and praised her courage, but we can easily imagine how she received the encomiums.

The colonists were now well aware that, although the country held out many advantages, still the life that they would have to lead here would be one of constant alarm from the hostile attacks of the natives. They, therefore, made preparations for departure during the spring of the year 1010, with the intention of returning to their native countries. They sailed eastward and came to Streamfirth, where they met eleven more of their men, who, it seems, had attempted to establish another colony there.[1]

Thorfinn had become sufficiently acquainted with this part of the continent during the first winter of his voyage. He, therefore, left a hundred men with his wife, Gudrida, and Bjarne, his friend; and chose forty of the mariners to make with him an excursion farther to the South. For two full months he explored every bay and every promontory, and likely ascended the Potomac River, on whose banks the Northmen, it is said, founded a settlement in subsequent years. At his return to Streamfirth or Buzzards Bay, Thorfinn hardly set foot on land, but proceeded on his northward course in search of the stubborn straggler Thorhall. After rounding Kialarnes or Cape Cod, he was carried to the Northwest, having the land to larboard. Here he noticed thick forests in all directions, as far as he could see, with scarcely any open space; and it was his opinion that the hills of Mont Haup and those which he now saw were parts of one continuous range. He dropped anchor at the mouth of a stream, probably of the Charles River in Boston Bay.

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[1] Gravier, p. 99.

All these voyages gave the Northmen a fair knowledge of the length of the North American continent.

The last winter of the expedition was passed at Streamfirth, in hardly better circumstances than the first, although the troubles were now of a quite different nature. Christianity had had no time yet to soften the fierce instincts and to bridle the brutal passions of the Northmen. Some of the crew attempted to insult the few women that were among them, and to this their husbands objected no less strongly than justly. But for the prudent measures of Thorfinn and the firmness of his better friends, disgrace and blood would have stained and fatal blows would have stretched down many of the fiery sailors. To put an end to these discords and dangers, their leader resolved to profit by the first favorable wind and to sail to Greenland. Snorre, Thorfinn's son, was then three years old, the saga remarks.

Passing by Markland, they met five Skraelings,—one bearded, two women, and two boys. The man and the women escaped, but the Northmen caught the children. They took them along, taught them the Norse language, and had them baptized. The boys said that their mother was called Vethildi and their father Uvaege; that the Skraelings were ruled by chieftains, one of whom was called Avaldamon and the other Valdidida, that there was not a house in the country, but that the people dwelt in holes and caverns. They further said that beyond their land there was a country inhabited by people dressed in white, who spoke very loud and bore poles afore themselves to which were attached pieces of cloth. "It is thought," the ancient chronicler observes, "that this country was Whiteman's Land or Ireland the Great."

Bjarne Grimolfson was the last to set sail for home; but, although following Thorfinn at no great distance, he had not the same good luck on his voyage. He was driven into the Irish Sea, where his large ship was perforated by teredos, and only one-half of his crew found refuge in the long-boat, which, being smeared with tar of seal-oil, escaped the ship-worm and succeeded in making land, first in Dublin and afterwards in Iceland.

Thorfinn, after a happy voyage, disembarked at Brattalidha early in the summer of the year 1011.[1]

He made to Leif Ericsson and to the people of Greenland a full report of the thrilling incidents of his four years' absence, which the bards recorded at once and the sagamen learned by heart. After two years' sojourn in Greenland he stretched the sails of his brave ship and set out for Norway, there to sell the merchandise he had gathered on the American continent. It was a popular belief that no vessel ever left a Greenland port laden with richer cargo. He was received with the greatest curiosity and the highest honors in the mother-country, where he stimulated the enterprise and ambition of the mariners of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and easily disposed of his goods at most satisfactory prices. When, in the year 1015, he was on the point of returning to Iceland, he was offered by a merchant of Bremen half a pound of gold for a piece of "mausur" or curly maple, which at that time was used as material for the fabrication of pitchers, cups, knife-handles, and precious furniture.[1] In the year 1016 he settled at Glaumboe in the North of Iceland, and lived honored and wealthy the rest of his life.

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[1] Authors referred to above; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 55, *seq.* and passim.

At his death Gudrida took charge of his estates, but after the marriage of Snorre, her son, she made a pilgrimage to Rome, where the account of her voyages attracted great attention, and, not unlikely, caused or confirmed the suppositions of the mediæval Italian cosmographers as to the proximity of Asia's eastern coast to the shores of northern Europe. Returning to Iceland, the noble widow joined a society of religious women, and ended her days as a solitary nun near the church of Glaumboe, or in a convent close to that place.[2]

Thorfinn Karlsefne and Gudrida left a numerous and eminent posterity. Among their descendants figure two bishops of Holar—Björn Gillsson and Brand Saemundarson—and the learned bishop of Skalholt, Thorlak Runolfson, the author of the oldest ecclesiastical code of laws in Iceland.[3] The celebrated historian Snorre Sturluson was proud to reckon them among his ancestors, and, according to Rafn, Magnus Stephenson, the late supreme judge of Iceland, was the last of their descendants in a direct line.[4]

Freydisa and her husband, Thorvard, had safely accompanied Thorfinn Karlsefne on their homeward-bound voyage from Vinland.

It happened that the very year of their return to

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[1] Beauvois and Rafn translate "mausur" by broom or broom-handle; but Snorre Sturluson Heimskringla, Kap. cvii. S. 311, n. d, says, "'Masur-tre' veteres dixere aceris quandam speciem, sive betulæ nodosæ, quæ magni apud eos pretii habebatur, cantharis, poculis, cultrorum manubriis alisque rebus fabricandis apta." (Gravier, p. 54, n. 4.)

[2] Supra, pp. 134, 135.

[3] Supra, pp. 136, 138.

[4] Gravier, p. 107; Moosmüller, S. 103; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 76.

Greenland there landed in Eiriksfjord an Icelandic ship commanded by the two brothers, Helge and Finnboge. Neither the warlike nor the moral difficulties of the American expedition had left deep impressions upon Eric the Red's illegitimate daughter; she boasted of her facile victory over the Skraelings, and was anxious to double the great profits which she had made. Her worthless husband stood at her bidding ready to embark again, but she needed stronger men to assist her. She, therefore, prevailed upon the strangers, Helge and Finnboge, to join their ship to hers, on the condition of equally dividing all the emoluments of the undertaking. It was further agreed that each vessel should carry thirty men able to bear arms, besides some women. After this she went to Leif, her brother, asking him for his booths or buildings in Vinland. Whatever his intentions may have been, perhaps of selling them to other colonists, Leif refused her the ownership, but allowed her the use of them. All the preparations for the new colonial expedition were made during the winter, and all was in readiness in the spring of 1012. Freydisa, however, who anticipated strife, to be superior in strength, hid in her vessel five more men than she was allowed by the contract.

The two brothers were the first to land at Leifsbudhir, and were taking their baggage to the buildings when Freydisa arrived. After producing her thirty-five men, she haughtily asked the Icelanders why they pretended to make use of these buildings? "Because," Helge said, "we think that so it is agreed between us." "Not at all," the woman replied; "to me, but not to you, did Leif allow the use of them." "Thou shalt easily overcome us in shrewdness," Helge rejoined. And the two brothers removed their packages and erected new cabins at a small distance.

Freydisa ordered her men to fell timber and load the ship. When winter came, Helge and Finnboge organized games to while away the time, but disputes soon arose between the two crews and the amusements came to an end. The rest of the season was tedious.

Early one morning Freydisa left her bed and, covered with her husband's mantle, went barefooted to the residence of the two brothers. Finding the door left half open by one of their men who was gone out, she entered and stood silent for a few moments. But Finnboge recognized her and said, "What dost thou want, Freydisa?" "I want to have a talk with thee," she answered; "get up and come with me." Finnboge followed her and sat down on a log beside her. "How dost thou like this country," she asked. "I like its fertility," he replied, "but I dislike the estrangement that has come between us, without any reason, it seems." "Thou art right, so at least I think," she rejoined. "But I have requested this interview because I wish to exchange ships with thee, thine being larger than mine." "We shall willingly let thee have our ship if such be thy pleasure," he said. Thereupon they parted. Finnboge went to bed again, and Freydisa returned home and to her bed, also. But the contact of her cold, wet feet awoke Thorvard, who asked for explanations. "I went," Freydisa exclaimed, with feigned indignation, "to the brothers to buy their ship, because it is larger than mine. And behold, they became enraged, beat me, and used violence. But thou, caitiff, thou canst not revenge me, although my insult be thine also. If thou dost not punish them, I shall at our return in Greenland separate from thee!" Thorvard ought not to have wondered at his wife's imposture, but he believed her upon her word; or, if he entertained any suspicion, he had not the courage to resist her evil suggestions.

He called upon his crew, long since embittered by Freydisa against the Icelanders, stated the injuries done their mistress, and went with them to the house of the brothers. Helge, Finnboge, and their men, still asleep, were in a moment tied up and dragged before Freydisa. She ordered their massacre on the spot. The five women of the Icelanders were still alive. Freydisa's men refused to kill them; but she called for an axe, and the last victims sank down under her pitiless blows.

Thorvard's men soon felt that they had acted as cowardly savages; they stood horror-stricken and ashamed of themselves. Freydisa alone was wild with joy; but the countenances of her countrymen forboded nothing good; a sudden fear of indiscretion and of her consequent ruin in Greenland disturbed her soul; and then, more frantic and haughty than ever, she erected herself before them, exclaiming, "If we may reach Greenland again, and one of you should tell what happened here, I shall cut him down, as I did these women! . . . We all shall say that we left them here."

Then she loaded the ship of the dead brothers and sailed back to Greenland, where she arrived late in the spring of 1013, when Thorfinn Karlsefne was just on the point of setting sail for Norway.

Here her fears increased, and she distributed among the crew the greater part of her profits to buy their silence. Yet rumors at first, and afterwards a full account, of the horrible drama went forth among the people. When Leif Ericsson heard it, "I cannot," he said, "punish my own sister, as she deserves, but I foresee that her posterity will be unlucky."[1]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 65, *seq.*, and Mémoire, p. 14; Moosmüller, S. 100, *seq.;* Gravier, p. 109, ref. to Snorre Sturluson's Heimskringla, Bd. i. S. 321, *seq.*, and Torfæus, Vinland. Ant., p. 23. *seq.*

Thorvard and his avaricious, inhuman wife finished their days crushed by each other's contempt and the abhorrence of their countrymen.

A reader of the Icelandic sagas may feel inclined to think that the crime of Freydisa and her lasting disgrace extinguished in the heart of her contemporaries all desire of glory and riches to be gained on the American continent; for no further expedition to our coast is spoken of until we reach the third decade of the following century. When, however, we hear Adam of Bremen relate that Vinland had been found "a multis," by a great number of sailors, and state that he had—before A.D. 1072—received his knowledge of Vinland and of its grape-vines and wheat from a king of Denmark who, himself, had been informed by reliable reports of his subjects,[1] "relatione Danorum," we have sufficient reasons to believe that our eastern shores were much frequented by the northern nations of Europe during the course of the eleventh century.

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[1] Supra, p. 233; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 338.

CHAPTER XII.

LATER VOYAGES TO NORTHEASTERN AMERICA.

THE voyage of Freydisa, Eric's daughter, is the last of the Vinland expeditions of which the ancient northern records have left us a detailed narrative. The sagamen, as historians generally, have given their careful attention only to deeds of princely and powerful men; and since, probably, no other prominent members of Eric the Red's family have undertaken further excursions to the American continent, the sagas simply take note of, or allude to, other similar undertakings of less distinguished traders and colonists, without giving any details of them. The circumstances accompanying the southwestern voyages, the features, climate, and products of the American discoveries, and the intercourse, both dangerous and profitable, with the Skraelings were now so well known in all the Scandinavian States, that the Icelandic chroniclers did not deem it any longer worth while to write down over again what they heard sung and rehearsed all around them. When, therefore, they occasionally took notice at all of any of these American excursions, either from Greenland or from Iceland, they contented themselves with the mere mention of the province or district to which the sailing had been effected. Nor did they pay any more attention to the business relations between Greenland and Vinland than to those between their own country and its peninsular colonies, mentioning only such few voyages as were quite extraordinary, either on account of their object or of their unusual particulars.

Thus do we find it recorded that the Greenland bishop, Eric Gnupson, set out for Vinland in the year 1121.[1] Of this event we shall speak more at large farther on.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century great disturbance was caused by the tyrannical measures of the king of Norway, Eric, surnamed "Prestahatare" or the Priest-hater. The rights of the Church were violated by Rafn Oddson, civil governor of Iceland, and vindicated by Arner Thorlakson, bishop of Skalholt, who was strongly supported by two of his priests, Adalbrand and Thorvald, sons of Helga. The sword prevailed for a time, and the priests found it advisable to seek their safety in flight. In the year 1285 they set out—as all other Icelandic exiles had done since three hundred years already—for the western countries, and arrived at the island which the Greenlanders called Litla Helluland and to which the saga here gives the name of New Land,[2] Newfoundland; in French, "Terre-Neuve" of to-day.

Eric the Priest-hater resolved to pursue them. In the year 1288 he despatched Rolf to Iceland, with orders to levy money and mariners and to sail to the western regions. Another voyage was made the following year, and a third in 1290. Of these expeditions little is known, but it is recorded that, while Adalbrand soon died, Thorvald was arrested and deported to Norway.[3]

The expeditions of Rolf to the distant shores, which procured him the title of "Landa-Rolf" or Rolf of the

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 261.

[2] "Fundu nyja land:" they found New Land; or, perhaps more correctly, they reached the new land.

[3] Gravier, p. 160; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 259, *seq.*, 451, and Mémoire, p. 34, *seq.;* Moosmüller, S. 202; Codex regius Annalium; Flateyarbók; Herbermann, p. 16; Gaffarel, t. i. p. 339; Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 87, n. 1.

Lands, are probably the origin of one of the Atlantic fantastical islands, of "Royllo," placed in the Northwest of "Antilia."[1]

Other Icelandic manuscripts also mention the discovery of the "Duneyar" or Feather Islands about the year 1285. These were likely the smaller islets off the American coast which, on account of the numerous eider-ducks there nesting, are called the Egg Islands until this day.[2]

It may not be out of place to remark here that, according to Lescarbot[3] and others, these islands, and especially the "Nyja Land" of the Icelandic priests, were never lost to the fishermen of French Normandy and Brittany, who frequented all the fisheries of Iceland and Norway; and, having once experienced the riches of the shores of Newfoundland or Terre-Neuve, left of them an imperishable knowledge to their posterity.[4] When Giovanni Cabotto landed on it in the year 1497 he preserved its ancient name, which, we may readily presume, he had learned at the time of his negotiations with the government of Denmark two years previous, when he obtained for the merchants of Bristol the privilege of trading with Iceland and other Danish provinces.[5] Later on we may glean more evidence of a continuous knowledge in European countries of the abundant fisheries of America's northeastern coasts and islands.

We have no certain historic information regarding the intercourse of northern Europe, of Iceland, or of Greenland with the American continent after the middle of the fourteenth century. The last ship recorded by the Icelandic sagas as having sailed between our continental shores and the Scandinavian colonies of the northern Atlantic was a Greenland craft, which had made a voyage to Nova Scotia, probably for the purpose of getting building-timber and other commodities; and, on its return, had suffered considerably and was driven by a storm to the coast of Iceland. "At the time of Arner Vade, archbishop of Drontheim, in the year 1347," says Torfæus,[1] "landed on the coast of Straumfjord in Iceland a Greenland ship that had formerly sailed to Markland." The record of the Gotskalk Annals is short, as follows: "In 1347 a ship from Greenland came into the mouth of Streamfirth." The Flatey saga likewise states: "In 1347 a ship came from Greenland, which had sailed to Markland, and therein eighteen men." In the elder Skalholt Annals, believed to be written about the year 1360, we find against the date of 1347 the following entry: "There came a ship from Greenland, less in size than the small Icelandic trading-vessels. It came into the outer Streamfirth. It was without an anchor. There were seventeen men on board, and they had sailed to Markland, but had afterwards been driven hither by storms at sea."[2]

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 202; supra, p. 5.

[2] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 36; Moosmüller, S. 202; Kunstmann, S. 30.

[3] P. 247.

[4] Payne, p. 87; Kunstmann, S. 42.

[5] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 35.

Any fact or event posterior to the middle of the fourteenth century which might throw light upon the ancient history of our western hemisphere is looked for in vain in the venerable manuscripts of Iceland. It is quite possible, however, that other voyages have taken place between Greenland and Vinland in subsequent years, although the sagamen have not spoken of them any more than of many others that were made in earlier times.

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[1] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 252.

[2] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 271; Reeves, p. 82; Beamish, Discovery, p. 150; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 36; Antiq. Amer., p. 264; Gravier, p. 115; Moosmüller, S. 203; Amer Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 232.

Thus, Adam of Bremen relates[1] a naval excursion, the circumstances of which he heard from the great Archbishop Adalbert, and which Moosmüller,[2] with others, believes to have reached the coast of Newfoundland. "It was," says the Bremen historian, "at the time of Primate Aldebrand Bezelin, Adalbert's immediate predecessor, between the years 1033 and 1043. Some prominent Frisons had undertaken to make a cruise on the northern seas, to find out whether it was true that, as it was the general opinion in their country, when one would sail directly north from the mouth of the 'Wirraha' or Weser River he would not meet with any land, but run into the waters that were called 'Libersee' or Ocean. The daring mariners fitted out a fleet and sailed, leaving Denmark to the right and Britain to the left; and continued their course between the Orkneys and Norway, until they came to icy Iceland in a westerly direction. From thence they went on to search the northernmost seas. After they had left behind them all the countries and islands mentioned, they placed their undertaking under the protection of Almighty God and of his confessor, St. Willehad, praying for further good fortune. One day they got into the darkness of the clammy ocean almost impenetrable to the eye; and behold! the rising and falling billows were drawing the almost despairing sailors with irresistible force into that deep chaos, which, considered to be the mouth of the abyss, swallowed up the waves and vomited them forth again. The refluent swell drove away some ships of the Frison's fleet, and the crews plied their oars with all their strength to second the saving impulsion, whilst others were tossed back again by the succeeding surf. Joining prayer with labor, they invoked the Providence of God, who finally rescued them all from the imminent danger. Rowing hard with the ebbing waves, the last of the crews found safety upon the open sea. Thus they escaped from the darkness and from the frigid regions. After a time they unexpectedly came to an island that was surrounded by very high cliffs, like a city by walls. They found, however, a landing-place, and disembarked to take a sight of the country. There they saw people who at noonday hid themselves in underground holes, at the entrance of which were lying a number of vases made of gold and other metals that mortals hold for precious and rare. Of these vessels they took to their small boats as many as they could carry and rowed full of joy to their ships. They soon made for the shore again; but this time they saw its inhabitants of a wonderfully great size, the like of whom we call cyclops, and who were accompanied by dogs of extraordinary size also. These animals suddenly fell upon one of the Frisons and tore him to pieces before the eyes of his companions, who hurried away to their ships and set out to sea, while the giants were angrily shouting at them from the shore. The adventurous explorers now took their course for home, and, after a prosperous voyage, landed in Bremen, where they gave to Archbishop Aldebrand a full account of their expedition, and made offerings of thanks to Our Lord and St. Willehad for their preservation and safe return."

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[1] Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. ii. cap. li., lxii., lxiii.

[2] S. 174.

We could not well contest the truth of this narrative, but it is no easy matter to explain all its incidents and to identify the distant island. It is clearly stated that the Frisons sailed past and to the West of Iceland, but where did they meet with darkness and the flowing and ebbing billows? It was in the cold northern latitude, we know; and it might not be far amiss to consider as the place of danger the coasts of Greenland, where the "Hafgerdingar," the breakers, together with the icebergs, are at all times full of peril for seafarers, especially during the seasons of dense and dark mists. It is further related that the hardy explorers left the cold regions for more sunny climes, and found an island whose natives retired to their subterranean dwellings in the midst of the day, apparently to escape from the burning heat of the sun. This circumstance would hardly agree with the latitude of Newfoundland, and we would rather be of the opinion that the Frisons discovered the rock-bound isle farther south on the American coast. This view would also more plausibly explain the possession of gold and silver vases by the aborigines, who may have been Mexicans or their neighbors trading with them. However all this may be, it could hardly be denied that the strange island, with its inhabitants stranger yet, was some portion of our western hemisphere, very imperfectly known in Europe at the time of Adam of Bremen.

The vague and undetermined character of the Frison expedition during the first half of the eleventh century does not allow us to draw from it any certain conclusion bearing upon our historical researches. We have for this period no reliable information but from the ancient manuscripts of Iceland, and, as we remarked already, these also, after having cast but a few gleams of light upon the three hundred years of American history subsequent to 1013, leave us completely in the dark as to all that relates to our continent after the middle of the fourteenth century.

This scarcity and final absence of information have led some authors to believe that the expedition of Freydisa and of the two Icelandic brothers in the year 1012 was the last attempt at Scandinavian colonization on the American continent;[1] or, at least, that the colonies repeatedly commenced by the Greenlanders never were of any lasting duration, since there is not so much as a suggestion in Icelandic writings of a permanent occupation of the country.[2] The fact, however, of a Greenland bishop, Eric Gnupson, undertaking a voyage to Vinland in 1121, scarcely allows any doubt of the residence of some of his countrymen on our coasts until that time. The lasting intercourse of the Greenland trading-vessels with Vinland and Markland is another strong indication of the existence of some Scandinavian trading-posts along the American shores. For, while it is generally admitted that all commerce was soon interrupted and given up between Iceland and the new countries, justly considered as belonging to the Greenland republic,[3] it seems improbable, if not impossible, that so adventurous and sea-roving a people as were the Greenlanders should have flourished for more than four hundred years without continuing their profitable relations with the attractive region which they had found almost in their neighborhood.[4] The extracts which we have made from the Icelandic sagas, though few, sufficiently establish that this theoretical probability was a fact, that voyages from Greenland to our continent were actually made until the middle of the fourteenth century.

Not a few learned writers consider these voyages as habitual and regular,[1] and others conclude, from the simplicity and laconism with which the voyage of the year 1347 is mentioned by the Icelandic sagas, not only that the Scandinavian provinces of America were well known in Iceland at the time, but also that the intercourse of Greenland with them was common and frequent; else, they justly remark, the arrival of the disabled Greenland vessel would have excited more comment to be reflected in the contemporary manuscripts.[2]

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[1] Peschel, Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 83.

[2] Reeves, p. 6; von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. i. S. 341; Jousset, in Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, Paris, 1891, sec. viii. p. 107.

[3] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 36; Reeves, p. 6.

[4] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 231; Reeves, p. 82; Maltebrun, t. i. p. 363; Payne, p. 83; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 36.

The intercourse between Greenland and its continental trading-posts was undoubtedly much impaired by the calamitous times of the end of the thirteenth century. The Icelandic Government Annals record, under date of 1287, that the Northmen suffered from severe sicknesses, successive hard winters, epidemics, and consequent famine.[3]

Another fearful visitation put an end to all regular and habitual communication with Vinland. No wonder that no mention of Vinland voyages is made any more after the year 1347, for in that very year commenced to spread the most deadly contagion that ever ravaged Europe, and especially its northern countries. The Black Death—so it was called—extended from Norway, where it reduced the population from two million to three hundred thousand, into Iceland and Greenland, where it raged, as in Norway, until the year 1351.[4] In consequence of the frightful mortality, Greenland had neither men nor means any longer to uphold its former relations with its continental colonies; nay, more, it was weakened to such a degree as to become itself ere long an easy prey to the American natives. The people of Greenland had become poor and helpless, since the deadly plague had, furthermore, cut off all communion with the mother country and all assistance from the government of Denmark.[1]

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[1] Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. pp. 328, 335, ref. to Torfæus, Vinland. Ant., p. 71; Mallet, t. i. p. 254; Moosmüller, S. 203.

[2] Gravier, p. 116, ref. to d'Avezac and Kohl; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 37; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 340.

[3] Gravier, p. 160, n. 3: "1287: His temporibus morbi graves incidebant, multæ continuæ hiemes et lues hominum, atque postea fames."

[4] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 232; Maltebrun, t. i. p. 362; Petrus Olaus Minorita Roskildensis, Annales Rerum Danicarum, p. 191, ap. Langebek, t. i. p. 171; Gaffarel, Histoire, p. 344; Rasmus Anderson, p. 84.

The Greenland settlers and tradesmen established either permanently or temporarily in Vinland and Markland thus became like exiles in the midst of unfriendly tribes of Esquimaux or, more likely, of fiercer nations, that were then driving the former farther north to their present cold and sterile regions. The poor abandoned Scandinavians were compelled to submit to, and commingle with, them or to become their slaves, as were, half a century later, their countrymen of Greenland's Vestrebygd vanquished and carried away from their homes by the Skraelings of their neighborhood. The Norwegians of Vinland, says Mallet,[2] either mixed with the natives of that country or were destroyed by them; and Crantz[3] is of the opinion that "from these outcasts are descended the present Indians in the vicinity of Newfoundland, who are so strikingly distinguished in their person and mode of life from all other Americans." This opinion, which derives great weight from later historical facts, is effectually borne out by a narrative made up from various letters written by the Venetian brothers, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, who were cruising on the northern seas at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth.[4]

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[1] Pontanus, lib. vii., ad an. 1348.

[2] T. i. p. 254.

[3] History of Greenland, ap. Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 250.

[4] Although published several times, this interesting narrative might not easily be found by our readers. We, therefore, reprint it as Document LIV.

As, however, the authenticity and consequent authority of the document have been called in doubt, the reader will allow us, before we make any use of it, a short digression, to show upon what grounds we may confidently admit that narrative. Let it be stated at once that, while the story was already believed by Maltebrun, it obtained a strong advocate in R. U. Major, of the Map Department of the British Museum, who gave it an English dress.[1] The most exhaustive examination of the Zeno report has come from a practical navigator, Baron A. E. Nordenskjöld, who, in working up the results of his own Arctic exploration, was led into the intricacies of the Zeno controversy. The results which he reaches are that the Zeno narratives are substantially true; that in the year 1558, when the Zeno letters were issued, there was no printed material which could have furnished the publisher with an account so nearly accurate of the actual condition of those northern waters.[2]

The compiler, a nephew of the Zeni, who published it first in the year 1558,[3] manifests all honest simplicity and candor when he explains why his literary work must necessarily be deficient and perhaps incorrect in some details. "All the letters," he says, "written by Messer Antonio to his brother Carlo, together with many more writings regarding the same subject, were most unfortunately damaged. They fell into my hands when I was yet a child, and, not knowing their value, I, as children are liable to do, tore them all up and destroyed the greater portion. I cannot think of this but with the deepest sorrow until this day. Yet, that such a beautiful record of events might not be lost altogether, I have, with the aid of Antonio's nautical chart, reduced to this narrative whatever has been left of those papers, in order to procure some satisfaction to the present generation, which profits so much by the transatlantic discoveries and is eager to hear of those made by our ancestors."[1]

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[1] Hakluyt Soc., 1873.

[2] Winsor, vol. i. p. 111, *seq.* In looking up this subject we have found the following authors to consider the Zeno narrative as apocryphal,—namely, Arngrim, Torfæus, Belknap, Zahrtmann, Peschel; and as admitting its authenticity and general authority, Pontanus, Card. Zurla, Maltebrun, Walkenaer, von Humboldt, Lelewel, Major, Forster, Eggers, Bredsdorf, Amat, Beauvois, Gravier, Nordenskjöld.

[3] Under the title, "Dello scoprimento dell' isole Frislanda, Estlanda, Engronelanda, Estotilanda et Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio, Libro uno;" together with a map; Venezia.

To gratify the public spirit of the time, the author very wisely produced some of his classical lore, and thus mentioned the island Icaria and King Dedalus. This was a pardonable fault, as was also the excessive praise bestowed upon his glorious kinsmen for their daring piracies. Nor shall we deny that he may have drawn upon his imagination for a few incidents to adorn his narration; but we see no reason to disbelieve him when he says that, in the main, he has faithfully told the facts as he best could know them from his scraps of authentic letters.[2]

That both the writers and the recipient of the alleged correspondence were no mythical persons is well known from the studies of Cardinal Zurla,[3] and from the History of Venice by Daru, stating[4] that the victorious captain, Carlo Zeno, was in A.D. 1397–1406 unjustly condemned in that city.

Some of the descriptions of the Zeno narrative, as, for instance, of the Greenland fishing-boats and dwellings, are so uncommon, and yet so concordant with actual truth, that none but an eye-witness could ever have made them. The whole story, moreover, agrees so precisely, in almost every important particular, with the Icelandic sagas and the scanty Faroese literature, that these historical sources, so widely different in every respect, form a mutual support and confirmation of each other.

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[1] See Document LIV., *s*, *t*.

[2] Ibid., *m*.

[3] Dissertazione intorno ai viaggi e scoperte settentrionali di Nicolò ed Antonio fratelli Zeni.

[4] T. ii. liv. xi. p. 321.

The map which accompanies the Zeno relation affords another intrinsic argument for its authenticity, being universally recognized as more correct than any of the fifteenth century, or of the first half of the sixteenth; thus showing that it must have been drawn from actual observation. The Dane, Eggers, does not hesitate to declare it, in regard to the outlines of Denmark and Norway, more accurate than any ancient map made in these countries themselves. The same might be said of the shape of Greenland.[1]

Still, on the other hand, this same nautical chart has given occasion, both through its accuracy and through its errors, to objections of quite a different nature; while it is said that, as the narrative itself, it was made according to information received in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century; and, again, that its outlines and its names are so directly in conflict with actual geography as to prove that it is a work of sheer imagination, a forgery.

To the former objection may be answered that the original Zeno map, as its copyist testifies,[2] was in existence before any information could be received from the French explorers of the northeastern parts of our continent. De Costa contends[3] that Benedetto Bordone, writing his "Isole del Mondo" in the year 1521, and printing it in 1528, had access to the Zeno map thirty years and more before its publication. This, he thinks, is evident from the way in which he made and filled up his outline, and from his drawing of "Islanda," even to a like way of engraving the name, which is in a style of letter used by Bordone nowhere else. It is also improbable that Nicolò Zeno, the writer of the narrative, obtained his particular knowledge of Greenland and of his western islands through intercourse with the Scandinavian countries; because, at that time, the American continent was not thought of any more, and the route to Greenland itself was not known any longer in the northern kingdom, as we shall notice farther on.

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[1] Amat, p. 42.

[2] See Document LIV., *b*.

[3] Verrazano, the Explorer, pp. 47, 63, ap. Winsor, vol. i. p. 73.

A more plausible objection is, that "Frisland," the very head-quarters of all the Zeni expeditions, is nothing but an imaginary, fabulous country. It is admitted by all that, if it were a reality,[1] it must have corresponded to the actual Faroe group; from which, however, it differs altogether in name and conformation.

Von Humboldt has remarked it as singular[2] that the name "Frislanda," which, as he supposed, was not known on the maps before the Zeni publication in 1558, should have been applied by Columbus to an island southerly from Iceland, called "Tile" by Ptolemy.[3] But we find the name of "Frisland" among the islands of the northwest European coast, on the fourteenth-century map of Ranulf Hyggeden. Juan de la Cosa, in A.D. 1500, notices the islands "Tille, Estilanda," and "Frislanda," north and northwest of Ireland. Jaime Olives of Majorca, in the year 1514, places "Frixlanda" to the West, so as to form an almost equilateral triangle with Ireland and Iceland; and Matthew

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[1] See Gravier, p. 194.

[2] Kosmos, Bd. ii., and Examen Critique, t. ii. p. 105.

[3] Tratado de las cinco zonas habitables, ap. Winsor, vol. i. p. 73.

Prunes, in 1553, locates his "Fixlanda" at about the same place.[1] The Faroe Islands are also designated under the name of "Frislandia," and the Shetlands as "Estilanda" on Bianco's (A.D. 1436) and Fra Mauro's (A.D. 1459) maps of the world, as well as on charts posterior to the Zeno narrative, and in particular on those of Ruscelli (A.D. 1561), of Mercator (A.D. 1569, 1634,) of Sigurd Stephanius (A.D. 1570), of Michael Lok (A.D. 1582), of Gudbrand Thorlak (A.D. 1606).

The appellation, therefore, of "Frislanda" would rather seem to be in favor of the authenticity under consideration than against it. How the Norse Faroe Islands came to be named Frisland is thus a secondary question, and of no very difficult solution. Isles were often called "Land" by the Scandinavians themselves, as, for instance, Iceland and Shetland or Hijaltland. So they may have said "Faroe'sland" or Land of the Sheep Islands; and this name was readily understood as, or changed into, Frisland by scholars better acquainted with the continental country thus called.

Pastor Schroeter relates a Faroese tradition,[2] which not only affords another probable explanation of the name Frisland, but also a fitting key to, if not a parallel account of, the greater part of the Zeno narrative. When the Northmen, he says, already occupied the Faroe group, a fleet of pirates from Frisland succeeded in gaining a foothold on a hill of "Sudheroe" or Southern Island, called it Akraberg, and made it their nest and the head-quarters of their depredations on the northern seas. The viking, "il Principe," of this colony of sea-rovers was dreaded all around. When at one time the Faroese of the southern islands had rebelled against the bishop, who taxed them in behalf of the erection of his cathedral in Kirkjuboe, the Frisland pirates gave them assistance by sending two ships against the northern islets and fighting by their side at Mannafelsdal, where the bishop's party was completely defeated.[1] The daring, lawless robbers thus being the masters of the Faroe Islands, it should be no wonder if their stronghold was soon known by the name of their original country among their numerous competitors and victimized neighbors.

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[1] See Kretschmer, Die Entdeckung Amerika's, Atlas, Tafel iii. no. 4; Tafel iv. no. 3, no. 5; Tafel vii.

[2] Antiquar. Tidsskrift, 1849–51, S. 145, ap. Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 90.

This may suffice in regard to the appellation of Frisland. Forster[2] and Buache[3] have found among the names of the numerous Faroe islets and havens several of those mentioned in the Zeno narrative, "Sudero" being evidently identical with Sudheroe, and "Streme" with Stromoe. The first remarks made upon the name of Frisland are quite applicable to that of "Estlanda," applied by the Zeni to the modern Shetland group.

If there are undoubtedly in the Venetian report and accompanying map several names that cannot be identified, we should not wonder that the publisher of the torn correspondence may have misread these names on his shreds of paper and on the old dilapidated chart; nor even that the original authors have misunderstood them from the lips of their strange companions, when we remember that Columbus confounded the names of places mentioned by the natives of Haiti, Cuba, and Veragua with those of the Asiatic cities described by Marco Polo.

That Nicolò Zeno mentions islands on the eastern coasts of Iceland where there are none of any importance is easily understood when we observe that he had neither facilities nor time to verify the true conformation of the headlands protruding between the numerous firths by which the coast is deeply indented. Thus was Newfoundland represented on several ancient maps as a group of islands; while, on the contrary, former geographers, less correctly informed, set down archipelagos as greater islands, by noticing only the outer lines of the various islets and neglecting the small intervening channels. In this latter fashion did the Zeni represent the Shetland and the Faroe groups.[1]

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[1] Pastor Schroeter, Antiq. Tidsskrift, S. 171. Compare with Document LIV., *c*.

[2] Histoire des Découvertes et des Voyages faits dans le Nord; Transl., t. i. pp. 286, 325.

[3] Vol. of 1787, p. 447; both ap. Gravier, p. 191.

Torfæus objects to the credibility of the Zeno relation not only on geographical but also on historical grounds.[2]

This second class of difficulties would, however, be effectually removed if the hero of the story, "Prince Zichmni," were reduced to his actual proportions.

Literary enterprise and, above all, the vanity of the Zeni actors and historian required that the leader, under whom the former served, be represented as a powerful and legitimate "Principe," whose every undertaking was an act deserving of praise and everlasting glory, whose every cruise in perfectly well-known waters was a voyage of first discovery. A few authors have been misled by the publisher's inflated style.

Gravier displays[3] a vast amount of learning and research in his efforts to prove that Zichmni was none other than Henry Sinclair, count of the Orkneys and of other islands. But he meets with no ordinary difficulties. He establishes, indeed, that Sinclair was at peace and in perfect accord with the king of Norway; and, as further proof of this, he might have added that, in the year 1389, Henry "*Senckler*," count of the Orkneys, signed, together with the bishops and grandees of Norway, the act of succession in favor of Eric, son of Duke Wartislav and of the niece of Queen Margaret.[1] But he is at a loss to understand how the name Sinclair is an equivalent of Zichmni, his only attempt at conciliation being to say that we are ignorant of the pronunciation of Sinclair (historically, "*Senckler*") by the Northmen.[2] We read that Zichmni set out on a warlike expedition against the Estland or Shetland Isles, but was beaten back by a large fleet of the king of Norway.[3] This is certainly very strange, for, says Gravier,[4] history does not mention any war between the king of Norway and the count of the Orkneys. The same author wonders also that no record was kept in the Icelandic sagas of the further invasion of Iceland by Prince Zichmni;[5] but the puzzle is easily solved as soon as we notice that there was no question here of regular war or princely invasion, but only of one of the thousand piratical assaults that desolated all the northern coasts at that time, and of which all histories are full.

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[1] Cf. Gravier, p. 193.

[2] Herbermann, p. 12, *seq.*

[3] P. 183, *seq.*

Peschel considers[6] Zichmni, whose real name undoubtedly was Segrmun in the Norse, or Siegmund in the Teutonic language, as a common sea-rover. Although mistaking Zichmni still for the count of the Orkneys, Gravier is better informed when, farther on,[7] he acknowledges that his Henry "Sinclair" was an arch-pirate. He may have been more daring and successful, and have thus become more of a "Principe" than many others; but his exploits, even as told in the Zeno narrative, are those of a viking, of a robber on the high seas.[8] When the vessel of Nicolò Zeno was dashed against the Faroe island, Siegmund saved him from the thieving people, only to rob him not only of his goods but also of his liberty.[1] During the previous year he had obtained the advantage over ships of the Norwegian king, and was running through the Faroes now after spoils, among which are mentioned a few vessels laden with fish.[2] After some time, Siegmund made a fiendish descent upon the Shetland group, where, it is stated, he caused much damage; but was prevented from doing more harm by a powerful fleet of Norway, whose kings were busily engaged during that period in fighting piracy all over their dominions.[3] Repulsed from the Shetlands, Siegmund, with a few vessels poorly manned, invaded the coasts of Iceland; but, meeting with courageous resistance here also, was obliged to content himself with plundering the adjoining islets, and to return, laden with booty, to his nest of Akraberg. Siegmund or Zichmni is a truthful illustration of the history of his day.[4]

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[1] Pontanus, lib. ix., ad an. 1389, p. 251.

[2] Gravier, p. 188.

[3] See Document LIV., *e*.

[4] P. 196.

[5] Gravier, p. 196; see Document LIV., *f*.

[6] Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 83.

[7] P. 218.

[8] Several modern writers wrongly

From his captains, the Zeni brothers, we receive further information regarding the countries and the times which in this study claim our attention. We might wish our informants to be of a more honorable character, but they had no motives for deceiving us by false reports about persons or facts that had no relation to their aims or manner of life. We may, therefore, reasonably grant them our credence, more particularly

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attach to the word "viking" the idea of royalty or kingship. Yet the word is not "konungr," nor even "cynig," but only "víking," from "vík" or wík, originally an inlet or small bay, now also a hamlet, and "ing," a Norse termination meaning inhabitant of . . . the bay. The ancient inhabitants of the Scandinavian bays were fishermen for a season of the year and pirates the rest of the time; hence the "vikings" of old stories are simply common sea-rovers, like "Principe Zichmni."

[1] See Document LIV., *b*.

[2] Ibid., *c*.

[3] Ibid., *e*.

[4] Ibid., *f*.

whenever their statements agree with, or fittingly complete, intelligence derived from other historical sources.

Such is the case in regard to the closing history of the Scandinavian colonies on the shores of our continent.

Antonio Zeno wrote to his brother Carlo that he had been sent out with a small fleet by Prince Zichmni towards the West, because some of his Faroese fishermen had discovered rich and populous islands in that direction. Of this discovery he gave some particulars, as follows: "Twenty-six years ago there set out four fishing-boats, which, assailed by a great tempest, were tossed for many days, in imminent danger, on the waves of the ocean. But finally the weather became fair, and the mariners got sight of an island called "Estotiland," situated in the West, at a distance of more than a thousand miles from Frisland."

Taking into consideration this direction and distance, as also the further statement that the island was little less than Iceland and much more fertile, the learned are generally of the opinion that Newfoundland was meant;[1] while a few, with less probability, it seems, understand by the Estotiland of the Zeni the whole of ancient Vinland, including the New England States, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.[2] The name, it is said, is an old Scandinavian appellation slightly modified, "Estutland," signifying the uttermost land to the East,—which is correct in relation to our northern continent.

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[1] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 372; Forster, t. i. p. 322, ap. Gravier, p. 210; Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 47; Aa. passim.

[2] As late as the year 1610 the learned Arngrim Jonson considered Estotiland as identical with the New Land looked for by Landa Rolf (supra, p. 248) and with Vinland: "Terram vero Landa Rolfoni quæsitam existimarem esse Vinlandiam olim Islandis sic dictam; de qua alibi, insulam nempe Americæ e regione Gronlandiæ, quæ forte hodie Estotilandia, etc." (Crymogœa, p. 120.)

"Upon this island," Zeno continues, "one of the boats was cast away, and six men that were in her were taken by the inhabitants and brought into a very beautiful and populous city, where the king of the place summoned a number of interpreters, but could not find any to understand the language of those fishermen, save one who spoke Latin and had also by chance been cast upon the island. He asked them, in the king's name, what countrymen they were, and, after hearing their statements, reported to the king, who ordered that they should remain on the island. Obeying his will, because unable to do otherwise, they remained five years and learned the language. One of them especially was in divers parts of the isle, and tells that it is very rich and abounding with all the commodities of the world, and that it is little less than Iceland, but more fertile, having a very high mountain, from which spring four rivers that water it. The inhabitants are witty and possess all the same arts which we have; and it is credible that in former times they entertained communication with us, for he says that he saw Latin books in the king's library, which by this time they do not understand. They have a peculiar speech and a writing of their own, they extract metals of all kinds, and are, above all, rich in gold. They trade with Greenland, from whence they import hides, sulphur, and resin. And he further tells that, to the South, there is a land very rich in gold and densely populated, where they sow grain and make beer,—a kind of beverage used in the northern countries as wine among us. They have woods of vast extent, mason with stone, and have numerous cities and castles. They build ships and navigate, but have not the use of the load-stone nor of the compass."[1]

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[1] See Document LIV., *m*.

Such is part of a letter of Antonio Zeno, written about the year 1400, and relating some interesting details of a voyage of Faroe islanders made to parts of the American coasts where the Scandinavians had established colonies, some thirty years after the last Greenland vessel is spoken of by the Icelandic sagas as having returned from Markland.

Maltebrun makes here the following self-evident remarks: "Those people," he says, "who had a certain degree of culture, may have been descendants of the Scandinavian colonists of Vinland, whose language, in the course of three centuries, may have undergone such changes as to have become almost incomprehensible to a Faroese fisherman. The Latin books (a circumstance not liable to be invented) were doubtless brought there by the Greenland bishop who, in the year 1121, sailed to Vinland to preach Christianity."

Antonio Zeno completes the story of the Faroese fisherman with a few more incidents less important for our study and perhaps slightly tinged with literary fiction. Since, however, they recall to mind, and perhaps confirm certain facts of which we have spoken in the first volume, we here recount them, submitting them to the reader's appreciation.

Antonio relates that the Faroese fishermen were held in great esteem, especially on account of their knowledge of the compass, which the Estotilanders had never seen before that time. This interesting circumstance is quite in keeping with the history of the precious nautical instrument, for the compass was unknown at the epoch of Greenland's colonization, while Gioja's invention was of little use in the North before the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The king employed the strangers as pilots of a fleet which he sent out towards the South, to a country which they call "Drogio,"—probably Nova Scotia or New England,[1] or even Florida.[2] "On their voyage they experienced such a storm that they considered themselves lost; and, after escaping a fearful death, they ran into a more frightful one; for, being taken prisoners, the greater number of them were eaten by the ferocious natives, who devour human flesh and relish it as a great delicacy.

"Yet one of them, by showing how to catch fish with a net, saved his life and that of a few of his comrades; and, fishing every day on the sea-shore and in the rivers, he took a great quantity of fish, which he distributed among the chiefs. In consequence of this, he gained the good will of every one and became much loved and honored. His reputation spread among the neighboring tribes, one of whose chiefs conceived such a desire of having him and of seeing his wonderful skill in catching fish that he declared war to the chieftain with whom the Faroese resided; and, having finally prevailed, he obtained that the fisherman and his companions should be sent to him. He says that, in the thirteen years which he spent continuously in those regions, he was, under similar circumstances, sent over to more than twenty-five masters, one making war upon another, and this one on another again, simply to obtain possession of the expert fisherman. He roamed thus from place to place without a fixed residence all that long time, so that he knew by experience the whole of those countries. He says that the land is very extensive,—a 'New World,' as it were; but the people are rude and in want of all comfort, because, naked as they go, they suffer of the biting cold; not knowing how to cover themselves with the skins of the animals which they take in the chase. They have no kind of metals, and live on the game which they pursue with wooden lances and with bows, the strings of which are made of skin. Those people are ferocious, in deadly feuds with one another, and eating one another. They have chiefs and certain laws that greatly differ from nation to nation.

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[1] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 372; Lelewel and Kohl, A History of the Discovery of the State of Maine, in Documentary History of the State of Maine, 2d series, 1st vol. p. 105, ap. Gravier, p. 211.

[2] Belknap, American Biography, vol. i. p. 83.

"Yet, as one goes farther to the Southwest, he meets with more civilization, in consequence of a milder climate, by so far as to find cities there, and temples erected to idols, where they sacrifice men and afterwards eat them; and in that part of the land they have some knowledge and use of gold and silver."

Tired of his travels, the enterprising Faroese decided at last to leave behind his less courageous companions and to make his way back home. Fleeing through the woods, he returned from one of his former masters to another, and each received him well for hatred of the neighboring chief. Thus he reached Drogio again, where, after a sojourn of three more years, he had the good fortune of being taken up by an Estotiland ship. Here he took service upon trading-vessels, and succeeded so well that finally he could float a vessel of his own and sail back to the Faroe Islands.[1]

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[1] See Document LIV., *n.* Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades journeyed, in A.D. 1528–36, from the Mississippi River to their friends in Mexico. In the course of his trip Cabeza de Vaca was for eight years held captive by sundry Indian tribes, and at last his escape involved ten months of arduous travel. On one occasion he and his friends treated some sick Indians, breathing upon them and making the sign of the cross. As the Indians happened to get well, the Spaniards at once became objects of reverence, and different tribes vied with one another for access to them, in order to benefit by their supernatural gifts. In those early days, before the Red Men had become used to seeing Europeans, a white captive was not so likely to be put to death as to be cherished as a helper of vast

In consequence of the information derived from this successful traveller, Zichmni resolved to make an expedition to the rich western countries. At the head of a numerous fleet he first sailed to the westernmost islands of the Faroe group, and then continued his course into the wide ocean. After some time he was overtaken by a tempest which, lasting eight days, sank some of his vessels and scattered the others; but, when calm had returned, the remainder of the fleet gathered again and sailed on, with favorable winds, until they sighted land in the West, to which Antonio gives the classical name of "Icaria;" and which, taken by some for the Irish county of Kerry because of the consonants *c* and *r*, is probably the region called Estotiland before.[1]

The people of the western country had not been less watchful than the pirates, and had run for their arms at the first sight of the dreaded sails. When Zichmni drew near, hundreds of them stood on the shore, prepared to protect their fortunes and their homes. The signal of peace was given from the fleet, and a parley took place by means of an interpreter, who was from Iceland; but nothing more could be obtained from the islanders than that one mariner should be received ashore. Zichmni, unable to extort better terms, inquired

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and undetermined value. The Indians set so much store by Cabeza de Vaca that he found it hard to tear himself away; but at length he used his influence over them in such wise as to facilitate his moving in a direction by which he ultimately succeeded in escaping to his friends. There seems to be a real analogy between his strange experiences and those of the fisherman of Drogio, who became an object of reverence because he could do things that the natives could not do, yet the value of which they were able to appreciate. (Fiske, vol. i. p. 251.)

[1] Zurla and von Eggers, ap. Gravier, p. 209. The Zeno chart distinguishes the two islands, and at quite a distance from each other; but we must observe that, before lands and isles were located on their actual meridian by astronomical observation, duplications of locations and names of one and the same island, as also gross errors of distances, were very common. Cf. d'Avezac, Les Isles de l'Afrique, 3e Partie, p. 299.

where he might find a suitable landing-place; and at once, setting all sails, hurried with his vessels to the designated spot. Towards night he made for the land, and his men were soon at work, with all possible haste, to take in provisions of wood and water. But ere they had fairly commenced, fires were built on every eminence of that vicinity, and intermittent flames and smoke—signals that frightened us in Oregon a few years ago—called together that very night the braves of Icaria, who suddenly swarmed forth from behind the hills and fell upon the intruders with such effect that many of Zichmni's men fell wounded or slain. The sea-rovers withdrew in a hurry and steered for deep water. For several days they hung and swung about the island, but the natives followed them in great numbers over hill and vale, with ever-increasing demonstrations of the most unfriendly nature. Zichmni hung out the white shield again, but all his efforts to come to another conference proved futile. The Americans were doggedly resolved, as Zeno puts it, to keep at a distance the foreign robbers. Not to perish of hunger, the viking finally spread his canvas and set out for more favorable quarters, where we shall follow him later on.[1]

It may not be useless to remark that from the fact of the Icarians' interpreter being an Icelander on this occasion, we may conclude that, at the end of the fourteenth century, not only Faroese fishermen, as it is related here, and northern pirates visited the American coasts, but Icelanders, also, were at the time still sailing to, and likely entertaining business relations with, the remnants of the Scandinavian colonies on our continent.

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[1] See Document LIV., *p.*

The reader will have observed, however, that, while in this last episode the people of our northeastern coasts still gave evident signs of civilization in recognizing Zichmni's signal of peace, in keeping interpreters, in acceding to a conference with their enemies, and in offering a friendly reception to one of them; they had already accepted several of the natural dispositions and of the customs of our Indian aborigines; in particular, their primitive system of distant signals in time of war, and a sufficient portion of their language to have become incapable of conversing with persons of their own ancestral stock. Thus had the descendants of the old Vinland colonists gradually lost their national identity as time had rolled on, although they had preserved yet a few marks and vestiges of original superiority in body, culture, and religion over the other Indian tribes of North America.

CHAPTER XIII.

VESTIGES OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHEASTERN AMERICA.

REMARKABLE differences between the natives to the South of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the other North American Indians have been especially noticed by the French discoverers and first missionaries of Canada. The distinguishing features consisted especially in the customs of these coast tribes, in housing and dressing, and in some of their religious practices that gave clear evidence of former civilization and Christianity. Father Chrestien Leclercq was greatly astonished and puzzled when he came among the natives along Holy Cross River, in the year 1677. "The ancient worship of these savages," he says, "and their religious use of the cross would somehow make us believe that these people have in former ages received the knowledge of the gospel and of Christianity, which they must have lost through the negligence and licentiousness of their forefathers."[1]

The missionary had no idea of the sojourn of Christian Scandinavians in these countries. But we may readily presume that the Christian religion was established again in this portion of our continent by the converted colonists of Greenland;[2] and it should be no wonder if one of the clerics sent along from Norway with Leif the Fortunate accompanied him on his excursion to Vinland. There is, however, no explicit mention made of any bishop or priest as having preached the gospel in the American province of Greenland before the year 1053 or 1059, when, according to a supplement to the "Landnámabók," followed by Torfæus[1] and most modern authors,[2] one of Iceland's missionary bishops, Jón or John, of whom we have spoken before,[3] set out for Vinland in order to convert its people, and finally closed his mission there by suffering torture and death. Yet, as we noticed already, it is more likely that this apostolic man, after laboring four years in Iceland, instead of coming farther west to Vinland the Good, returned to Europe and obtained a martyr's crown in the country of the Wendes, or Vin*d*land, as the "Hungrvaka" saga relates.

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[1] Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie, p. 40.

[2] Fidel Fita, in Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. xxi. p. 237. The first evangelization having been made by the Irish Papas.

If the visit of this Bishop John to our continent is very doubtful, it is, on the contrary, all the better and historically established that, in the year 1121, the last regionary bishop of Greenland, Eric Gnupson, left his episcopal see of Steines, or of Gardar, to sail to the American province of Vinland. A number of ancient documents and all subsequent authors agree on this point.[4]

The character of the person is sufficient evidence that he went on a religious errand,—to convert, says Maltebrun,[5] his countrymen who were still pagans, or, as Belknap just as erroneously asserts,[6] who had degenerated into savages. As the first Christians of Oregon were French-Canadian trappers, and the archbishop of Quebec sent forth to these members of his flock his vicar-general, F. N. Blanchet, who became the first primate of the ecclesiastical province of our far Northwest, so were the old Scandinavian settlements and trading-posts on our continent considered to be an integral portion of the diocese of Greenland; and, as Gravier remarks,[1] we may admit that these colonies had attained a sufficient importance to justify Eric, the Greenland bishop, in visiting this distant part of his diocese himself[2] and consecrating to it the remainder of his life.

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[1] Vinland. Ant., cap. xvi. p. 71.

[2] Mallet, t. i. p. 254; Gravier, p. 166; Moosmüller, S. 49; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 333; Herbermann; ch. xvi. p. 62; Bastian, Bd. ii. S. 443.

[3] Supra, pp. 129, 130.

[4] See Document LIII.; supra, p. 202, *seq.;* Arngrim Jonae, Groenlands Saga, p. 16; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., pp. 71, 239, *seq.;* Langebek, t. iii. p. 51; Mallet, t. i. p. 254; Herbermann, ch. xvi. p. 62.

[5] T. i. p. 363.

[6] Amer. Biography, vol. i. p. 51.

The text of the sagas allows us to assume that Eric Gnupson arrived in Vinland, but relates no details of his sojourn or labors. We only know that he never returned; and, either by resigning his former charge to commence a new bishopric, or by remaining on our continent until his death,[3] he left the extensive territory of Greenland without a bishop, "biskupslaust," until Arnold, the first resident prelate of Gardar, was, in the year 1124, consecrated to replace him.

Eric was probably accompanied on his distant apostolic expedition by one or more priests, who were to assist him in his zealous labor; and, if we take into consideration the customs of the Catholic Church, we may well presume that the Scandinavian traders and colonists on our coasts were at no time deprived of religious comfort. The voyage to Newfoundland of the Icelandic priests Adalbrand and Thorvald in the year 1285[4] is noteworthy in this respect, for they went both to find protection in a distant Christian country and to make themselves useful through their holy ministrations.

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[1] P. 167.

[2] Cf. Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 232; Gravier, p. 167; Moosmüller, S. 161.

[3] We do not see on what grounds it can be asserted that he died in A.D. 1122. (Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894; sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*)

[4] Supra, p. 248.

It is, however, from ancient vestiges of Christianity found by the French discoverers about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, rather than from old historical records, that we may conclude the fact of an effectual and durable evangelization of our northeastern coasts before the late discoveries of America.

The northern historian Claudius Lyschander assures us that the faith planted in Vinland by Bishop Eric endured still at his time,[1] and that it lasted long after him in its civilizing effects and in some of its tenets and practices is evidenced by the testimony of several subsequent writers.

We have spoken of the extraordinary veneration paid to the Christian symbol, and of the superstitious confidence placed in it by some Gaspesians of New Brunswick, which made the first missionary of later times believe that the Gospel had been preached to them before.[2]

This ancient origin of the worship of the cross in New Brunswick, as related by Father Leclercq, is also set forth in a letter of de Saint Vallier, second bishop of Quebec, who about the same time, upon the evidence of the governor of that country, Richard Denis de Fronsac, and of another missionary priest, Father de Thury, has left us a report which both confirms and completes the former statements regarding the cross and its origin among the Indians of the Miramichi River.[3]

In the year 1635 Father Julian Perrault, a missionary of Cape Breton Island, wrote that the natives, after the example of the French, readily blessed themselves with the sign of the cross; they also, he adds, painted the cross on their faces, their breasts, arms, and legs, without being requested to do so, and, of course, without an example from the Europeans; most probably, therefore, as the "Cross-bearers," in imitation of their ancestors.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxix. p. 240.

[2] Supra, vol. i. p. 442, *seq.;* vol. ii. p. 274.

[3] Estat présent de l'Église et de la colonie française dans la Nouvelle France, par M. l'évêque de Québec, pp. 34–41, ap. Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, pp. 11–16.

Champlain, who in the year 1607 was exploring the coasts of Nova Scotia, writes that, in one of the havens of the Bay of Fundy, three or four leagues to the North of Cape Poitrincourt, they found a very old cross covered with moss and almost rotten,—an evidence, he observes, that Christians had been there in earlier days.[2] Lescarbot remarks that the people among whom this cross was found "originated from some nation that had been taught the law of God."[3] It is strictly possible, indeed, that, as Father Lafitau pretends, this cross had been "planted by the Europeans who had sailed to these coasts more than a hundred years before Champlain." This vague assertion may refer to the doubtful voyages of the Dieppe fishermen, of which we shall speak farther on; but all that was known of those regions in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Pontgrave and Champlain first explored their coasts, consisted of a narrow margin of land along the shores; and it is evident, therefore, that no Europeans of the previous century had introduced the worship of the cross among the "Cross-bearers" of the Miramichi River.[4]

An incident of Jacques Cartier's first voyage in the year 1534 ought to be mentioned here. He was at some point of either the Chaleur- or the Gaspe Bay or of the

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[1] P. Julien Perrault, Relation de quelques particularités du lieu et des habitants du Cap Breton, ap. Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, pp. 23, 24.

[2] Les voyages du Sr. de Champlain, liv. i. ch. xvi., ap. Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 18.

[3] T. i. p. 22, ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 291.

[4] Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages Américains, t. i. p. 437; Moreau, Histoire de l'Acadie française, p. 54, ap. Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 19.

St. Lawrence River. "On the twenty-fourth day of July," he says, "we ordered a cross thirty feet high. It was made in the presence of the savages, and in their presence we afterwards planted it on the said headland. They gazed much at it, both when it was made and erected. After we had raised it aloft, we went on our knees and, folding our hands together, venerated it before them; and, looking up and pointing to heaven, we tried to make them understand that through the cross had come our redemption. At all this they were greatly amazed, turning around to one another and then again fixing their eyes on the cross. We had hardly returned to our ships when their captain came to us in a canoe, dressed in an old skin of a black bear and accompanied by three of his sons and a brother. Stopping at a somewhat greater distance from our vessel than they were used to, he made a long discourse, pointing at the cross and signifying it by crossing two of his fingers. And then he motioned with his hand to all the surrounding country, as if he had wanted to say that all that land was his, and we should not have planted a cross without his permission."[1]

Cartier did not understand the words of the Indian chief, and we think he misunderstood his gestures, which evidently signified mainly the cross as a cross. There is no reason to suppose that he considered its erection as a taking possession of the country. If he had suspected this meaning and protested against it, he would undoubtedly have torn down the cross instead of keeping it erect, as the natives, also, promised to do. It is more likely that the chief simply intended to signify, by pointing at the cross and at the country around, that there were other crosses to be found all over that neighborhood.[1]

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[1] Discours du Voyage fait par le capitaine Jacques Cartier en la terre neufve de Canada, ed. Michelant, p. 55, *seq.*, ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 441, and Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 17.

Father Perrault relates that the natives of Cape Breton not only blessed themselves with the sign of the cross and painted the sacred symbol on their faces and limbs, but also prayed, lifting up their eyes to heaven and invoking the names of "Jesus" and "Maria,"—thus rather in Latin than in French.[2]

The Algonquin tribes worshipped the sun, and most of them gave it the name of "Jesus" or a name slightly different, as "Kizous" in the Abnaki dialect, "Jischi" in Chippewayan, and "Kesus" in the New England tongues.[3]

Lescarbot[4] tells of an Indian chief in Canada stating that "they believed in One God, One Son, a Mother, and the Sun: four together, yet the One God being above all."

Sagard Théodat found in the year 1636 the Canadian mountaineers to be acquainted with the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. "They have," he says, "three deities: "Atahocan, his Son, and Messou [the Messiah?]. Besides, they also admit a divine Mother, to whom they give no name, because she has no part in the government of this world." He also discovered among them certain notions of the universal deluge; in particular, that the world had been peopled again from only five persons who escaped the great flood.[5] "Such ideas," he adds, "are not far amiss from actual truth, and all the more surprising when we consider that these savages were never taught; for we read nowhere that the apostles, their disciples, nor any friar before us have ever visited this country to preach the word of God."[1]

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[1] Discours du Voyage, p. 58; Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 18; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 442.

[2] Julien Perrault, Relation de quelques particularités . . . du Cap Breton, in Relations des Jésuites, p. 43, ap. Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 23, and Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 443.

[3] Beauvois, les Derniers Vestiges, p. 24 and n. 2, ibid.; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 349, ref. to Charles Lallemant, Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1626, p. 4; see vol. i. p. 434.

[4] Liv. iii. ch. xi. p. 294.

[5] Traditions of the same kind are related by Lescarbot, liv. i. ch. iii.

The same author further speaks of a hymn, still sung in his time by Canadian tribes, one of the verses being, "Tameia Alleluia, tameia a don veni, hau hau hé hé."[2] This was probably one of the songs which John Allefonsce, Roberval's companion in the year 1542, heard in Norumbega, and to him sounded like Latin.

"The natives of Norembega, also called Gaspesia and Acadia, were remarkable," says Maltebrun,[3] "for their civilized manners and their worship of the sun. They distinguished the rhumbs of the wind, knew some of the stars, and drew pretty correct maps of their country. A portion of them worshipped the cross. The inhabitants of their city, Norembega, were handsome and tall, dressed in mantles of rich furs, and nice people to deal with."[4] Lescarbot likewise speaks of their friendly relations with the French, and is of the opinion that they could easily be converted to Christianity; in fact, that many of them, although not baptized, were Christians at heart and performed the duties of Christians as best they could. Such was the social and religious condition not only of the Indians of St. John's River, but also of the Abnakis, Souriquois, Etchemins, and other neighboring tribes.[5]

Considering all these particulars, testified to by a number of reliable witnesses, we may, with Maltebrun,[6] look to the territories of the same nations for the Vinland of the Northmen, and believe that its Christian apostles, of whom the earlier French historians had no idea, were none other than Bishop Eric, his companions, and successors. "All those vestiges and reminiscences of Christian doctrine and practice were echoes," says Gravier,[1] "of an early evangelization of America, and footprints of the passage of Eric Upsi and of the Northmen, who, according to von Humboldt, had their principal settlements about the mouth of the St. Lawrence River."

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[1] Pp. 503–507, ap. Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 25.

[2] P. 311, ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 350; Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 25, n. 1, ibid.

[3] T. v. p. 290.

[4] Cf. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 348.

[5] Lescarbot, ed. Tross, p. 666; ed. Paris, 1618, p. 714. ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 442; Beauvois, Les Derniers Vestiges, p. 22.

[6] T. v. p. 290.

We have noticed a voyage of Faroese fisherman to an island far away in the West, which the learned consider as Newfoundland; where, at their arrival, they could be understood but by one interpreter, who spoke Latin also; and where, in the king's library, they found Latin books, which the natives did not understand. Maltebrun thinks that these books had been brought there by Eric, the Greenland bishop. They may, however, have been imported by later Scandinavian clergymen following Bishop Gnupson to Vinland; and we would venture to ask, Whether, even at this time,—namely, at the end of the fourteenth century,—the learned interpreter was not, perhaps, a priest come from Greenland to minister to the spiritual wants of his almost forgotten countrymen? It is easily presumed, indeed, that not many persons, besides the clerics, spoke Latin at the time in the islands of the northern Atlantic.[2]

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[1] P. 175.

[2] See Document LIV., *m.*; Maltebrun, t. i. p. 372.

CHAPTER XIV.

TRACKS OF THE NORTHMEN ON OUR CONTINENT.

THE vestiges of Christianity and of ancient civilization in the northwestern parts of our continent, explained by various records almost contemporary with their first origin and cause, together with all the information, both of a general and of a special character, which we have brought forward already, would not, it seems, allow any question to be raised in regard to the fundamental and simple fact of America's discovery and partial settlement by the Scandinavians of Greenland. And yet Leslie, Jameson, and Murray, in their "Discovery and Adventures in the Polar Seas," absolutely reject the idea of a visit to any part of our coast by the Norwegians;[1] and we learn from Herbermann[2] that our leading historians—George Bancroft, Hildreth, Winsor,[3] Elliott, and Palfrey—regard voyages by the Norsemen southward from Greenland as highly probable, but treat the Scandinavian sagas as being of no historical value. The first of them writes, indeed,[4] that no clearly historical evidence establishes the natural probability that the Greenlanders accomplished the passage to the American continent. A few more, among whom is also Hubert Howe Bancroft,[1] are inclined to the same opinion.

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[1] North Amer. Rev., new series, xlvi. p. 166.

[2] Torfason's Ancient Vinland, p. i.

[3] Winsor, vol. ii. p. 33, says, "The extremely probable and almost necessary pre-Columbian knowledge of the northeastern parts of America follows from the venturesome spirit of the mariners of those seas for fish and traffic, and from the easy transitions from coast to coast, by which they would have been lured to meet the more southern climes. The chances from such natural causes are quite as strong an argument in favor of the early Northmen venturings as the somewhat questionable representation of the sagas."

[4] Vol. i. ch. i.

In a note, however, H. H. Bancroft says, in regard to the objections set forth by George Bancroft and by Washington Irving, that "all of which [to wit, of their reasoning] would be true enough of most theories, but that it is erroneous so far as the Northmen's visits are concerned; as it has, I think," says he, "been conclusively shown in later years."[2] To do justice to Palfrey, we must also give his final conclusion respecting the sagas,—namely, that "their antiquity and genuineness appear to be well established, nor is there anything to bring their credibility into question beyond the general doubt which always attaches to what is new or strange."[3] Justin Winsor himself makes a remark which seems to correct his former doubts, when he states: "The researches of Graah, Nordenskjöld, and other explorers, and the studious habits of Major, Rink, and the rest among the investigators, have enabled us to read the old sagas of the colonization of Greenland [the same that relate the colonization of Vinland] with renewed interest and with the light of corroborating evidence."[4]

Through such statements they rather join the ranks of our other best historians,—Toulmin Smith, Beamish, Reeves, De Costa, Horsford, and Baxter,—who advocate the credibility of the Scandinavian records.[5] Other American writers of no less authority on this subject have no doubt regarding the truthfulness of the northern manuscripts and the early occupation of our coasts by the Scandinavian people. Thus Payne says,[6] "Of the authenticity of the voyages of the Northmen to America no doubt remains. They are mentioned in no less than seventeen ancient Icelandic documents.[1] In no instance are the statements thus chronicled improbable or repugnant to known facts; on the contrary, most striking facts in the natural history of the New Continent were placed on record by the Northmen." Farnum[2] and Short,[3] with many more, are quite as positive;[4] and Prescott gives new proof of his sagacity and foresight when he writes[5] that, "whatever scepticism may have been entertained as to the visit of the Northmen in the eleventh century to the coasts of the great continent, it is probably set at rest in the minds of most scholars since the publication of the original documents by the Royal Society of Copenhagen."

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[1] Vol. v. p. 102.

[2] Ibid., p. 104, n.

[3] History of New England, vol. ii. p. 53, ap. De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 57.

[4] Vol. i. p. 70.

[5] Herbermann, Torfason's Ancient Vinland, p. i.

[6] P. 83.

The greatest writers of Europe were convinced already before this of the fact that the Scandinavians had discovered and colonized our western hemisphere, and among them were prominent Pontanus, Hugo Grotius, who argued that all North America except Yucatan was peopled by the Northmen;[1] Torfæus, the great historian of the Vinland colonies; and the learned Maltebrun. But the vast and deep researches of Finn Magnussen, and especially of Charles C. Rafn,[2] have resulted in evident proofs of these important events, and left to later students only the task of further confirming their conclusions. "We stand now on historical ground," says Alexander von Humboldt. "By the critical and highly praiseworthy efforts of Professor Rafn and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, the sagas and documents in regard to the expeditions of the Northmen to Helluland (Newfoundland), to Markland (the mouth of the St. Lawrence and Nova Scotia), and to Vinland (Massachusetts) have been satisfactorily commented upon. The discovery of the northern part of America by the Northmen cannot be disputed. The length of the voyage, the direction in which they sailed, the time of the sun's rising and setting are accurately given. America was discovered about the year 1000 by Leif, son of Eric the Red, at about forty-one and one-half degrees north latitude."[3] Other scholars of the greatest authority, as Crantz, in his "History of Greenland;" Major, in the Hakluyt edition of the Zeno narrative; Mallet, in his Introduction to the "History of Denmark;" Sophus Ruge, Cronau, Max Müller, and, we might say, every other writer who touches upon the subject at the present time, all agree as to the reliableness of the Icelandic ancient records. Peschel stands alone in challenging their historical evidence.[4] We could afford no space for a list of the authors who have of late years asserted the Scandinavian exploits on the American continent; and after simply mentioning the names of Laing, Beauvois, Moosmüller, Forster, Riant, Kohl, Gravier, and of the secretaries of the London Geographical Society and of the Brazilian Historical Institute, Washington and Ferreira Lagos, we shall content ourselves with observing that the discovery of our continent by Leif Ericsson was duly proclaimed by two national monuments,—namely, by the commemorative engraving issued at the celebration of the millenarian existence of Scandinavian Iceland in the year 1874,[1] and by the discoverer's memorial in the city of Boston.

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[1] Rafn adduces eighteen manuscripts of Icelandic sagas in which Vinland and voyages to it are recorded. (Antiq. Amer., p. xxvii.)

[2] P. 14, passim.

[3] P. 153.

[4] Following are some of the works admitting the truthfulness of the Icelandic sagas in regard to the settlements of the Northmen on our coasts, published in the space of two years, between 1874 and 1876:

Aaron Goodrich, A History of the Character and Achievements of the so-called Christopher Columbus.

P. C. Headly, The Island of Fire.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Young Folks' History of the United States.

John J. Anderson, A Grammar School History of the United States.

Charles Kingsley, Lectures delivered in America.

Charles G. Leland, Fusang; or, The Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century.

Reports of Congresses of the European Americanistes.

Samuel Kneeland, An American in Iceland.

Benjamin F. Bowen, America discovered by the Welsh.

John Clark Ridpath, A History of the United States.

William Cullen Bryant, A Popular History of the United States. (Rasmus B. Anderson, pp. 7–10.)

[5] Conquest of Mexico, vol. iii. p. 359, n. 8.

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[1] Winsor, vol. i. p. 369.

[2] Antiq. Amer.

[3] Examen, and Kosmos, ap. Short, p. 153, and Rasmus Anderson, p. 66, n.

[4] Geschichte des Zeitalters, S. 82, n. 1: "Die Sagen sind wegen ihres Alters höchst achtbar, allein historisch lassen sie sich nicht benützen;" an assertion which sounds somewhat like a *contradictio in terminis.*

We might, therefore, readily dismiss all further discussion, if we did not remember that the general attainments of our opponents, though these be small in numbers, entitle any opinion they may present to respectful consideration. It may not be out of place to make, with De Costa,[2] a short review of George Bancroft's objections, which are to be found on the one single page with which he dismisses the important period of the Scandinavian discoveries and settlements: "The story of the colonization of America," he writes,[3] "rests on narratives, mythological in form and obscure in meaning, ancient, yet not contemporary. The chief document is an interpolation in the history of Sturleson, whose zealous curiosity could hardly have neglected the discovery of a continent. The geographical details are too vague to sustain a conjecture; the accounts of the mild weather and fertile soil are, on any modern hypothesis, fictitious or exaggerated; the description of the natives applies only to the Esquimaux, inhabitants of hyperborean regions; the remark which should define the length of the shortest winter day has received interpretations adapted to every latitude from New York to Cape Farewell, and Vinland had been sought in all directions, from Greenland and the St. Lawrence to Africa."

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[1] Baumgartner, S. 147.

[2] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 41, n. 1.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

As intimated before, there is not in the sagas the least indication of dishonesty or deceit on the part of their authors. In a simple, artless way they tell the stories of certain men's lives; and whenever they touch upon matters of general importance we find their statements borne out by other historical sources of acknowledged authority, as we shall presently observe. De Costa judiciously remarks[1] that candid readers, who come to the subject with minds free from prejudice, will be powerfully impressed with the belief that they are reading authentic histories written by honest men. The location, features, fauna, and flora of the countries of which they speak are until this day indisputable evidences of their veracity.

Nor can it be pretended that the writers of all these numerous sagas, so widely different in their form and subject, had conspired to write concordant episodes suitable to an ancient history, from irrelevant data of modern vogages, with the only possible intention of appropriating to a branch of their race the glory of the latest discoverers of America; for, if such were the case, marks of unjust ambition would not be wanting in the plan, bearing, or style of the compositions. Yet, on the contrary, the artless authors do not even seem to be conscious of the historical importance of the facts which they tell, and give us plainly to understand that another nation, the Irish, had preceded them in America as well as in Iceland itself. The material of the manuscript codices, their size and kind of writing, the drawing and painting of their initials and illuminations, besides their ancient mode of expression, all refer to the venerable age which they claim.[1]

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[1] Discovery of America, p. 41.

Bancroft discards the sagas because they are not contemporary with the facts narrated. But where is the historical work written *de visu*, without any reference to authorities? Such a history would be suspicious for more than one reason. Although part of the events related above are taken from regular annals composed of successive entries, made as notable facts took place; we grant that America's discovery and first colonization by the Northmen were not recorded in writing at once; yet their history was, for the space of one or two generations, faithfully preserved by the Icelandic professional saga-men or story-tellers, whose memory was trained to a surprising degree for the purpose of reciting narratives of the past on all important or public occasions. As soon as Christianity had introduced more learning and writing,—that is, a few years after Leif the Fortunate set foot on our continent,—the employment of the saga-men was on the wane, the oral versions of national history and traditions were gathered up by zealous students, like Ari hinn Frode, Saemund, and others, and confided to the more lasting custody of the parchments; and in the beginning of the twelfth century the story-teller found his honorable and lucrative occupation gone. If, therefore, the sagas are not strictly contemporary with the establishment of the Vinland colonies, they are, at least, with their continuation and with the sailing from Greenland to our coasts before Columbus's discovery.

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 5.

The manuscript in which we have versions of all the sagas relating to America is found in the celebrated Codex Flatœensis, which was commenced in the year 1387 and finished in 1395.[1] This collection, made with great care and executed in the highest style of art by the two priests John Thordson and Magnus Thorhallson, is now open to our inspection in the royal library at Copenhagen, where, after being carefully guarded in the monastery of Flatoe, it was deposited, together with a large quantity of other ancient manuscripts which, in the absence of the former, would suffice to establish the fact of the colonization and evangelization of America by the Northmen.

The principal among these codices are:

Codex Legati Arna-Magnæani, No. 544, in 4to; containing the history of Thorfinn Karlsefne.

Codex Arna-Magnæanus, No. 557, in 4to; relating also Thorfinn's saga.

Fragment No. 445, b, in 4to; telling of the voyage of Gudleif Gudlaughson.

Codex Arna-Magnæanus, No. 61, in Fo.; in which we find the history of Olaf Tryggvason and Vinland mentioned.

Codex regius Annalium; which relates the voyage of Bishop Eric and of the priests Adalbrand and Thorvald.

Codex No. 415, of Annals till A.D. 1313; probably an original manuscript.

Skalholts Annall hinn forni, No. 420, c., great in 4to or small in Fo.; with entries till A.D. 1356.

Codex Arna-Magnæanus, No. 420; containing the voyage of Bishop Eric to Vinland.

Codex No. 180, b., in Fo.; telling of the mission of Landa Rolf to Iceland.

Codex No. 736; containing geographical notices of Helluland, Markland, and Vinland.

Codex Arna-Magnæanus, No. 192; giving also notices on the location of Greenland and of other American countries.[2]

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[1] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 40; Moosmüller, S. 5.

[2] Cf. Moosmüller, S. 5–8.

Objections are also made against the integrity of the Icelandic sagas by a few who, admitting their pre-Columbian origin, imagine that they have been tampered with and interpolated. But this supposition necessarily implies not only the insertion of several words and lines into not less than eighteen sagas,—a fraud which the most critical scrutinies have failed to detect,—but also of several entire narratives of which the American rediscovery and colonization form the framework and substance.

The statement of Bancroft that "the chief document," upon which the Scandinavian claims are based, "is an interpolation in the history of Sturleson" is incorrect and misleading. The truth is, that Peringskjöld, in his late edition of Sturluson's great work, has inserted one version, though not the principal version, of a saga relating to America; but this interpolation cannot have any bearing whatever upon the authority of the document as found in the Codex Flatœensis, from which it was literally copied.[1] He is more plausible when he adds that "Sturleson could hardly have neglected to mention the discovery of a continent;" but Sturluson's predecessors had never spoken of the "discovery of a continent;" the southwestern countries visited by the ancient Icelanders and Greenlanders were but very prosaical coasts, with no further interest than that of profitable trade. Sturluson may, therefore, well have neglected a discovery of a land that was, moreover, known to the Icelanders under the name of Hvítramánnaland long before their kinsman, Leif Ericsson, took a sight of its shores. Nor did the object of Sturluson's labors prompt him to speak of America while he was writing the history of the kings of Norway who took no part whatever in the Greenland discoveries of, or colonies on, our continent.

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[1] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 41, n.

Bancroft further tries to destroy our confidence in the sagas by saying that they are "mythological in form and obscure in meaning." It is true, mention is made in the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne of a vicious uniped and of a sudden apparition and disappearance of an Indian woman, which are quite marvellous or childish; but what is said of the mythical Thor is in perfect keeping with the history of the time. As several writers have observed, there is in the sagas enough of a marvellous or supernatural character to serve as a proof of their authenticity, and so little of it as to leave them a more strictly historical aspect than that of most popular writings of the same period in civilized countries.[1] Their warp and woof consist of plain, tangible, and likely material, not only free from mythological absurdities, but even devoid of philosophical considerations and generalities.

The vagueness strangely imputed to the sagas is probably to be understood according to another erroneous statement,—that "Vinland has been sought in all directions, from Greenland and the St. Lawrence to Africa." If searchers after Vinland thus wandered away, even down to the Scandinavian "Serkland it Mikla," the fault does certainly not lie with the Icelandic manuscripts, which not only record the southwestern voyages of the Greenlanders and the correct latitude to which their principal colonies extended, but also repeatedly give us, in orderly succession, all the countries—Vinland included—situated along the eastern coast of North America.[1]

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[1] Some African tribes were anciently called Unipeds, because of their peculiar dress, that covered both their limbs. Hans Egede, in the year 1634, describes a sea-monster which reared itself so high above the water that its head overtopped the mainsail, and, when it dived, raised its tail above the water a whole ship's length. Hudson describes a mermaid, and Dr. Johnson believed in the reality of an apparition known in London as the Cock-Lane Ghost! (DeCosta, Precolumbian Discovery of America, pp. 63, 133, n. 2.) We could not, on this account, disbelieve the actual facts they relate.

To the objection drawn from the reported temperature in Rhode Island, it may be answered that the gradual lowering of temperature in the North since the eighth century, or earlier, ought to be taken into consideration; while, again, the winter of the year 1001[2] may have been as unusually mild in Vinland as the one of 1417 was in Iceland.[3]

Archæological discoveries confirm more and more every day the opinion that in former times the hunting- and fishing-grounds of the Esquimaux were down the Atlantic coasts of our northern continent, and that these low-statured tribes were gradually driven back by more warlike nations from the New England States to their frozen, cheerless haunts. One of Bancroft's objections, therefore, becomes an unexpected confirmation of the veracity of the saga-men.

Farnum correctly sums up the foregoing arguments when saying,[4] "When we find a distinct, coherent account of an event, in no way improbable in itself, transmitted through a people among whom certain classes cultivated to an extraordinary degree the art of memory, which was recorded in a manuscript of un-doubted authenticity long before there could have existed any reason for inventing fictitious statements,—a manuscript now open to our inspection and giving this particular account, in connection with many others of accepted historical truth,—we shall certainly run little hazard in receiving the main features of such an account as absolute facts."

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[1] Supra, pp. 89, 90. A portion of Vinland had been determined to within a minute of latitude. It is true, an Icelandic geographical notice says, that some think Vinland to extend as far as Africa. But must its locality be therefore called uncertain? As well might we call vague and doubtful that of Massachusetts, because, according to the original grant, it extended to the Pacific Ocean; and that of Virginia and of Florida, because both, at one time, included Massachusetts. (De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 183, n. 1.)

[2] Supra, pp. 219, 220.

[3] Historia del S. Don Fern. Colombo, cap. iv.

[4] P. 14.

It has, indeed, just been observed that the evidence of the Codex Flatœensis is connected in perfect accord with that of several other Icelandic sagas of equal historical authority, and it is even placed beyond the shadow of doubt by documents of various other nations, which are either highly respectable or absolutely certain. De Costa sets forth[1] several instances of perfect agreement between the entries of the Icelandic and of the English Annals[2] respecting the merchant voyages between both countries,—a circumstance, he remarks, which should go very far to establish the general value and credibility of those records of a distant age. So also do the observations made by the Icelandic Annals concerning the Black Death that ravaged Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century perfectly correspond to the information derived from a number of European authors,[3] as do, in general, all their narratives fittingly coincide with what is known of the history of the Scandinavian nations.

Fiske gives several internal proofs, which he calls ear-marks of truth, of the credibility of the Icelandic reports of the voyages made by the ancient Greenlanders to the northeastern coasts of our continent. He pointedly remarks that no European writer could have made a description of the Skraelings and of their peculiarities, unless he should have received information from eye-witnesses who took part in the events related. Mediæval Europeans knew nothing whatever about people who would show surprise at the sight of an iron tool, or frantic terror at the bellowing of a bovine, or who would eagerly trade off valuable property for little strips of cloth or a drink of milk. They knew nothing of our Indians' war-customs, much less of their famous war-engine, of the big ball, not unlike a sheep's paunch and of a bluish color, which they swung from a long pole over the heads of the Northmen. This dangerous weapon was still in use among the Algonquins in New England and elsewhere. Schoolcraft calls it the "balista," and the Indians themselves call it the "demon's head." It was a large round boulder, sewed up in a new skin daubed in various colors. Plunged upon a boat or canoe, it was capable of sinking it; and, brought down upon a group of men on a sudden, it caused consternation and death.[1]

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[1] Precolumbian Discovery of America, pp. 47–51.

[2] Thomas Rymer.

[3] Islenzkir Annalar, S. 276, 278, etc.

The narrative of the Vinland voyages belongs to the Icelandic historical sagas, and especially to two of these, the former of which was written by Hauk Erlendson between A.D 1305 and 1334 and is commonly called the "Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne." The other was made about the year 1387 by the priest Jon Thordharson, and is generally known under the title of "Saga of Eric the Red." The divergences between the two versions indicate that both writers were working independently upon the basis of antecedent written tradition, only the former being less complete and a kind of synopsis; while the agreement between the principal facts related in both versions, taken into consideration together with the space of time between these facts and their existing records, clearly points to contemporary annalists. Various reminiscences of the same Vinland voyages in more ancient sagas and known contemporary authors leave no doubt that the history of the Greenlanders' southern explorations was written shortly after they were made, during the twelfth century.[1]

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[1] Cf. Fiske, vol. i. pp. 185–193, 198–213.

Neither are the sagas the only witnesses of the discovery and settlement of our continent by the Northmen. It is not necessary to recall to mind the interesting traditions of the Linapi Indians carved on their sticks and sung around their camp-fires, which take notice of the successive arrivals across the ocean of two white nations, represented by a boat with mast and sail and a cross over it, and the former of whom Rafinesque considers as the Northmen.[2] It has also been sufficiently observed how well the Zeno narratives agree with the latest intelligence received from the sagas in regard to the Greenland colonies of our northeastern coasts. But other historians of unimpeachable reputation and authority plainly intimate and assert the important facts more fully related by the old manuscripts of Iceland.

Adam of Bremen, who wrote during the eleventh century, had gone for information regarding the Scandinavian countries to Swen Estrithson, king of Denmark, who told him of different islands lying in the Atlantic Ocean. "Besides these," he writes, "the king mentioned still another country, found by many[3] in that same ocean,"—namely, which lies between Norway, Iceland, and Greenland; "and it is called Wineland, because grape-vines grow spontaneously there and produce excellent wine; nor is it from erroneous suppositions but from reliable accounts of the Danes that we know cereals to thrive there without being sown."[1] There can be no doubt about the Vinland the Good of Leif Ericsson and of Thorfinn Karlsefne being meant here by the famous writer.

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[1] Cf. Fiske, vol. i. pp. 198–213; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. xiv. Rafn (Antiq. Amer., Introd.) produces several convincing proofs of the reliableness and credibility of the ancient historical sagas. We do not intend to speak of the Eddas nor of the sagas avowedly romantic.

[2] Supra, vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

[3] This expression gives to understand that this distant country was often visited by Europeans at that time. (Supra, p. 246.)

A contemporary of Adam of Bremen and equally reliable, Oderic Vital, also mentions Vinland as a country of the Northmen: "The Orkney Islands," he says, "and Finland, Iceland also, and Greenland, to the North of which no other land is found, and many other provinces as far as Gothland, are subject to the king of Norway."[2] The reader notices that Oderic writes Finland instead of Vinland, as others have written Vinnland for Finnland, the F and the V being indiscriminately used during the twelfth century, because the Norse V is pronounced like the Latin F. It does not seem that a scholar of Oderic's attainments should have located, in his enumeration, between the Orkneys and Iceland, the northernmost country of continental Europe, only a very small portion of which, Finmark, was subject to Norway.[3]

In the scanty literature of the Faroe Islands we find preserved an ancient ballad reciting a great tragedy, of which all the incidents are evidently fictitious, yet the various local scenes are chosen among real, well-known countries,—the Faroes, Sweden, Ireland, and Vinland across the ocean. Rafn has copied and translated it,[1] and von Humboldt,[2] with others, recognizes its historical importance. The story of the poem condensed is as follows: Ulf, a prince of Upland in Sweden, had two sons,—Holdan the Strong and Finn the Fair. The former was to succeed his father, the other went abroad to seek his fortune. Ingeborga, the daughter of an Irish king, became the object of his choice, and she favored his suit. Her father, however, rejected Finn's proposal on account of his inferior condition. Fatal deeds ensued and the adventurer was thrown into prison. After useless efforts to obtain his pardon, Ingeborga sent word to Holdan, his brother, who soon arrived, released the hapless lover of the beautiful maiden, and slew her proud father. Finn thereupon urged his request with the princess, who consented, but upon a hard condition,—namely, that he should sail to Vinland and conquer the three kings of that distant country. The two brothers set out together on a voyage of which the poet gives no particulars, likely because it was too common a thing at the time. Scarcely landed, Finn challenges the three kings and their twelve hundred warriors. Better than any knight-errant, he slays a host of them the first day. On the next day the remainder of the twelve hundred fall under his sword, as also two of the kings; but when he is on the point of completing his victory, he falls himself, poisoned by a dragon flying over his head. Holdan, taking his place, slaughters the third king, and returns to tell Ingeborga of the glorious tale and to offer himself to her in the place of Finn the Fair. The princess reserves her answer till morning, but, overcome with grief, she expires before sunrise![3]

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[1] Exactly as in the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, describing his exploration of our northeastern coast, p. 118: "Hveitiakrar sjálfsánir;" p. 172: "hveiti sjálfsáit;" p. 140: "hveiti nýsáit." (Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 338.) See Document LV., *a*.

[2] See Document LV., *b*.

[3] It appears rather likely that a few words have been lost between "alæque plures" and "usque in" of the original, likely "provinciæ a Finmarka." (Gravier, pp. 116, 117; cf. Document LV., *b*.)

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[1] Antiq. Amer., pp. 320–335.

[2] Kosmos, S. 270.

[3] Toulmin Smith gives a free but substantially correct translation of

When granted all that may be claimed for the author's wild imagination, enough remains to suggest that voyages between Ireland, the Faroe group, and the American Vinland were of no extraordinary occurrence in those days.

Nor was the knowledge of the Greenland colonies along the American coasts confined within the limits of the Scandinavian dominions in Europe. The news had spread not only to Normandy but over all European countries, and it was never lost. Of this we have evident proof in the historical and geographical statements of the sixteenth century, unless it should rather be admitted that the Scandinavian colonies and their ancient names were found by the latest discoverers to last so identically unchanged as to be the objective source of information for this late period. It is, indeed, well known that the countries of our northern continent, in which we have seen the settlements of the Greenlanders established, were known in Europe during the sixteenth and even later centuries under the name of Norumbega or of a similar appellation. Gaffarel quotes[1] several maps and globes mentioning "Norembega, Norombega, Anorobaga, Norambega, Norambègue, Norobega." "I have," says Horsford,[2] "many ancient maps on which Norumbega, as a country, is as prominent as New Spain, New France, or Virginia, and having devices indicative of a city with the appellation of Norumbega, in a province of the same name. All these belong to the class of old recorded stories, and most of them were in print before the landing of the Pilgrims."

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the ballad, endeavoring to preserve the style, rhythm, and verse of the original. We copy from it the verses relating to Vinland, as Document LVI. (Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 233; Gravier, p. 117, *seq.*)

[1] Histoire, t. i. p. 352, *seq.*

[2] The Discovery, pp. 12, 13.

On Zaltieri's map of the year 1566 we find in regular succession the names: "Grutlandia, Terra del Laborador, Terra de Baccalos, Larcadia, La Nova Franza, to the interior of the country; Terra de Norumbega, La Florida."[1]

In A.D. 1570 Frank Bassus of Milan gives the same names to the same tracts of country, with a slight change of the name under consideration, which he spells "Anorumbega."[2]

Battista Agnese, during the second half of the sixteenth century, also sets down "Terra de Norumbega" as part of New France, south of the St. Lawrence River.[3]

Cornelius de Judacis places on his chart of 1593 the following successive names: "Groenlant, Ter. Corterealis, as an island; Terra de Laborador, Estotiland, and Terra Nova, as two islands; Francia Nova, Ter. de Noribega with a special locality called Norumbega, and Terra de la Florida."[4]

Wyfliet's map of 1597, in like manner, mentions "Groenland, Groelant, Estotilant, No. Francia, Norumbega, Hispania nova;" and Horsford testifies that what is pictured on it led him to finding the ancient fort of Norumbega.[5]

After Champlain had searched in vain for the city of Norumbega, his failure made the learned to abandon its idea; yet on Dutch maps it continued to figure to the end of the seventeenth century, and on a few of the eighteenth. Until this day there are yet the places of "Norman's Ö," generally called "Norman's Woe" and "Norman's Cove,"[6] in Massachusetts.

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[1] Kretschmer, Die Entdeckung Amerika's und Atlas, Tafel xix. no. 3.

[2] Ibid., Tafel xxix.

[3] Ibid., Tafel xxiii.

[4] Ibid., Tafel xix. no. 5.

[5] Ibid., Tafel xix. no. 6; Horsford, The Discovery, p. 15.

[6] Horsford, The Discovery, pp. 13, 14.

The ancient name of the province was, however, neglected sometimes,—as on Ulpius's globe of 1542, which designates the land under the general apellation of "Nova Francia," but gives the name of Normanvilla,[1] placed about the forty-third degree of northern latitude. Norumbega was also called a few times "Agguncia," from the Algonquins, who afterwards conquered it and likely destroyed Normanvilla, which Champlain could find no more.[2]

As geography, so does history, also, speak of the ancient American Norumbega. After quoting several authors, Gaffarel states in general[3] that the writers of the sixteenth century are almost unanimous in admitting the existence of a country named Norumbega, to the South of the St. Lawrence River. Ramusio relates[4] that the coasts of the United States and of Canada, explored by Verrazzano, were called Norumbega by the natives, and Allefonsce, Roberval's companion in the year 1544, estimated the distance of a city named "Norumbègue" from the mouth of a river under forty-three degrees of northern latitude to be fifteen miles. There was, he said, a fine people in that place; they had furs, and many animals, and wore mantles of marten-skins. Horsford greatly credits to the memoirs of this explorer, and to those of Thevet, who was in the same country a dozen of years later, his lucky discovery of the ancient Scandinavian stronghold.[5]

It is hardly necessary to remark that "Norumbega" is simply a corruption of "Nordhman Bygdh" or Settlement of the Northmen. "I shall say nothing," Herbermann[6] writes, "of the part of New France bordering on the sea, called Norumbega, as Cluverius thinks, from the city of the same name. It is clear that after the time of Christopher Columbus no part of New France was settled by the Norse. The name given to the land in ancient times was perhaps preserved; but whether the city was built before the arrival of the French I have not ascertained. Certainly," he judiciously adds, "if it was founded before their time it seems to imply the origin of the name to be from the tribe; if afterwards, from the country in which it lay, and that, again, must derive its name from the old colonists."

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[1] Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 348.

[2] Ibid., p. 355.

[3] Ibid., p. 354.

[4] Raccolta di Viaggj, t. iii. p. 423.

[5] Horsford, The Discovery, pp. 14, 15.

[6] Torfason's Ancient Vinland, p. 15.

"Norumbega and Vinland are one," says Horsford.[1] He describes[2] the Northmen's old ditches or canals in which they floated, the ponds in which they collected, and the boom-dams by which they drove to the shore their "mausur" or ornamental wood and their building-timber for Iceland and Greenland. These he finds all along the mouths of the affluents of the Charles River, fifty miles and more up the country, the races being partly, and some of the dams wholly built with unhewn large stones, before, as he satisfactorily proves, the landing of the Pilgrims. Horsford likewise discovered, near the present Cambridge, not only the traces of two prehistoric block-houses, but also of five dwellings which, in their foundations and location, correspond with the ancient ruins found in Greenland. Near these were still vestiges left of fish-ponds or traps, similar to those which the first Scandinavian colonists dug along the shores of Mont Haup Bay,[3] together with some chiselled stones, likely used for sinking nets, and a large stone mortar like those which served in ancient Norway for the grinding of grain.[4]

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[1] The Discovery, p. 17.

[2] Ibid. p. 22, *seq.*

[3] Supra, p. 234.

[4] Horsford, ap. Cronau, S. 137.

Similar traces of the Northmen were found along the Penobscot in the State of Maine, on the shores of the Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island, and all over Nova Scotia.[1] Thus, at Pittston, Maine, trees three feet in diameter, and with six hundred annular layers, were found associated with brickwork which, so far as appearances went, antedated the trees.[2]

Thus were, after patient archæological and historical researches, the principal American settlements of the Greenlanders located, with apparent certainty, in the very country where their profound studies had led von Humboldt, Rafn, and others to look for them. But Horsford thinks, for several reasons, which are very plausible, to say the least, that he has discovered the exact spot where the ancient city of Norumbega or Normanvilla once stood. Watertown, in Massachusetts, he says, was the ancient seaport of Vinland, of the colony that came after Thorfinn left, and to which in A.D. 1121, Bishop Upsi came to hold up the symbols of the faith. The basins, wharves, docks, and canals of this ancient seaport underlie the city of Watertown to-day, and are connected with, and serve, its most prominent industries. The earliest map of the site of Watertown has on it the canal on which the flouring-mill was erected, and it is recorded that the colonists "found the natural canal or raceway" when they came, and that "the mill-dam was the work of a people who had come and gone before the earliest English settlement on our shores." He further alleges other records to establish his assertion.[3]

More discoveries, though of less magnitude, have occasionally been made that point to the presence of Europeans in the northeastern parts of our continent before the arrival of either the French or of the English in the sixteenth century.

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[1] Horsford, The Discovery, p. 43.

[2] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 70, n. 1.

[3] Horsford, The Discovery, pp. 35–40; cf. his Defences of Norumbega.

Thus in Newfoundland were remnants of stone walls and a number of Flemish coins found by the first Englanders that set foot on its coast.[1]

Priest is strongly inclined to believe that a glass bottle, about the size of a common junk-bottle, "having a stopple in its nuzzle," an iron hatchet edged with steel, the remains of a blacksmith's forge, and some ploughed-up crucibles, all found in the town of Pompey, Onondaga County, New York, are of Scandinavian origin.[2]

As vouchers for the residence of the Northmen in America, Cronau[3] offers several antiquities, such as bronze arrow-heads of non-Indian make, round copper spoons with a long handle terminated by a ring for suspension, and bronze remnants of a girdle found on a skeleton at Fall River, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

This discovery, made in the year 1831 at the place where the sagas locate Leifsbudhir, has given occasion to Longfellow's beautiful poem, "The Skeleton in Armor;" for, indeed, the mouldering bones were not only girt by a great number of reed-like tubes of bronze that had been strung one by the side of the other; but the breast, also, was covered with a plate of the same metal, while near by lay a sword like those used by the Northmen. Could the relic respond to the poet's summons,—

> "Speak! Speak! Thou fearful guest!"

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[1] Gravier, p. 209.

[2] Priest's Amer. Ant., p. 260, ap. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 115, n. 230.

[3] S. 137 or *seq.*

the whole mystery would soon be solved; but explanation strictly historical is now impossible. No one thinks of ascribing these metallic remains to a pure Indian tribe, nor is there any great probability of their having been made by an Indo-Scandinavian nation, when we observe that the composition of the metal is almost the same as that of bronze articles of the tenth century in Denmark, where, moreover, ancient cinctures and breastplates of a similar form have been unearthed.[1]

The Swedish chemist Berzelius analyzed a part of the breastplate, and found that in composition it corresponded to metals used in the North of Europe during the tenth century; and, by comparing the breastplate with old Scandinavian arms, it was also found to answer to these in style.

Berzelius's comparison of the bronzes resulted as follows:

	American breastplate.	Bronze of tenth century in Denmark.
Copper	70.29	67.13
Zinc	28.03	20.39
Tin	0.91	9.24
Lead	0.74	3.13
Iron	0.03	0.11[2]

Dr. Jer. W. C. Smith, of Boston, sent to the Northern Antiquarians the account of the discovery of another ancient grave, made at the end of the eighteenth century, on Rainsford Island, near Hull and Point Allerton, in Boston Bay. The masoned tomb contained a human skeleton that crumbled into dust as soon as exposed to the air, besides the iron hilt of a sword. It is evident that the weapon was never that of an Indian, and its shape clearly showed its European manufacture to be anterior to the latest discovery of our continent. Smith concludes, therefore, that the grave must have been that of a Greenland colonist in Vinland.[1] An article of the same kind found on the coast of Canada or of Newfoundland attracted already the attention and excited the wonderment of European scholars at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Pietro Pascualigo, Venetian ambassador at the court of Lisbon, wrote home, on the 19th of October, 1501, that, on the 8th of that month a caravel of the brothers Corterreal, who were lost on the ocean, had returned "with some American natives and a piece of a gilded sword obtained in the distant country, but evidently manufactured in Italy. The mariners," he added, "had also seen an Indian woman of Newfoundland wear a pair of earrings made of silver by an expert workman, undoubtedly of Venice."[2] The reader is aware that, during the middle ages, a lively traffic was carried on between Venice, the Flanders, and the countries along the Baltic Sea; and should not wonder, therefore, if articles of Italian workmanship had found their way to our coasts, either at the hands of the Zeni and their companions or, more likely, of Scandinavian traders in the northern countries.

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[1] Mémoires des Antiquaires, etc., Session of January 31, 1839; 1840–44, pp. 105, 110, 118; Gravier, pp. 113, 114; R. H. Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 224.

[2] Cf. Rasmus Anderson, p. 77.

A plausible objection is made against the admission of the Greenland settlements in Vinland from the absence of any great ruins of buildings or monumental remains, as lasting witnesses of Scandinavian possession. Not a stone, it is said, is found to be placed upon another according to European fashion. We have just seen that this assertion is too sweeping, at least; yet, should it be true, it would be readily explained, because, while in Greenland the Northmen generally built with stone, on account of the scarcity of timber, they had no such reason on the American shores to deviate from the old custom followed in Iceland and Norway, even until this time, of erecting their dwellings and public edifices with the material so plentifully offered to them at every spot where they might disembark. The successors of Leif and of Thorfinn evidently followed the ancestral customs, erecting dwellings and other edifices with the lumber ready at hand and easily worked, whenever they were in need of any. No one will fail to see that buildings of such a character could not well endure two hundred years after the Greenland colonies were either extinct or absorbed by Indian tribes; much less could they last until this day. To ask for monumental proofs of the occupation of Vinland by the Northmen is, therefore, unreasonable.

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[1] Mémoires des Antiquaires, Session of January 31, 1839.

[2] Letter of Pascualigo, published in the Diarii di Marino Sanudo, t. iv. p. 200, ap. Boletín, de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. xxi. p. 52; Kuntsmann, S. 59.

Yet Rafn, Magnussen, and a number of both European and American antiquaries believe that two great monuments of the New England States attest the former presence of the Scandinavians there,—namely, the so-called Dighton Writing-rock and the Newport Stone Mill.

With Farnum[1] and De Costa,[2] we are of the opinion that both these monuments are as useless as unnecessary to the cause. To justify our view and for the satisfaction of our readers, we shall, however, give their history, especially that of the inscription, which is scarcely surpassed, says Bancroft,[3] in the interest it has excited or the novel phases it has exhibited at successive epochs of theoretical speculation, by any Perusinian, Eugubine, or Nilotic riddle.

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[1] P. 39.

[2] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 66.

[3] Vol. v. p. 74. n. 151.

The Writing-rock is a boulder of fire graywacke, twelve feet long and five feet high, lying six and a half miles south of Taunton, Massachusetts, in the left edge of the Taunton River, and dry at low water. It is usually approached from Dighton. Its inclined surface on the river side is, within a few inches from the ground, covered with lines and figures, which appear to be letters, numbers, and sketches of men, of beasts, and of a vessel. The inscriptions are certainly made by man's hand, hewn in, it would seem, with a sharp hatchet.[1]

This is about all that can be said with certainty of the Dighton Writing-rock; the rest is little more than conjecture. "I have," von Humboldt says, "carefully examined four drawings of the famous Taunton River stone; but, far from recognizing any symmetrical arrangement of simple letters or of syllabic signs, I can find in them but a rough sketch like those we find on some cliffs in Norway.[2] Long before him Cotton Mather considered the inscription as consisting of unaccountable characters, unlike any character known.[3] "The old rock is a riddle," says De Costa.[4] The inscription of the Dighton Writing-rock, for two centuries the delight and the despair of antiquaries:[5] crooked lines as a child would draw that handles a pencil the first time in life, is and will remain forever a perplexing enigma.[6] Nay, the stone itself seems to be endowed with a magic power of deception, for, after copies of it have been frequently and carefully made, no two of them, in spite of a few features that are substantially the same, bear the same characteristics nor appear to be intended for the same design.[1]

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[1] Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 84; Moosmüller, S. 132, 133; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 65, n. 1.

[2] Vues des Cordillères, t. i. p. 181.

[3] Philosophical Transactions for 1741, ap. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 65, n. 1.

[5] Payne, p. 85.

[6] Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 84.

Several authors have, however, tried their acuteness in interpreting the puzzling monument.

Mathieu, to commence, has, for all we know, succeeded as well as any other. He thinks that the characters were traced on the stone in the year 1902 before Christ by the Atlantides, remembered by Plato. His reasons are the similarity of some of the characters with the ancient Chinese hieroglyphics and the word "In," which is the name of one of the Atlantides' kings.[2]

Moreau de Dammartin took the inscription for a fragment of the eastern celestial sphere, or an astronomical study of the heavens at midnight of the 25th of December.[3]

Dr. Danforth executed in the year 1680 what he characterized as a faithful and accurate representation of the inscription on the Dighton Rock, which, however, appears to be altogether meaningless.[4]

The celebrated Cotton Mather made drawings of the stone in the year 1712, but could not understand them.[5]

In 1730 Isaac Greenwood, professor at Cambridge, Massachusetts, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London a copy of the same inscription.[6]

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[1] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 65, n. 1; Moosmüller, S. 134; Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74.

[2] Ap. D. B. Warden, p. 70; ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 84.

[3] La Pierre de Taunton, Institut Historique, t. ix. p. 145, ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 84.

[4] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; Moosmüller, S. 133; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 65, n. 1.; see Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 384, *seq.*, tab. xi.

[5] Philosophical Transactions for 1741, No. 338, p. 70, ap. Moosmüller, S. 123; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., tab. xi.

[6] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; Moosmüller, S. 133; Gravier, p. 93, n. 2; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., tab. xi.

Another professor of the same university, Stephen Sewell, carefully took, in the year 1768, a copy of the size of the original, and deposited it in the museum of the university; and a transcript of this was forwarded to the Royal Society of London six years later.[1]

Court de Gébelin affirms enthusiastically that the Dighton Rock inscription had been sent from the New World, as it were, for the purpose of confirming his ideas of the origin of nations; that "we can see on it in a clear manner a Phœnician monument, a picture of an alliance between the American tribes and the new arrivals, who had come with northern winds from rich and cultured lands."[2] In 1783 the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D., President of Yale College, when preaching before the governor and state of Connecticut, appealed to the Dighton Rock, graven, as he believed, in the old Punic or Phœnician character and language, to prove that the Indians were of the accursed seed of Canaan, and were to be displaced and rooted out by the European descendants of Japhet.[3] But Colonel Charles Vallency afterwards undertook to establish that it was neither Phœnician nor Punic, but Scythian or Siberian.[4]

In the year 1788 James Winthrop made a new drawing of the Writing-rock,[5] and so did Baylies and Joseph Goodwin in 1790,[6] and again A. E. Kendal in 1807,[7] and Job Gardner in 1812.[8] Finally, in the year 1830, the Rhode Island Historical Society appointed a Commission, that took another accurate copy of the Dighton Rock, a duplicate of which was sent, together with elaborate descriptions by Dr. Thomas Webb, to the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Copenhagen.[1]

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[1] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74; n. 151; Moosmüller, S. 133; Gravier, p. 93, n. 2.

[2] Monde Primitif, viii. p. 500, ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 84; Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151.

[3] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; cf. Payne, p. 85, n. 2.

[4] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; Gravier, p. 92, ref. to Lubbock, L'Homme avant l'Histoire, p. 223, trad. Barbier.

[5] Memoirs of the American Academy, t. ii. p. 126, ap. Moosmüller, S. 134; cf. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., tab. xi.

[6] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., tab. xii.

[7] Memoirs of the American Academy, t. iii. p. 165, ap. Moosmüller, S. 134; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., tab. xi.

[8] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., tab. xi.

Payne assures us[2] that it is, in fact, quite certain that the inscription is of Indian origin; Justin Winsor thinks that the best-trained archæologists of our day consider it as the work of the Indian of historic times,[3] and DeCosta relates[4] that a copy of the inscription was shown to a Mohawk chief, who decided that it was nothing less than the representation of a triumph by Indians over a wild beast, which took place on this spot. Mr. Schoolcraft also showed a copy to Chingwank, an Algonquin well versed in picture-writing, who gave a similar interpretation. The Roman characters in the central part of the composition he was finally induced to reject as having no connection with the rest.

This last particular perfectly coincides with the fact that Magnussen, with most modern scholars, does not pretend to interpret but the central portion, and acknowledges his ignorance of the surrounding cryptographs; while Rafn discovers in them the persons of Skraelings with their bows and arrows.[5] We all have noticed on our travels such solitary monuments erected by nature, as it were, for the purpose of receiving and preserving the chiselled records of great events, upon which every passer-by would wish to immortalize his name and fame, and which are covered, indeed, with many an attempt. We know, on the other hand, that both our Indians and the Northmen left an account of their deeds on several stones, hard and solitary like that of the Taunton River. It would not be an unnatural induction, therefore, to presume that the famous Writing-rock may have been selected as the faithful guardian of great memories by both barbarian and civilized nations.

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[1] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 74, n. 151; Moosmüller, S. 134. See the various copies and drawings ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., Engraving XII.

[2] P. 85, n. 2.

[3] Ap. S. Ruge, Entdeckungsgeschichte, Bd. i. S. 9.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 65, n. 1.

[5] Antiq. Amer., p. 382.

The northern antiquaries, Laing, Magnussen, Rafn, and several others, who declare the Dighton inscription to be of Scandinavian origin, attach no great importance but to a small portion of it. The first among them says that the only resemblance to letters is found in the centre of the stone,—namely, "*Orfinz*,"—to which some allow themselves to prefix the "Þ" or Icelandic "Th" found at the left extremity of the rock, thus forming the name of "Thorfinn" Karlsefne, who led the Greenland colony to Vinland in the year 1007. Above and to the left of these letters they see a Roman number, composed of a character like a Greek "gamma," which is said to have been used for "C" at the time, followed by three "Xs" and one "I," equivalent, consequently, to One Hundred and Fifty-one, the "Γ" standing for the "stort" or stout hundred.[1] This number, they judiciously remark, is exactly that of Thorfinn and the Scandinavians that followed him to the Taunton River, after Thorhall with his eight companions had separated from them.[2] To the right of the number and slightly below is a character which is also assumed to be Roman and to stand for "Na" or "Ma," signifying respectively "Nam" or taking possession of the land, or "Madr,"—*i.e.*, original settler. The figure of a ship containing the above letters and characters is evident to their eyes, and goes to complete the plausible reading: "One hundred and fifty-one seamen first settle this land under the leadership of Thorfinn." More sanguine interpreters further recognize on the stone Thorfinn's wife, his son Snorre, the ox that scared away the Skraelings, the white shield hung out as the signal of peace, and the sudden attack of the natives; in fact, the entire history of the expedition of Karlsefne, whose very origin is declared by a rune signifying "Northman."[1]

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[1] Equal to ten dozen.

[2] We must, however, remark that the late Samuel Harris, a very learned orientalist, thought he found the Hebrew word "melek," king, in the line of supposed Roman numerals. (North American Review, New Series, vol. xlvi. p. 189.)

If this interpretation is correct, the Dighton Writing-rock forms the oldest of all Scandinavian manuscripts, and is contemporary, demonstrative evidence of the colonies of the ancient Northmen in New England. But, says De Costa very well, we may readily forego any advantage that can be derived from its study.

The Dighton Writing-rock is not the only one of its puzzling character. Ten miles from it, at Swanzey, lies another, engraved by man's hand,[2] and in Rhode Island there are two more,—namely, at Portsmouth Grove and Tiverton,—that are claimed both for the Northmen and for the natives, but are doubtless Indian inscriptions.[3] Dr. Stiles, of anti-Canaan disposition, visited Cobble-Hill, in Kent County, Massachusetts, and copied there part of an old-looking inscription chiselled with iron or other metallic tools into a very hard and large solitary stone. He speaks of another such monument situated on the Connecticut River, at Brattleboro, Vermont. The city of Rutland, in Massachusetts, also, boasts of an ancient writing-rock that cannot be read.[4]

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 385–391; Laing, Heimskringla; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 65, n. 1; Moosmüller, S. 138, *seq.*; Gravier, p. 93, *seq.*; Rasmus Anderson, p. 82; Lelewel, Gaffarel, alii.

[2] Moosmüller, S. 136; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 67, n.

[3] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 67, n.

[4] Moosmüller, S. 134–136.

Should these imperishable memorials in the New England States be as well proved to be of Scandinavian origin as they are likely the work of our aborigines either of long-past prehistoric or of historic times, we might feel inclined to think with others that the Greenland colonies have in the course of time extended all over our western hemisphere, because, not only in various States of North America, but also in some parts of our southern continent, do we meet with inscribed stones similar to those of New England, covered with straight, curved, and crooked lines, and other characters equally illegible. Such are the writing-rocks near Yarmouth in the southern part of Nova Scotia, of Monhegan on the island of Menana, and another in the Merrimac Valley.[1] Of the same kind is the memorial stone in the southern neighborhood of Lake Erie spoken of by Ezra Stiles, as also the one by the side of the Alleghany River in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. Those reported on the Cumberland, near Rock Castle River in Kentucky, and that by the side of the Altamaha in Georgia may be referred to the same class,[2] together with the puzzling stone of Grave Creek Mound.[3] Father Ramon Bueno found and copied an inscribed stone, that no one can decipher, in the mountains which extend from the village of Uruana in South America to the west bank of the Caura, on the seventh degree of latitude; and a lapidary inscription of uncertain origin was discovered by one Joaquin de Costa on his estate in New Granada.[4]

The Northmen lay no claim to all these interesting rocks any more than to similar monuments scattered all over the earth; but some of their strongest advocates, with the learned Charles C. Rafn as their leader, take great pains to establish their original rights to a monument of a different nature, which we mentioned already, —namely, to the Old Stone Mill of Newport, in Rhode Island.

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[1] Winsor, vol. i. pp. 102–104.

[2] Moosmüller, S. 135, 136.

[3] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 75.

[4] Ibid., pp. 75, 76.

The Old Stone Mill is built of rough granite of the neighborhood, of gravel and sandy mortar that has grown harder with age. It is circular in shape, and rests on eight half-round arches supported by solid columns about nine feet high; its diameter is twenty-three feet, and its full height, which formerly was greater, is twenty-four feet. Located on the western portion of the hill-top upon which the higher part of the city is erected, it proudly looks over the wide bay, and fittingly extended at one time the broad arms of its sail to catch the sea-breezes, which were to grind the cereals. These were brought to the mill on carts, that were driven between the columns underneath for easier loading and unloading. Rafn declares that the vulgar opinion of the edifice having been constructed for a windmill is easily refuted from its very character and arrangement;[1] yet, a few lines farther, he agrees that the ruin, in its character and location, was eminently well fitted for a windmill.[2]

The same learned author, with several others in his train, considers it as highly probable that the Old Stone Mill was built at the time of Bishop Gnupson for religious purposes, and likely did service as a baptistery attached to some church or some monastic establishment.[3] To prove this pretended destination of the monument, it is alleged that in former times baptisteries were erected as buildings by themselves; and, indeed, we have seen such *φωτιστήρια* in Rome, Florence, and Pisa; but, in spite of Mr. Gravier, those beautiful edifices never were of supreme importance, and always stood in the shade of the more magnificent and costly cathedrals. De Costa makes a convincing remark when he asks, "Is it probable that the Northmen would have erected a baptistery like this, and, at the same time, left no other monument?"[1]

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[1] Mémoire, p. 41.

[2] Ibid., p. 45.

[3] Rafn, Mémoire, pp. 47–49; Kallenbach, ap. Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 133; Gravier, p. 169; Moosmüller, who titles the nineteenth chapter of his "Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus" as "A Benedictine Monastery in America in the Twelfth Century." (S. 171.)

The improbability is further increased by another argument adduced by Rafn in favor of his theory. He says[2] that several ruins of circular buildings are found in Greenland; but, in the vicinity of churches, he adds,—namely, at Igalikko, Kakortok, Iglorsoit. Yet from the existence of these ruins to the assertion that the Old Stone Mill of Newport was a baptistery or a monastery, we fail to see the consequence; for it is not proved that all the ancient round buildings of Greenland had a sacred destination, much less, that the Greenland or any other baptisteries in the Christian world were raised on columns and windy hill-tops.

Neither do we feel the necessity of assigning the monument to a period anterior to the twelfth century, although its main features are of the Roman and not of the subsequent Gothic order. What, indeed, should have prevented the English settlers of the seventeenth century from preferring the ancient half-round to the ogee arch, especially if it was their intention to drive carts between the columns? Is not, until this day, the Roman style in more common use than the Gothic?[3]

The weakness of Rafn's logic in this one exceptional case has caused several authors of the present day to either doubt or altogether reject the Old Stone Mill as a monument of Scandinavian origin. Thus Payne,[1] Farnum,[2] Ruge,[3] and the careful specialist De Costa, who says that whoever examines this ancient structure must be impressed by its modern aspect, so especially apparent in the mortar, which has been analyzed and found to be substantially the same as the mortar used in some other early structures of Newport.[4]

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[1] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 68.

[2] Mémoire, p. 47.

[3] Cf. Rafn, Mémoire, pp. 44–50.

The ruin is first distinctly mentioned in the year 1678, in the will of Governor Benedict Arnold of Newport, where it is called "My stone-built wind-mill."[5] It is known that during the eighteenth century it served as a mill and as a powder magazine. Edward Pelham, who married Governor Arnold's granddaughter in the year 1740, also called it "an old stone mill." Peter Easton, who early went to live in Newport, wrote in 1663 that "this year we built the first wind-mill," and on August 28, 1675, he says, "A storm blew down our wind-mill." It is not unreasonable to suppose that on this occasion Governor Arnold built something more substantial. If some find it strange that Peter Easton did not speak of the erection of the second wind-mill of Newport, it would be infinitely more strange yet that he should overlook it, if for its construction use had been made of a solid, bold monument, the solitary witness of past civilization in the midst of a savage country.

The family of the governor is said to have come from Warwickshire, England. One of his farms was called the Leamington farm, and it happens that three miles from Leamington, at Chesterton, there is an old wind-mill, similar in construction to that of Newport. If the English mill should have existed at the time of Arnold's departure, it would seem likely that he copied it in New England. The structure is, however, so primitive and simple that no model was needed by the Yankees' ancestors.[1]

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[1] P. 85.

[2] P. 39.

[3] Entdeckungsgeschichte, Bd. i. S. 1.

[4] Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 68.

[5] Gravier here makes a short but very misleading interpolation: "Benedict Arnold, gouverneur de l'île, le mentionne dans son testament, sous le nom de Moulin de pierre, et comme remontant à une haute antiquité."

We have granted considerable space to the discussion of the Dighton Writing-rock and of the Newport Old Stone Mill because it is our wish that a series of great historic events, otherwise sufficiently established, should not be called into question by reason of doubtful arguments set forth in behalf of their reality.

As a last proof of the colonization of the New England States by the Northmen, a proof to which some readers will attach no very great importance, we may relate a remark made by Gaffarel,[2] namely, that the Indians of those districts were found by the latest discoverers to make use of some words and expressions evidently of Scandinavian origin. Thus was the name of "Norumbega" the corruption of "Nordhman bygdh," Northman settlement; or of "Nordhan vik," northern bay. The whole country once occupied by the Northmen was designated by that name; but it seems to have been divided into provinces, one of which was called the southern domain, "Sudhr Rike," the "Sourikė" of the French, inhabited by the "Souriquois" Indians. The chiefs of the native tribes of Norumbega who were invited to the general assembly bore the title, very singular to the French discoverers, of "Ricmanen," equivalent to the northern "Rika Menn,"—the rich men of the country. The Souriquois "Varchim" is the Icelandic "Vargrinn," the Swedish "Varg," the wolf;

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[1] Cf. De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery of America, p. 69, n.; Rafn, Mémoire, pp. 42, 43.

[2] Histoire, t. i. p. 413.

and "two," "twa" in Swedish, "tvan" in Icelandic, corresponds fairly well to the Souriquois "tabo." Lescarbot relates[1] that after Poitrincourt had regaled the Indians they repeatedly sang "Epigico iaton edico." The Souriquois had forgotten the meaning of those words, he says; but it is likely that they did not understand the very defective repetition of them by the French, while knowing perfectly well the sense of their own words: "Oefligu gàtum etingu," or perhaps more correctly, "Vi hafva gód áten," we have eaten well.

Brasseur de Bourbourg has found many words in the languages of Central America which bear, he thinks, marked Scandinavian traces, and he augurs that the Northmen ran all over America long before the time indicated by the Icelandic sagas.[2]

This evidently is exaggeration, and more definite evidence is required to determine the countries of our hemisphere to which the Northmen have extended their colonies or occasional visits.

After closely examining the particulars mentioned in the sagas, the learned have come to the conclusion that the Greenlanders' settlements were scattered all along the Atlantic coast between the forty-first and the fiftieth parallels,—that is, from New York to Newfoundland.[3] The most remarkable places were:

Helluland it Mikla or Labrador.
Litla Helluland or Newfoundland.
Markland or Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Lower Canada.
Vinland proper or the New England States.

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[1] Liv. vii. ¶ 7.

[2] Nouvelles annales des Voyages, t. clx. pp. 261–292, ap. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 115.

[3] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 99.

Krossanes or Gurnet Point.

Kjalarnes or Cape Cod.

Furdustrandir or Nauset, Chatam, and Monomoy Beaches.

Egg Islands, still the same.

Straumfjördhr or Buzzards Bay.

Straumsey or Martha's Vineyard.

Hóp or Mont Haup[1] Bay and vicinity.

Leifsbudhir, on Mont Haup Bay, probably on its eastern shore.

Thorfinnsbudhir, also on Mont Haup Bay, on its western shore, just north of Bristolneck.[2]

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[1] Sometimes spelt "Hope."

[2] Cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 419–435.

CHAPTER XV.

OTHER SCANDINAVIAN AND WELSH COLONIES.

We have noticed that in the year 1003 Thorvald Ericsson sent forth towards more southern coasts an exploring party, which, we may presume from a subsequent fact, sailed up the Potomac River.

In the year 1863 a Latin manuscript was discovered near the church of Skalholt in Iceland by Ph. Marsh, and was called the Skalholt Saga. In it is related the story of a Vinland colonist who, likely in consequence of the favorable report of Thorvald's expedition or of other voyages not mentioned, undertook in 1051 to plant another colony on the beautiful banks of the Potomac. His name was Hervador. With his men and some women on board he sailed into Chesapeake Bay and up the river; but about two miles below the falls he was assaulted by a band of natives; and one of the women, Syasi, fell struck by an arrow. She was buried on the bank near by, under a protecting cliff.

Thomas Murray, who translated into English the ancient document, clearly indicated Hervador's route and the place of the combat. The learned Raffinson, the geologist Lequeureux, Professor Brand, of Washington, and Dr. Boyce, of Boston, set out in search of some relic that might testify to the truth of the narrative; and succeeded on June 28, 1867, in finding, on the northeast side of the rock called "Arrow-head," an inscription which, translated from the old Scandinavian, reads as follows: "Here rests Syasi the Blonde from eastern Iceland, Koldr's widow, Thorger's sister by her father's side. . . . Aged twenty-five years. May God be merciful to her. 1051." The inscription was half covered with moss and protected by the overhanging part of the rock and an old pine-tree. In the ground close by were found three teeth, a fragment of a large bone that crumbled into dust, three small perforated ornaments of bronze, two pieces of encrinites, and two Byzantine coins of the tenth century. These last were likely obtained from Scandinavians who had been body-guards of the Eastern Emperor. All these interesting articles are now preserved in the Smithsonian Museum in Washington.[1] These particulars regarding Hervador's unfortunate visit to the Potomac are quite circumstantial and likely; yet Winsor calls the story an April hoax promptly exposed.[2]

So far no satisfactory proof has been given of any Scandinavian settlements in North America beyond the limits of ancient Vinland; but if the Northmen contented themselves with that province of the continent, they steered their good ships over every portion of the broad Atlantic between the Old and the New World, almost down to the time that Columbus was preparing for his famous voyage.[3]

That they were on the Azores is well known, says von Humboldt,[4] and it is quite as certain that they visited the canary group at an early date.[5] The learned and reliable Portuguese historian Damião de Goes came, after careful inquiries, to the conclusion that the Scandinavians had for a while resided on the Madeira Islands, and left behind them a monument with an inscription on the highest summit of Corvo, the northernmost isle. An equestrian statue was discovered there standing on a square native rock. The rider was sitting on a well-chiselled horse. Bareheaded and draped with a flowing mantle, he was holding the mane with his left hand and extending his right arm, with all the fingers but the index contracted, and pointing towards the far West. Emmanuel, king of Portugal, sent the artist Duarte Darmas to make a drawing of the monument, and soon after despatched an expert mechanic of Porto to bring the statue to Lisbon; but, whether true or not, this second envoy reported that the mysterious memorial had been thrown down by a storm during the previous winter, and he brought only some fragments with him. When, in the year 1529, Pedro da Fonseca came to the island, he was told by the inhabitants that, on the side of the rock upon which the statue had stood, certain letters were engraved. But the approach to the inscription was difficult and dangerous. He ordered, therefore, some men to be let down with ropes and a copy in wax to be taken of the inscription. The work did not prove satisfactory, either because the old letters were too much obliterated, or because, says De Goes, there was no one to read an alphabet different from the Latin. Considering the custom of the Northmen of leaving similar vestiges of their passage wherever they went, he concludes that both statue and inscription must have been the handiwork of Scandinavian pirates known to have infested in ancient times all the western coasts of Europe and Africa.[1]

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[1] Van Speybrouck, bl. 12; Gravier, pp. 137–139, ref. to E. Charton, Le Tour du Monde, No. 423, from an article of the New York Weekly Tribune, copied from the Union, of Washington; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 329.

[2] Vol. i. p. 97, n. 4.

[3] See Kunstmann.

[4] Examen, t. ii. p. 238.

[5] Bastian, ap. Moosmüller, S. 190.

Was the statue of Corvo erected as a guide to point out to other northern sea-rovers and to Columbus the route to follow to the centre of the New World?

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[1] Chronica do Serenissimo principe D. João, escrita por Damião de Goes, pp. 21–23; Kuntsmann, S. 23–25.

It is highly probable that the Northmen were not ignorant of the northern coast of our southern continent; otherwise there would be no possibility of explaining an error of some of their geographers, who thought that Vinland the Good extended to Africa; an error, we say, although if one should follow the shores south of old Vinland he would reach to within a few degrees from Africa's western tracts, whose meridian is on some ancient maps overlapping that of Brazil's eastern coast.

It has of late been admitted by several antiquarians that the Northmen not only visited South America, but founded a colony and built a beautiful city as far south as the province of Bahia, in Brazil. Dr. Lund of Lagoa Santa wrote to the Royal Society of Copenhagen that on the left bank of the river do Cincora had been found the ruins of a large city built of stone. His account is taken from the journal published by the society of Rio de Janeiro, called Instituto Historico Brazileiro; and Professor Schuck of the same Institute presumes, from information contained in that publication and from inscriptions there found, that the ancient city dates from the time that the Scandinavians sojourned in that country. His opinion has been particularly influenced by the circumstance of a statue found still standing on a column and pointing with the extended arm and finger exactly to the North Pole.[1]

We shall speak farther on of the explorations made in the frozen boreal regions, and allow to the Greenland branch of the Scandinavian nation the exclusive right to all the honor and merit of the ancient discoveries made to the North of their once flourishing colonies. But the reader is sufficiently aware of the fact that, although mainly, the Greenlanders did not exclusively discover and settle every portion of the northeastern coast of America. Not only did the people of Iceland and, likely, of Norway share in their credit, but the sagas bestow due meed upon the Irish, and even testify that the Icelanders received their first minute information in regard to the American Great Ireland by the way of the Orkney group.[1] It is evident, therefore, that, from the beginning of the eleventh century, the existence and the natural attractions of our continent were known all over northwestern Europe; and, though the fact may not be sustained by all desirable evidence, it is probable that naval intercourse between America and the Scandinavian kingdoms, the islands of the northern Atlantic, the British isles, and even the province of Normandy was no rare exception.[2] And it is probable, in particular, that, if one tribe of the Gaelic family, the Irish, had colonies in our hemisphere, another, the Welsh, sometimes followed their cousins across the ocean. Bancroft,[3] Gravier,[4] and Moosmüller[5] seem to be right in thinking that a Welshman, Madoc, who is said to have planted a colony on our shores, knew his destination and the route to it before leaving the province of Wales, although an old chronicle says that he left his country to discover new lands.

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[1] Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, pp. 26, 160; Gravier, p. 135.

The voyages of Madoc, certainly posterior to the Irish and to the Scandinavian settlements in America, are generally attributed to the year 1170. The record was made in the Welsh annals, "Tri X," which seem to have been written before the end of the twelfth century,[6] and a few circumstances are noticed in other ancient manuscripts that were preserved in the abbeys of Conway and Strat Flur. This emigration is also mentioned in the surviving works of several Welsh bards who lived before the time of Columbus,[1] and especially by Meredith Rhes, who wrote his verses fifteen years before Columbus's discovery.[2] Here are a few of his lines, according to Belknap:

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[1] Supra, pp. 78, 100, 101.

[2] Herbermann, p. 16; Cronau, S. 144.

[3] Vol. v. p. 117, n. 234.

[4] P. 144.

[5] S. 185.

[6] Beauvois, La Découverte, p. 38: "The Gaelic Triad speaks of

> "Madoc I am, the son of Owen Gwynnedd,
> With stature large and comely grace adorned.
> No lands at home, nor store of wealth me please,
> My mind was whole to search the ocean seas!"[3]

The Welsh historian Caradoc gathered the ancient traditions in his "History of Wales," translated into English by Humphrey Llwyd or Lloyd, and published by David Powel in the year 1584. Here the whole story is told:

In the year 1170, Owen Gwyned, a prince of North Wales, having died, his sons violently contended for his sovereignty, and a bastard prevailed on the field of battle. One of the sons, named Madoc, weary of fratricidal strife and war, procured a few ships, took in provisions and other equipments, and departed from his country to find new lands. Leaving Ireland behind, he steered his course towards the West, until he reached a country not known before, where he saw wonderful

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three losses sustained by the island Britain, in consequence of disappearance: first, Gafran ab Aeddan with his men, who went to sea in search of the 'Gwerdonau Llion,' Green islands in the current, and of whom no more was heard; secondly, Merddyn, the bard of King Ambrose, who, with his nine learned bards, went to sea in a house of glass, and who arrived no one knows where; thirdly, Madawg ab Owain Gwyned, who went to sea with three hundred men on board ten ships, that arrived where we know not."

[1] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 117, n. 234.

[2] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 461; Examen, t. ii. p. 143; Belknap, American Biography, t. i. p. 61.

[3] American Biography, t. i. p. 61.

things. Having returned to his native country, he told his friends of Wales what a beautiful and fertile region he had found devoid of inhabitants. He persuaded not a few to follow him, and, having fitted out a number of vessels with all that was required for a colony, he took along with him a large number of men and women who were tired of their misfortunes at home, and bade farewell to his fatherland.[1]

Hakluyt, who has his account from writings of the bard Gutyn Owen, adds that Madoc, after landing with his pilgrims, went back to Wales a second time and added to his settlement another multitude of relatives and countrymen carried on board ten vessels. He is of the opinion that the Welsh prince took possession of some part of North America, and this clearly follows from the given direction which points either to the Irish Hvítramannaland or to the Scandinavian Vinland, said to be uninhabited, because of the great scarcity of population in these immense countries.[2]

The reality of Madoc's voyages and settlement is generally admitted, but the scantiness of ancient information opens wide the door for conjecture as to the precise district of our continent where the prince settled down. Caradoc has no doubt that the country where Madoc established his colony was Mexico. This, he thinks, is shown by three facts: first, the Mexicans believed that their ancestors came from a beautiful country afar off and inhabited by white people; secondly, they adored the cross; and thirdly, several Welsh names are found in Mexico. Moreover, Peter

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[1] David Powellus, ap. Hornius, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 134; cf. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 116; Moosmüller, S. 183, *seq.;* Rotteck, Bd. vii. S. 36; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 142; Gravier, p. 143, *seq.*

[2] Hornius, lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 134; cf. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 116; Moosmüller, S. 183, *seq.;* Rotteck, Bd. vii. S. 36; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 142; Gravier, p. 143, *seq.*

Martyr says of the Guatemalans,[1] as well as of the Virginians,[2] that in olden times they celebrated as a hero a certain Madoc, "Mat Ingaor Matec Zunga."[3] The Welsh were a white Christian people, indeed, and may have contributed towards spreading in American countries not only the worship of the cross, but also the various doctrines and practices of Christianity, the vestiges of which were still so numerous and manifest at the time of the latest discoveries; but to attribute to them the establishment and the spread of our holy religion in Mexico, Central America, and Peru would be, historically speaking, the building of a cathedral on the point of a needle. Since the colony of Madoc was not sustained, as far as we know, by subsequent accessions from, or by regular intercourse with, the mother-country, it is reasonable to presume that ere long it was absorbed by other more numerous settlements or by adjoining aboriginal tribes. Furthermore, the Welsh arrived at too late a period to be assimilated with the Toltecs, to whom the native traditions ascribe all that is true, beautiful, and good in the civilization of Anahuac and of more southern States.

Hakluyt thinks that the Welsh, under Madoc, may have preceded the Spaniards in the West Indies.[4] Harcourt says that Guiana was discovered and possessed by the Welsh prince, Madoc; and Herbert is followed by a greater number of writers when, relying on Peter Martyr, he states that the land discovered in the year 1170 was Florida or Virginia. Others still, equally without any proof, mention North and South Carolina.[5]

This former part of the story of the Welsh in America rests on venerable records and serious researches of relatively ancient historians; but, strange to say, its credibility has been greatly impaired by the statements of modern tourists and writers, who, in the judgment of the best critics, appear to deserve less credence as their testimony grows more positive and more circumstantial. Some authors accept these late reports with too much credulity. We here copy them from Bancroft, who, with a justifiable spirit of ironical earnestness, has compiled them more fully than any other historian.[1] It is interesting reading.

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[1] Dec. viii. cap. v.

[2] Dec. vii. cap. iii.

[3] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 117; Hornius, lib. iii. cap. ii.

[4] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 143.

[5] Bancroft, vol. v. p. 117, *seq.*; Moosmüller, S. 186.

Catlin, he says, is inclined to believe that Madoc entered the Mississippi at Balize and made his way up the river, or that he landed somewhere on the Florida coast. He thinks the colonists pushed into the interior and finally settled on the Ohio River; afterwards, being driven from that position by the aboriginal tribes, they advanced up the Missouri, to the place where they have been known for many years by the name of Mandans, a corruption or abbreviation of "Madawgwys," the name applied by the Welsh to the followers of "Madawc." The canoes of the Mandans, Mr. Catlin tells us, which are altogether different from those of all other tribes, correspond exactly to the Welsh coracle; "they are made of raw-hides, the skins of buffaloes, stretched underneath a frame made of willows or other boughs, and shaped nearly round, like a tub, which the woman carries on her head from her wigwam to the water's edge, and, having stepped into it, stands in front, and propels it by dipping her paddle forward and drawing it to her, instead of paddling by the side."[2] The peculiarity of their physical appearance was such that, when he first saw them, he was under the instant conviction that they were an amalgam of a native with some civilized race, and the resemblance that existed between their language and the Welsh was, in his opinion, very striking.

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[1] Vol. v. p. 118, *seq.*

[2] Catlin's Amer. Ind., vol. ii. p. 261.

Already at the time of Sir Raleigh there was a rumor in England that on the coast of Virginia the colonists were greatly surprised to hear from the natives the Welsh greeting, "Hao, houi, iach."[1]

Several modern reports assure us that traces of the Welsh colony and of their language have been discovered among the native tribes,[2] but none of them seems entitled to full credit. Two Protestant ministers who went among the Indians towards the end of the seventeenth century—Beatty, a born Welshman, and Morgan Jones—give similar evidence.[3] "The best known report of this kind," Bancroft continues, "and the one that claims perhaps the most respectful consideration, is that of Reverend Mr. Jones, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1740. It is as follows:

> "These Presents certify all persons whatever that in the year 1660, being an inhabitant of Virginia, and chaplain to Major-General Bennet of Mansoman County, the said Major-General Bennet and Sir William Berkeley sent two ships to Port Royal, now called South Carolina, which is sixty leagues southward of Cape Fair, and I was sent therewith to be their minister. Upon the 8th of April we set out from Virginia, and arrived at the harbor's mouth of Port Royal the 19th of the same month, where we waited for the rest of the fleet that was to sail from Barbadoes and Bermuda with one Mr. West, who was to be deputy governor of said place. As soon as the fleet came in, the smallest vessels that were with us sailed up the river to a place called Oyster Point. There I continued about eight months, all which time being almost starved for want of provisions. I and five more travelled through the wilderness till we came to the Tuscarora country. There the Tuscarora

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[1] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. 143; Kosmos, S. 460, n. 33.

[2] Also Rotteck, Bd. vii. S. 36.

[3] Gaffarel, Histoire, p. 287.

Indians took us prisoners, because we told them that we were bound to Roanock. That night they carried us to their town and shut us up close, to our no small dread. The next day they entered into a consultation about us, and after it was over their interpreter told us that we must prepare ourselves to die next morning; whereupon, being very much dejected, I spoke to this effect in the British-Welsh tongue: 'Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the head like a dog?' Then presently came an Indian to me, which afterwards appeared to be a war captain belonging to the sachem of the Doegs, whose original, I find, must needs be from the Old Britons, and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British-Welsh tongue I should not die, and thereupon went to the emperor of Tuscarora and agreed for my ransom and the men that were with me. They, the Doegs, then welcomed us to their town, and entertained us very civilly and cordially four months, during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British-Welsh language, and did preach to them in the same language three times a week; and they would confer with me about anything that was difficult therein; and at our departure they abundantly supplied us with whatever was necessary to our support and well-doing. They are settled upon Pontigo River, not far from Cape Atros. This is a brief recital of my travels among the Doeg Indians.

"MORGAN JONES,

"the son of John Jones, of Basateg, near Newport, in the county of Monmouth. I am ready to conduct any Welshman or others to the country.

"NEW YORK, March 10, 1685–86."[1]

This story resembles exceedingly the report of Owen Chapelain, who, a few years earlier, in 1669, was on the point of being scalped at the hands of the Tuscaroras, but saved himself by talking to them in his native Welsh tongue. The Tuscaroras, says von Humboldt, are actually an Iroquois tribe, as evidently appears from linguistic researches. All such fables, he adds, are periodically rehearsed.[2]

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[1] Gentleman's Magazine, 1740.

[2] Kosmos, S. 460, n. 33; Examen, t. ii. p. 143.

In spite of this, Beamish still confidently quotes[1] from Paul Marana,[2] saying that "there is a region in America, inhabited by a people whom they call Tuscarards and Doegs, whose language is the same as is spoken by the British or Welsh, from whom the former are thought to descend;" and, again, that "the British-Welsh language is so prevalent in Mexico that the very towns, bridges, beasts, birds, rivers, hills, etc., are called by Welsh names."

Bancroft continues again: "A certain Lieutenant Roberts states that, in 1801, he met an Indian chief at Washington who spoke Welsh as fluently as if he had been born and brought up in the vicinity of Snowdon." The chief said the Welsh was the language of his nation, the Asguaws, who lived eight hundred miles northwest of Philadelphia. He knew nothing of Wales, but stated that his people had a tradition telling that their ancestors came to America from a distant country, which lay far to the East across the great waters. Among other questions Mr. Roberts asked him how it was that his nation had preserved their original language so perfect? He answered, that they had a law which forbade any to teach their children another tongue until they were twelve years old.[3]

Another officer, one Captain Davies, relates that, while stationed at a trading-post among the Illinois Indians, he was surprised to find that several Welshmen who belonged to his company would converse readily with the aborigines in Welsh. This is one of the items of Dr. W. D. Pughe and Williams, who, some sixty years ago, collected upward of one hundred different accounts of the Welsh Indians, sometimes called the Padoucas or White Indians.

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[1] Discovery, p. 216.

[2] Turkish Spy, vol. viii. p. 159.

[3] Chamber's Journal, vol. vi. p. 411.

It is reported by travellers in the West that on the Red River, very far to the Southwest, a tribe of Indians, has been found whose manners in several respects resemble the Welsh. They call themselves the McCedus tribe, who, having the Mc or Mac attached to their name, would seem to be of a European origin of the Celtic description.

It is well authenticated that, upward of fifty years ago, Indians came to Kaskaskia, Illinois, who spoke the Welsh dialect, and were perfectly understood by two Welshmen, who conversed with them.[1]

Warden tells a story of a Welshman named Griffith who was taken prisoner by the Shawnee tribe about the year 1764. Two years afterwards he and five Shawnees, with whom he was travelling about the sources of the Missouri, fell into the hands of a white tribe, who were about to massacre them, when Griffith spoke to them in Welsh, explaining the object of their journey. Upon this they consented to spare him and his companions. He could learn nothing of the history of these white natives, except that their ancestors had come to the Missouri from a far distant country. Griffith returned to the Shawnee nation, but subsequently escaped and succeeded in reaching Virginia.

Lord Monboddo, a Scotchman who wrote in the seventeenth century, quotes already several instances to show that the language of the native Highlanders was spoken in America. In one of the English expeditions to discover the North Pole, he relates, there were an Esquimau and a Scotchman who, after a few days' practice, were able to converse together readily. He also states that the Celtic language was spoken by many of the tribes of Florida, and that he was well acquainted with a gentleman from the Highlands of Scotland, who was in Florida several years in a public capacity, and who stated that many of the tribes with whom he had become acquainted had in their language the greatest affinity with the Celtic. We read further: "But what is still more remarkable, in their war-song he discovered not only the sentiments but several lines, the very same words, as used in Ossian's celebrated majestic poem of the wars of his ancestors, who flourished about thirteen hundred years ago. The Indian names of several of the streams, brooks, mountains, and rocks of Florida are also the same which are given to similar objects in the Highlands of Scotland."[1]

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[1] Priest, p. 230.

These testimonies may suffice to show on what manner of foundation rests the theory according to which the American aborigines had their origin in Scotland or Wales. It is simply impossible that the language, once spoken on our continent by the Gaelic Papas, should have endured so long in so many different regions. If we have found strong indications of the early presence of the Irish on the western hemisphere, it is not in consequence of their language or of any trait of their national character; but thanks to the permanency of the self-same religion, which they so firmly imprinted in the hearts of the natives that its vestiges were unmistakable still in the middle of the sixteenth century. No well-defined traces of European languages, manners or institutions have been discovered in all America, if we except those which testify, together with written history, to the occupation of ancient Vinland by the Greenland colonists. The Northmen of Greenland had upheld, as long as their condition at home permitted them, the settlements which in their youthful buoyancy they had commenced on our shores, developed in their palmy days, and strengthened with the comforts of holy religion to such a degree as to allow them the high ministrations of their own bishop. Nor did they suffer their distant countrymen to disappear among the neighboring aborigines until they themselves, weakened from various causes, were compelled to retreat before the assaults of savage American natives, as will become more apparent from the sequel of their history.

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[1] Cf. Priest, p. 230.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIOCESE OF GARDAR.

THE Greenland State, as we have seen, grew up from its very beginning, in numbers, power, and wealth, with wonderful rapidity. It enjoyed all the advantages of an independent government together with those of a paternal assistance and protection of the mother-country; like a son who, after establishing a new home where he rules, profits by the lasting good-will of his parents. The kings of Norway in the eleventh century had neither the right nor the intention of calling Iceland and Greenland provinces of their royal domain, but they exercised a benign and grateful influence over the distant republics founded by their relatives and countrymen.

King Olaf Tryggvason did not disdain to enter a swimming-match with Kjartan the Icelander, who held him down beneath the waves so long that the bystanders wondered whether either of the champions would ever reappear on the surface;[1] but Tryggvason, also, through his envoys, Gissur the White and Hjalti Skeggeson, procured the official conversion of Iceland; and from him Leif Ericsson accepted the mission of preaching the Christian faith in his Greenland home.[2]

Of St. Olaf we read that, in the year 1016, he called the wisest men of his kingdom to Drontheim, and ordered them to explain before him the laws which Hacon, the first Christian king of Norway,[3] had made; and after hearing their advice, he repealed some of them and added others. He also established the canon or church law, according to directions of the assembled clergy, and finally obtained the willing consent of the people, who swore to obey. His anxiety for the welfare of his nation was not restricted by the limits of his kingdom, but he was solicitous also to know the condition of morals and discipline and, above all, of religious affairs in the neighboring States of the Shetlands, Faroes, and Iceland. He inquired into their various wants and abuses, and sent to them a request to expunge from their laws all such enactments as were in conflict with Christian charity.[1] If Greenland is not mentioned here, the known friendship of the holy king towards Leif Ericsson is a sufficient warranty that it was not neglected.

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[1] Laing, Heimskringla, Bd. ii. S. 450.

[2] Supra, pp. 127, 181, 182.

[3] A.D. 935–950.

Understood in accordance with such amicable interposition, the statement of Oderic Vital, that Vinland was subject to the king of Norway, may be admitted; while Torfæus justly protests against the assertion of Lyschander, who pretends that Iceland and Greenland paid tribute to the Norwegian monarch.[2]

It was rather the mother-country that swelled the fortunes of her children in Greenland, for all ancient information confirms the fact of a frequent and lively business intercourse between Norway and the northern republics. The Greenlanders prepared at home several articles of export, and drew from their American colonies others that were of great value on the markets of Europe.[3] The number of Greenland ship-owners rapidly increased, new hamlets or gaards of stone-built houses rose up along the firths, and, while every corner and patch of available soil was improved, general prosperity reigned among a contented people.

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[1] Acta Sanctorum, Bolland., ad diem 29 Julii, p. 96, ed. Antverpiensis.

[2] Odericus Vitalis, lib. x.; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. iii. p. 17.

[3] Supra, p. 168.

The magistrates of the country were not ignorant of its flourishing condition, and claimed for it a fair degree of importance. Their not unreasonable pretensions were manifested on one particular occasion.

It was known to the Greenlanders that Eric Gnupson, their missionary bishop, had left them and had sailed for the American Vinland; that either he was dead or had resigned his former charge. They were deprived of the honor and advantages of a prelate's presence.

Sokke Thorerson, a man of high esteem all over the colonies, lived at this time in Brattalidha, the ancient home of Eric the Red, of whom he probably was a descendant, says Torfæus;[1] a grandson, as it is stated by Crantz;[2] and who, if we may judge from the fact that he summoned a general assembly of the people, where he spoke with authority, and that he was often elected to preside at public deliberations,[3] also was the Governor or "Lögmadhr" of the country, as had been the former tenants of Brattalidha,—Eric, Leif Ericsson, Thorkell Leifson, and the poet Helgius.[4] On this occasion again he called the people together in the year 1123,[5] and addressing them, he said that it was not becoming that a country, great and prosperous like Greenland, should be any longer without a bishop, "at landit vaeri eigi lengr biskupslaust;" that it should be less honored than other nations which had erected episcopal sees for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. It behooved, he added, that, after they had obtained the knowledge of the true God and learned how to serve Him, after they had received several religious teachers and sacred ministers of divine worship, one ruler should be set over them ; one who must also, through the respect for his great dignity and the power of his higher authority, restrain the licentiousness of the masses. Nor was he satisfied with a missionary bishop who, having no fixed residence nor regular support, might come and go at his pleasure ;—the example was recent. But, as it had been done among other nations, he wanted every one to contribute a liberal share towards the establishment and endowment of a normal diocese in Greenland.

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[1] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxvi. p. 217.

[2] History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 250.

[3] Beauvois, Origines, p. 33, ref. to Groenl. Histor. Mindesm., t. ii. pp. 680, 704.

[4] Beauvois, Origines, p. 33.

[5] The original information regarding the following transactions is mainly derived from the Saga of Einar Sokkeson, a memoir of Thorleif Gudmundson Repp, preserved in the Flatey MSS. and published in Grönlandz Hist. Mindesmaerker, vol. ii. p. 609, *seq.*

The colonists were all in favor of this important step, all willing to contribute.[1]

Their promises of assistance proved to be more sincere than generally are promises made on similar occasions. They set to work at once, and secured for the proposed institution a yearly income that must have appeared rather inviting to even a prominent ecclesiastic.[2] The support of the desired bishop would, no doubt, partly consist, as in Iceland, of honoraries and voluntary contributions made on the occasion of episcopal functions, and of dues collected for the dispensation from ecclesiastical precepts. The law passed a few years before in Iceland was probably adopted by the Greenlanders,—namely, that a small tithe should be levied on all real estate in favor of the diocesan treasury ;[3] and from later information we know that some valuable rights almost equal to ownership and property itself were generously donated to the future episcopal see by several colonists. It even seems that the people's liberality towards the Church became excessive in some cases, and in the year 1161 Pope Alexander III. issued letters to the ecclesiastical province of the North to restrain it within due bounds. He decreed that no one should be allowed to disinherit his legitimate children to favor the Church: this, he says, is opposed to all law. The most that could be permitted in this respect was that a parent who had but one child might choose Our Lord as a second, by willing one-half of his estate to the Church; a father of two children could assume Christ as a third, and so farther on. But never were religious establishments permitted to accept the whole inheritance, save in the event of one dying without children.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxvi. p. 218 ; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 51, *seq.* ; Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 81, *seq.* ; Moosmüller, S. 56.

[2] An inference from the next-succeeding transactions.

[3] Supra, p. 131.

We do not know all the particulars of the business transactions of the Greenland "Thing" or Congress in the year 1123; but, as this was the most prosperous period of those colonies, we may readily presume that all the income which the bishops of Gardar ever enjoyed was secured either before or shortly after the arrival of the first prelate. The "Annata"—*i.e.*, one year's revenue of the diocese of Gardar, to be paid into the pontifical treasury by every new incumbent—was set down on the account books of the Roman court at "fl. CCL.," two hundred and fifty gold florins.[2] But if we can believe Fagnani, who ought to be well informed, having been a secretary of Roman Congregations for the space of fifteen years, the "annata" payable by new bishops and abbots represented only one-third part of the actual yearly income. Thus would the revenues of the see of Gardar have amounted at one time to seven hundred and fifty gold florins, equivalent to five hundred and odd dollars. The high purchasing power of money at that time being taken into consideration, this was a considerable sum; equal, in fact, to the income of no less a see than that of the Patriarchate of Grado or Venice,[1] and exceeding by one-fifth that of the Orkney diocese.[2]

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[1] See Document LVII. This pontifical explanation of natural law has been admitted as a basis of testamentary legislation in the Napoleon Digest.

[2] Bibliotheca Corsiniana, Rome, Codex MS. 377, fo. 48 ^{vo}.

After the general convention of the Greenland colonists had agreed and resolved to ask for a regular bishop, and had made arrangements for his reception and support, they decided to send an embassy to Norway to further their object. Sokke proposed to his son, Einar, to place himself at the head of the delegates, alleging that he was the most presentable man among the Greenlanders; and Einar, yielding to his father's will, was soon ready for the voyage. He took with him a great quantity of walrus-teeth and furs, as presents for the Norwegian grandees, and a Greenland bear destined for the king, who, at this time, was Sigurd "Jerusalafare," the Jerusalem pilgrim,—*i.e.*, the Crusader. Recommended by the courtiers and by the object of his mission itself, he obtained an audience of the monarch, to whom he offered his interesting gift. Sigurd, in return, bestowed honors upon him and readily promised him his assistance towards the success of his pious errand.

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[1] Fl. CCL.: Bibliotheca Corsiniana, in Rome, Codex MS. 377, fo. 49 vo.

[2] If we could take as a basis for calculation the amount received by the papal collectors in the year 1327 from the Greenland clergy, as a six years' tithe, we would come to the conclusion that the ecclesiastical revenues of the island had fallen to two hundred and sixty dollars; but the nature of the tithes,—walrus-teeth,—the irregularity of their collection, and the difficulty of their sale at a discount, all goes to prove that we cannot consider it as a proof of reduction. That, however, the country had become poor and ecclesiastical contributions had grown less at this period is well known. Cf. Document XXXIX.

The king knew a priest named "Arnaldr" or Arnold, well fitted, through his learning and behavior, for the high and important office, and he besought him to undertake this heavy task for God's sake; "and I shall," he said, "recommend thee with my sealed letters to Archbishop Adzer of Lund." But Arnold, aware of the great difficulties attached to the dignity, made every effort to decline it. He alleged his personal unsuitableness and want of sufficient erudition; it was hard on him to become an exile from his country and separate forever from his friends and relatives; but, above all, he was afraid of undertaking to rule a people that, far away from civilization and known to be stubborn and savage, was not to be governed by laws or threats. The king replied that the greater the evils he would endure from men, the more glorious would be his reward in heaven. Arnold answered that he would not refuse the king's prayer, "but," quoth he, "I insist on this, that Einar shall swear to me an oath to defend with all his power and authority the ecclesiastical rights, to preserve all movable and real estate given and consecrated to God, to protect it against violence, and punish assailers; finally, to be the proctor of all diocesan property." The king, thereupon, having called Einar, readily obtained the acceptance of the required condition.[1]

The sequel will prove the wisdom of Arnold's precautions. The fierce Northmen of Greenland had not yet "stripped themselves of the old man with his deeds;"[2] their conversion to the Christian religion had been much like an invasion of it; the narrative of broils and murders takes up a considerable portion of their earlier history,[1] and the fines imposed on assassins formed an important item of the public revenue. Arnold knew all this, and he knew also that the fault of it lay not with the Church and her laws.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxvi. p. 219: Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 81, *seq.;* Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 251; Beauvois, Origines, p. 34; Moosmüller, S. 56.

[2] Coloss. iii. 10.

We have noticed already that a digest of canon law had been drafted under St. Olaf in the year 1016, and all abuses against Christian charity condemned, even in the Norwegian colonies.[2] Acting upon the advice of Archbishop Adzer, the bishop of Skalholt, Thorlak, and Ketil, bishop of Holar in Iceland, had developed the former "Kristinrett" or church law, and their regulations had been sanctioned by the "Althing" or people's assembly of the year 1123.[3] This, as all other Icelandic legislation, became binding in Greenland; but the laws were openly violated, and Sokke Thorerson had well said that a higher authority was needed to have them observed. Arnold easily foresaw, therefore, the difficulties which he would have to encounter, and prudently secured the assistance of the civil power before consenting to take upon his shoulders the heavy burden of the Greenland episcopate. Yet he finally consented.

The next step to be taken was to obtain the legal appointment and consecration of the future bishop for Greenland. The metropolitans of the North had, by several pontifical bulls, obtained the privilege of choosing suitable ecclesiastics and of consecrating them bishops of either the vacant or of the new dioceses of their ecclesiastical provinces;[4] and this right they continued to exercise exclusively until, in the year 1297, King Eric the Priest-hater brought about an agreement between the archbishop of Drontheim and his cathedral chapter, according to which the latter's canons should also have a voice in the election of bishops in that province.[1] The archbishop in charge of the Scandinavian kingdom and of its colonies during the first quarter of the twelfth century was Adzer of Lund, in "Scandia," —*i.e.*, the southern part of Sweden. It is true that his authority was lessened that very year 1123, and the ancient metropolitan jurisdiction of the see of Hamburg was restored by Pope Innocent II. in 1133;[2] but Arnold was still rightly sent by the king of Norway to Archbishop Adzer in order to be made the lawful bishop of Greenland.

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[1] See Torfæus, Gronl. Ant.

[2] Acta Sanctorum, Bolland., ad. diem 29 Julii, ed. Antv., p. 96; supra, p. 337.

[3] Grágás, p. xxxi; Rafn, Mémoire, pp. 15, 24.

[4] Supra, p. 205, *seq.*

Adzer read the commendatory letters which King Sigurd had forwarded to him at the hands of the priest Arnold, whom he received well but examined closely. Having become convinced that this man was well fitted for so high a dignity, he conferred upon him the fulness of sacramental Orders in his own cathedral in the year 1124. Crantz assigns[3] this important event to the year 1123, and the Lögman's Annals, to 1125; but the Saga of Einar Sokkeson, the Annals of Resen, the Kings' Annals, those of Flatey, of Gotskalk, and the Hoyer's Annals, all give the year 1124, which is accepted as the correct date by all subsequent writers.

Soon after his return to Norway, Bishop Arnold, highly honored by the king, set out for the field of his labors in the same ship with Einar, who was proud of the complete success of his embassy.

A Norwegian by the name of Arnbiörn started about the same time for Greenland in another vessel.[4]

The prelate and Einar had adverse winds and were obliged to take refuge in the inlet of Holtavadsos, protected by the mountains of Eyjafjalls, on the southern coast of Iceland. Saemund hinn Frode, the priest who collected the ancient Eddas, lived at this time on his patrimonial domain of Odde, some twenty miles from Holtavadsos. When he heard of the prelate's landing, he went and invited him to pass the winter with him. Arnold accepted and rode over to Odde, while Einar remained on his ship. An interesting incident of this trip is related by the ancient chronicler as an example of the bishop's complaisance. The travellers stopped to rest a while at a farm of Landey, and were sitting in front of the house, when an old woman came out with a card for combing wool, and, addressing the unknown bishop, "You, strong man," she said, "would you fix one of the teeth of my card?" He said he would, and, taking a hammer from his haversack, he did the job to the woman's delight.

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[1] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[2] Supra, p. 205.

[3] Vol. i. p. 250.

[4] Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 81, *seq.*

The following summer Arnold assisted at the Althing or general convention of Iceland, together with the bishops of Skalholt and Holar. This was in the year 1125, according to the King's Annals, or rather 1126, as appears to the learned from most of the sagas.[1] That same summer the bishop sailed with Einar to Greenland, where he landed in Eiriksfjord, and was very well received by Sokke Thorerson and his family, who ever were a great help to him, and whom, in return, he held in higher esteem than any of their countrymen. He chose to establish his residence at Gardar,[2] situated at the upper end of the eastern arm of Einarsfjord in Östrebgyd,[3] where already his predecessor had sojourned.

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[1] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 52; Langebek, t. iii. pp. 52, 68; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. pp. 242; Beauvois, Origines, p. 35.

[2] "Biskup setti stól sinn í Górdhum ok redhst thangat til," The bishop placed his seat in Gardar and resides there still.

[3] Arngrim Jonas, ap. Peyrère, p. 193; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap.

According to all ancient reports, Arnold was the first bishop to raise the church of Gardar to the dignity of a cathedral, dedicated to St. Nicholas,[1] and thus to erect, within historical times, on American territory, the first regular episcopal see; a see which Pope Alexander VI., nearly four hundred years later, still set forth as "located on the confines of the earth."[2]

This curious expression of the pontifical document could not, however, be construed into an example of vulgar geographical ignorance at the court of Rome; as it was simply intended to convey an idea of the great distance between Rome and Gardar, and not to designate the pontifical city or Jerusalem as the centre of the face of the earth. It is true, geographers at the end of the fifteenth century had but very incorrect notions of the northern countries; yet we find the name of Greenland on a map preserved in the Pitti library of Florence and drawn as early as the year 1417.[3] Greenland appears on the chart of Claudius Clavus of 1427,[4] and we find it as a peninsula attached to Europe on the Genoese World's Map of 1447. Fra Mauro gives its name to a western portion of Scandinavia, while a Ptolemy map of 1467 represents it again as did Claudius Clavus; with this important difference, however, that here "Gronlandia" is not extended any more to join "Norbegia" in the East. The chart of Nicholas Donis of 1482 gives evidence of further correct information, although, as Carlo Zeno still, he duplicates the name with that of "Engronelant."[5] Even though

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vii. p. 44; cf. Map of Östrebygd, Greenland, according to C. C. Rafn.

[1] Arngrim Jonas, ap. Peyrère, pp. 192, 193; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxvi. p. 239.

[2] "Ecclesia Gadensis in fine mundi sita." (Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI., Diversa Cameræ 1492 ad 1495, lib. i., Armarium 29, no. 50, fo. 23.)

[3] Moosmüller, S. 70.

[4] Nordenskjöld, Fac-simile Atlas, S. 49.

[5] Kretschmer, S. 253.

Gardar should not have been pointed out by any cosmographer, the Pope could well know in the year 1492 that it must lie far away, for in his own archives there were several records of its great distance from Rome and even from Norway.

John XXI. had, indeed, on December 4, 1276, excused the archbishop of Drontheim from the imposed duty of personally collecting in the diocese of Gardar the tithes for the Holy Land, "because that diocese lay away at such a distance from the metropolis that, on account of embarrassed navigation, it was scarcely possible to sail thither and back again within five years; and the archbishop doubted, therefore, whether either the apostolic orders or his own could reach Gardar within the time appointed."[1] As we see from another apostolic brief of the same date, the metropolitan of Norway, in order to be excused from personally collecting the tithes in the other bishoprics of his province, had also "alleged their wide dispersion in the ocean and the great extent of their territory, in such a manner that it would take no less than six years to visit them all; and that, for the want of houses, he would be obliged to carry tents with him and use them for five or more days at a time."[2]

From these statements it has been concluded, in a solemn assembly of learned men,[3] that "the diocese of Gardar was in extent equal to"—and logically it should have been said, five times as large as—"the whole kingdom of Norway"—with the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Faroes, and all of Iceland thrown in. But the enormity of the conclusion indicates some deficiency in the premises. It is evident, indeed, that the last reason for dispensing the archbishop of Drontheim does not apply to Greenland, nor even to Vinland. It is very doubtful, moreover, whether the Greenland colonies on our continent were, at the end of the thirteenth century, still numerous and rich enough to make it worth while to send all the way from Scandinavia a tithe-collector among them. According to what we stated before, we could not well admit the affirmative opinion.

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[1] See Document XXXVII., *d.*

[2] Ibid., *e.*

[3] Congrès Scient., 1891, sec. v. p. 175.

Nor is it correctly asserted that "tithes from Vinland figure among those collected in the year 1307,"—or in any year whatever. Should Archbishop John of Drontheim have thought of Greenland particularly, or of Vinland at all, in asking dispensation, he would not have mentioned "tents," but "boats," required to visit the various settlements, all established on the water's edge. If it must have taken "five years to sail to Gardar and return," whilst a visit to the various parts of all the Scandinavian dioceses might be finished in "six years," the formal mention of the voyage itself being prevented by obstacles to sailing sufficiently denotes that the reason of this vast disproportion is not to be found in the relative extent of the diocesan territories, and that scientific conclusions may be more enterprising than logical. The true reason why it should have required five years to make a round voyage from Norway to Greenland is more clearly expressed in the bulls of Nicholas III. to the same archbishop of Drontheim, two years later. He says, "From the contents of the letter which you have lately forwarded to Us, We have understood that the island in which is located the city of Gardar is seldom approached by vessels, because of the dangers of the ocean by which it is surrounded."[1] Greenland was already then, though less so than two centuries after, located at the world's end, because of the scarcity of its intercourse with any other country of the earth.

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[1] See Document XXXVII., *h*.

By no means, however, is it our opinion that the diocese of Gardar was rather small in extent.

Not to speak of the scattered settlements or trading-posts still lasting on the northeastern shores of continental America, which naturally demanded some care and attention from the bishop, the vast regions of all Greenland were comprised within the limits of the jurisdiction of Gardar's prelate. It is true, the southeastern and eastern coasts of the great island were, perhaps, not inhabited by Scandinavian colonists;[1] but settlements were established all along its western shores, from Cape Farewell, on the sixtieth parallel, up to the Arctic Circle; while summer stations, the "Nordhrsetur," extended as far as the seventy-sixth degree of northern latitude. The grounds utilized by the Greenlanders formed but a narrow strip of land along Davis' Strait; but, both in the southern province or Östrebygd and in the northern or Vestrebygd, their gaards, hamlets, and towns were located on the banks of so many deep inlets or firths that, to visit them all, it would have required a voyage of several thousand miles.[2]

The pioneer settlers from Iceland had taken up the best locations of the southern fjords, which correspond to the present district of Julianashaab,[3] and in the course of a short time erected, besides a cathedral and two religious houses, twelve parochial churches and one hundred and ninety villas or hamlets.[4] Some authors mention one or two convents and two cities,[5] which must have been Gardar and Brattalidha. The ruins of seven churches and of a great number of other Scandinavian buildings have of late been discovered on no less than twenty-seven firths and their branches in this southern province.[1]

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[1] Mallet, p. 246.

[2] Supra, p. 152; Reeves, p. 166, n. 25; Crantz, vol. i. p. 244, *seq.*

[3] Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 182; Aa. passim.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 80; Codex "Gripla," ap. Beamish, Discovery, p. 114; Crantz, vol. i. p. 246.

[5] Brockhaus, art. Groenland.

As more colonists had arrived from Norway, Iceland, and other Scandinavian countries, they had also taken possession of the inlets of the present districts of Fiskernoesset, Godthaab, Sukkertoppen, and Holsteinborg, north of Cape Desolation,[2] and had, on nine different firths, built four churches and ninety—others say one hundred and ten—farms or hamlets.[3] But few ruins, however, of ancient buildings have been found in this latter part of the country.[4]

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[1] Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 100; Maltebrun, t. i. p. 361.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 75; Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 182; Reeves, p. 166, n. 25.

[3] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 361; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 80; Crantz, vol. i. p. 246; Beamish, Discovery, p. 114, from Codex "Gripla."

[4] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 361.

CHAPTER XVII.

GREENLAND PARISHES AND SETTLEMENTS.

Several descriptions have at various times been made of ancient Greenland by Einar Sokkeson, Björn Jonasson of Skardza, Ivar Bardson, Arngrim, and the Protestant bishop Theodore Thorlak; but the one preferred to all others and the original of subsequent accounts is that of Ivar Bardson, who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century. Bardson is an author of the highest authority on this subject, because, says Torfæus, he has been for a number of years the administrator of all temporalities in the diocese of Gardar, receiving the revenues of its landed properties, the fines, and all that was destined to the bishop's support, and making all payments and distributions. Through his office he was next in dignity to the bishop, equal to abbots, and superior to barons. We cannot doubt his accuracy, since he wrote of what was perfectly known to himself as well as to his contemporaries, who would have convicted him of deceit if his statements, of an official and business character, had been incorrect. Besides the confidence of the prelate, he enjoyed also that of the governor of his country; for to him, as captain or certainly as one of the principal officers, was confided an expedition sent by the civil government to the rescue of the colonists of Vestrebygd from their pagan invaders.[1] Ivar Bardson was at first a priest of the diocese of Bergen in Norway, as appears from a letter discovered by Mr. A. P. Munch. By this letter, dated August 8, 1341, Ivar was sent by Hacon, bishop of Bergen, "across an ocean as tempestuous as broad," to go and lend assistance to the elderly Bishop Arnius of Greenland, in the administration of his diocese.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 22; cap. vii. p. 42.

In the following account of the bishopric of Gardar we shall closely follow Bardson's description, travelling with him first from Herjulfsnes or the present Ikigeit in a northeasterly direction along Greenland's coast, until ice and snow prevent us from going farther; then, returning to the place of our departure and commencing another voyage of inspection along the numerous firths, we shall sail northward and slightly to the West, till we, as many a hapless explorer, remain lost in the frozen deserts of the North Pole. On our route we shall, however, occasionally pay attention to places noticed by other geographers and historians.[2]

Herjulfsnes or Herjulf's promontory,[3] situated at the western corner of the mouth of Herjulfsfiord, was one of the most southern points of Greenland, in the proximity of the famous beacon-mountain "Hvítserk," the present Cape Farewell. Its colony, sometimes called after the name of the firth, was very important from its beginning, and the easternmost colony of the whole island.[4] Ruins of its ancient buildings have been discovered on every side of the bay, and in particular those of its church, one of the oldest in Greenland, whose blessed yard was for a long time the burying-ground for all who died in the settlements established farthest to the North. Several tombstones were unearthed here marked with the sign of the cross, and one bearing the inscription, "Here rests Roald Kolgrimson."[1]

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[1] Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 7; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[2] In the references of our description of Greenland, Bardson will be represented by, I°, De Costa, Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson: "A treatise of Iver Boty, a Gronlander, translated" by William Sybre, from the Low German translation "in the yeere 1608 for the use of me, Henrie Hudson;" II°, Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii., who translates from an old Icelandic paper copy collated with two Danish versions and the one made in High German in the year 1679; III°, Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, S. 74–77, who has carefully studied all of Greenland's ancient descriptions.

[3] Translated by William Sybre as "Hernoldus Hooke," and Ikigeit of to-day. (Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 410.)

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi.

To this same colony is also given sometimes the name of Skagafiord or Skagen Ford, which, however, is a larger firth located three or four miles to the East of Herjulfsfiord, and on whose banks rises the barren mountain called Barnafell. We have spoken already[2] of the rich fisheries of this inlet.[3]

Farther east "lyeth a haven called Beare Ford. It is not dwelt in. There is a great abundance of whales, and there is a great fishing for the killing of them there, but not without the bishop's consent, which keepeth the same for the benefit of the cathedrall church." These particulars suggest, however, the possibility of some confusion with the foregoing firth.[4]

Northeastward from Berefjord lies "Ollum lengri," or the Longest of all inlet,[5] which, narrow at its opening into the ocean, expands widely in the land, and is so long that no man has yet seen its end. Its smooth surface is studded with a great number of small islands or "holms," where fowl and eggs are to be found in great numbers. Along its borders is spread out level land, that produces as much and more tall grass than

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p. 36 ; cap. vii. p. 42 ; cap. x. p. 79 ; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 ; C. C. Rafn, A Map of Östrebygd.

[1] Moosmüller, S. 71, 72, 74 ; Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 100 ; 1845–49, pp. 130, 433 ; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 265, cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 281.

[2] Supra, p. 160.

[3] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 ; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 42 ; Peyrère, p. 190.

[4] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 ; Moosmüller, S. 74.

[5] Sybre calls it Allabong.

any other country. According to the English translation of Bardson, "oxen are common there."[1]

Farther still towards the mountains there is a haven by the name of "Funkabudhir," so called because at the time of King St. Olaf a ship landed there and, according to a tradition still lasting in Greenland, one of its officers with several of the crew were drowned. The survivors planted on their grave a cross, which stands there until this day, says Bardson. Torfæus sensibly remarks that the legend does not explain the name, unless that of the officer or of the craft should have been "Funka."[2]

Somewhat nearer to the glaciers and farther eastward yet is situated a high land, named by some Corse Hought, Kaarsoe, Korsæa or Cross Island, and by others Roansen or Ranseya, "upon which they hunt white beares, but not without the bishop's leave, for it belongeth to the cathedrall church. And from thence more easterly men see nothing but ice and snow, both by land and water."[3]

Carlo Zeno,[4] Mercator,[5] and a few more authors mention two inhabited places much farther still on the southeast coast of Greenland,—namely, Alba and St. Thomas's monastery; and Egede[6] found people on the easternmost shores of the island. But we shall forbear speaking more fully of these localities now, to return to Herjulfsnes with Bardson, and follow him to the Northwest.

Björn of Skardza mentions as next to Herjulfsnes the Helliseyar or Hellis' Islands and the firth of the same name, located by Rafn at two or three miles northwest of the former place.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 42; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 42 or *seq.;* Moosmüller, S. 75; Peyrère, p. 190.

[3] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61; Peyrère, p. 191; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44; Moosmüller, S. 75.

[4] Septentrionalium Partium Nova Tabula.

[5] In his description of the Arctic Pole, 1578.

[6] Description of Greenland, 1763, p. 13.

Then, in close proximity, follows Ketilsfjord, a large inlet which extends deep into the land, shooting forth two or three considerable branches on its eastern side, into which it receives a great quantity of water from the adjoining glaciers. This firth, which is designated also by the names of Kodosford and Kindelfiord, corresponds to the present Tessermint. Ruins of buildings and traces of cultivation are to be seen everywhere on its banks.[2]

"As you sayle into the sound, you shall see on the right hand a great sea and marsh, and into this sea runneth a great streame, and by the marsh and sea standeth a great church: Auroos church, on which the Holy Crosse is drawne of colour white."[3] Moosmüller states[4] that Aros was the popular name of this church, while Torfæus more properly calls it Krokskirkia,[5] and Peyrère,[6] who says it was built in the form of a cross, spells the name as Korskirke. This church was richly endowed, having the property of all the islands and alluvia of the firth, all that was cast on land by the ocean, and rights upon the whole extent of the shore from Herjulfsnes to Petersvik.[7]

Petersvik was a second parish on Ketilsfjord, whose church was dedicated to St. Peter. Its name is variously given as Vik, Vika, Petresvik, Peters Wike, and Peterswyk. The church was standing on the northern angle formed by the inlet and its upper branch; and adjoining to it lay a densely inhabited valley, known more generally as Vatnsdale, which was the principal part of Petersvik parish.[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; Rafn, Map of Östrebygd.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44; cap. x. p. 79; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61; Peyrère, p. 191; Moosmüller, S. 75; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 410.

[3] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61.

[4] S. 72.

[5] Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44.

[6] P. 191.

[7] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44; Moosmüller, S. 75, 76.

Vatnsdale or Vatnsdalr—Vatsdal, Vatzdalum, Wartsdale, Warsdell, Werzdal, Vandalabygd, Vandalbug—was rich in pasturages and fisheries, and is mentioned by both ancient and modern writers as a third parish on Ketilsfjord, but Bardson is explicit in ascribing it to St. Peter's church.[2]

Numerous ruins of ancient buildings have been found at several places on Ketilsfjord. To one of these, on the northern edge of the Aros quagmire, Rafn adapts the name of Störelfr.[3]

At the head of the northern arm of the same firth lie the ruins of a religious institution, described by Bardson as a monastery of Canons Regular, dedicated to St. Olaf King and St. Augustin; and to which belonged the shore of the inner bay down to Petersvik and all the land eastward to the glaciers.[4]

Northwesterly from, and close to, the mouth of Ketilsfjord lies the holm or island on which Eric the Red passed his second winter in Greenland; and a little farther in the same direction, Cape Hvarf, on the island Hvarf, the present Cape Egede, on the island Sermersok;[5] so called, says Moosmüller,[6] from the "Hafsverf" or ocean-current, a small branch of the Gulf Stream, which, passing along the coasts of southwestern Greenland, gets lost in Davis' Strait.[1] Some ancient ruins were found on this island.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44; cap. xvii. p. 129; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.;* Peyrère, p. 191; Moosmüller, S. 72, 76; von Spruner, Nordische Reiche, no. 1; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 281, 282.

[2] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.;* Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44; cap. x. p. 79; cap. xvii. p. 129; Moosmüller, S. 71, 76; Peyrère, p. 191; Crantz, vol. i. p. 74; von Spruner, Nordische Reiche, no. 1.

[3] Map of Östrebygd.

[4] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.;* Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 44; cap. x. p. 79; Moosmüller, S. 72, 76; von Spruner, Nordische Reiche, no. 1; Crantz, vol. i. p. 245.

[5] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 410.

[6] S. 72.

East of Hvarf lay the channel Spalsund and the island Drangey.[2]

Between this islet and the mainland, a little northward, we enter Austfjord or Östfjord, probably the same as Austkarsfjord.[3]

On this bay was located a church named Höfdi, Hofdis or Höfdio.[4]

A couple of miles' sailing farther north brings us to the mouth of Slettufjord, a narrow but deep inlet, on whose head-waters ruins were found of a Scandinavian settlement.[5]

The adjoining large bay was called Rompnesford, Rumpeyarfjord or Raven-inlet, and, more commonly, Hrafns or Rafnsfjord, and corresponds to the Ounartok of to-day.[6] Rafn, one of Greenland's pioneers, was the first to settle on the firth; and, if we may judge from the number of ancient ruins scattered along its shore, many colonists followed him to this spot.[7]

By the innermost or northeastern shore stood at the time a religious institution for sacred virgins, that was called St. Benedict's Convent and was dedicated to St. Olaf. To the church of this nunnery, which probably was also a parish church, belonged the whole bay and all the land comprised between it and the mountains as far as the parish of Vog, on the next firth.[1] One-half of the islands in Rafnsfjord were property of the convent; and the others, of the cathedral. On several of these islands there were then, as to-day, a number of hot springs, so hot in winter, says Bardson, that no one could go near them, but more temperate in summer, so that many persons bathed in them and got cured of divers sicknesses. The springs of Ounartok still reach from 58.5° to 75.5° Fahrenheit.[2] The learned R. H. Major thinks that the Ounartok thermæ are the hot springs which are represented in the Zeno narrative as doing most wonderful service in a Greenland monastery called after St. Thomas, which we shall soon more attentively notice.[3]

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[1] Cf. supra, p. 145; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; Reeves, p. 166, n. 25; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[2] Björn of Skardza, ap. Moosmüller, S. 72.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 77; cap. xvii. p. 129; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[4] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn; Moosmüller, S. 71; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 77; cap. xvii. p. 129; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 282.

[5] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36.

[6] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.;* Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; cap. vii. p. 45; Major, ap. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 390; Crantz, vol. i. p. 245; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, and Antiq. Amer., p. 410.

[7] Supra, p. 146; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

Rafnsfjord is separated by a narrow headland from the next Siglufjord, a deep inlet, called Agluistok at present, and covered still on every side with numerous ruins of ancient settlements,[4] among which is remarkable the village of Vog or Vogar about the head of the firth. Its church, the Wegen-Kerke or Voge-Kierche, was under the invocation of St. Olaf, and a portion of its walls is still standing.[5]

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 72, 76; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.;* Crantz, vol. i. p. 245; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 45; cap. x. p. 78.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.*

[3] R. H. Major, The Site of the Lost Colony of Greenland Determined; cf. Archivio Storico Italiano, serie iv. t. ii. p. 389; t. xvi. p. 205.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 79; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 130, Antiq. Amer., p. 410, and Map of Östrebygd.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 45; cap. x. p. 79; cap. xvii. p. 129; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.;* Rafn, in Mémoires des. Antiq., 1845–49; p. 130; Antiq.

Mr. Müller discovered, between Siglufjord and another inlet called Einarsfjord, the ruins of a large house, on the bank of a river which fell at this place to a depth of two hundred feet, for which reason it was named Foss, that is, waterfall. It was a villa of the king of Norway, who had built there also a magnificent church dedicated to St. Nicholas, and had a right of presenting its rectors.[1]

We have already mentioned[2] the lake near by, which abounded in fish brought on by the tide.

Bardson does not mention the next following bays upon whose coasts several ancient ruins have been found. They are, as we sail to the Northwest, Steinesfjord, Thorvalsfjord, and Kollufjord, which latter is separated by a cape from one of the three most important of all Greenland's inlets,—namely, Einarsfjord.[3]

Einarsfjord, also called Einetsfjord and Emestnes Ford, is the same as Linis or Lunesfjord, identified with the modern Igalikko.[4]

Sailing up this firth, we have to our left an arm of the sea named Thorwaldswig, into which projects a small promontory known by the name of Klining,[5] where ancient ruins are to be seen.

Next, on the same side, are the remains of another Scandinavian colony called Gravik, Granevich, Granavig, Grantevig, Granwike.[6]

Amer., p. 282; Moosmüller, S. 71, 72, 76.

[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 130; Moosmüller, S. 72, 76.

[2] Supra, p. 160.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[4] Map of Östrebygd according to Rafn, and his Antiq. Amer., p. 410; Peyrère, p. 90; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.*; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; Mallet, p. 249.

[5] Moosmüller, S. 76; Peyrère, p. 190; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46.

[6] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; Moosmüller, S. 76; Peyrère, p. 190; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.*

Farther and a little deeper in the land stands a magnificent gaard or villa, a property of the cathedral of Gardar and enjoying the appellation of Dalr or Daller, Dans, Daleth.[1]

Higher still up the firth lie many old ruins, among which are those of Hardsteinaberg or Hardsteinabeng, a place once favored with a parish church.[2]

On the eastern side of Einarsfjord are situated extensive birch-woods, pertaining with all the rest of this shore to the cathedral church, whose cattle, both large and small, graze here in summer.[3]

At a dozen of miles up the firth can be seen the remains of a colony named Langanes, whose church was dedicated under tragical circumstances by Arnold, the first resident bishop of Gardar, as we shall notice farther on.[4]

A little north of Langanes Einarsfjord divided into two branches. The eastern seems to have borne the particular name of Ofundinnfjord, at the head of which was located the episcopal see.[5]

It is probable that the cathedral church of Gardar, called sometimes Garda or Gardhs, Górdhum in Icelandic, was erected before the arrival of its first resident bishop. It is said to have been a beautiful structure dedicated to St. Nicholas.[6] Its ruins cover an area of one hundred by one hundred and twenty feet, near the present Kaksiarsuk.[7]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; Peyrère, p. 190; Moosmüller, S. 76; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.*

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 77; cap. xvii. p. 129; Moosmüller, S. 71.

[3] Supra, p. 162; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 61 or *seq.*; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46.

[4] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[5] Moosmüller, S. 73.

[6] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 52; Antiq. Amer., p. 282; Moosmüller, S. 71, 72, 76; Beamish, Discovery, p. 114; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 77; von Spruner, Nordische Reiche, no. 1.

[7] Mallet, p. 249; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 130.

The shores of both branches of northern Einarsfjord are thickly covered with ancient ruins, among which Rafn distinguishes those of another Vik, of Stokkanes, where Tjodhilda, the wife of Eric the Red, built the first Christian chapel in Greenland, and of Gamlabygd or Old Settlement.[1]

To proceed farther, we must once more retrace our course to the mouth of Einarsfjord, where we run on the islet Einarsey or Raymos Hayth, named also Rinsey and Rensoa, "because that on those hills doe runne many Roe Deere or Reyne Deer, which they use to hunt, but not without the bishop's leave." Here also was found the fireproof stone that could be worked and carved into vats and vases of any size.[2]

Farther in the ocean to the West lay Langey, Langoa or Langen,—that is, Long-island,—on which were eight orchards or farms belonging to the cathedral, yet paying tithes to the Hvalsey church.[3] According to the description of Einar Sokkeson, this island had also its own house of worship.[4]

To the Northwest of this island lay one or, rather, several smaller ones named Lambey or Lambeyar, pertaining to Eiriksfjord, and separated from the former by the Langeyar Sound.[5]

Turning from these islands to the coast of the mainland again, we come, just west of the mouth of Einarsfjord and north of Einarsey, to an inlet variously called Hvalseyarfjord, Hualsöarfjörder, and Hralseyarfjord,—the Kakortok of to-day,[6]—on whose border a church existed and where several ruins of old settlements still remain.[1]

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[1] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn; supra, p. 183.

[2] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46; supra, p. 157.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 46 or 47; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Peyrère, p. 190.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xvii. p. 129.

[5] Ibid., cap. vii. p. 49; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[6] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 410.

Sailing on in a northwesterly direction, we may notice from place to place a number of ancient ruins on the shore to our right and several islands to our left, until we reach a small bay "called Swaster Ford, wherein standeth a church called Swaster. This church belongeth to all this sound and to Romse Ford lying next it."[2]

Romse Ford is more generally named Ramstadefjord or Rammastadafjord, and is especially remarkable for its royal villa, known as Henlestate, Hellustad or Hellirstad, or even Thiohyllestadt and Thjodhildastadir,—a name undoubtedly derived from Thjodhilda, wife of Eric the Red.[3]

Eiriksfjord, a wide sound and the most important of Greenland, was, near its mouth, separated from Ramstadefjord by a small tongue of land, and ran, to a great distance, up to the feet of the glaciers. It corresponds to the present firth of Tunnudluarbik or Tunnulliorbik.[4]

On entering Eiriksfjord, the first place we meet to the left is Dyrnes or Dyrnas, also called Diurnes, Dyurenes, and Dewers, where was erected the first parish church of the whole island, and richly endowed with properties extending to and along the strait of Midfjord.[5]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 47; cap. x. p. 75; cap. xvii. p. 129; Moosmüller, S. 73, 76; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[2] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61.

[3] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 47; von Spruner, Nordische Reiche, no. 1; Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn.

[4] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 48; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 131, and Antiq. Amer., p. 410.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 48; von Spruner, Nordische Reiche, no. 1; Peyrère, p. 190; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Moosmüller, S. 73, 77.

Besides those of Dyrnes, a great number of ancient ruins are scattered all along the northern shore of this gulf; in particular on the Tunnudluarbik, to the North of the present Sarpik, Umuksak, Kördluktok, Uttokamiut, and to the South of Kornguk, Iterdlek, Akkulliarärsuk, and Iglorsoarärsuk.[1] The remains of a church have been discovered in this district, near Kaksiärsuk.[2]

The ruins on both sides of the Igalikko firth are not less remarkable for their great extent.[3]

On the northern bank stood the Saltfialtzkirkia, the parish church of Sólarfialls, Solarfiöll, or Solfal,—that is, Sunny Field. The properties of this church lay along the neighboring shore.[4]

Opposite Sólarfialls, on the south side of the gulf, Eric the Red had selected his homestead and built the spacious and magnificent villa of Brattalidha, the capital of Greenland and the residence of its governor and chief justice. It is but natural that there should have been a church in the capital, whose dimensions were comparable to those of a city, if we may judge from its vast ruins discovered by Jörgensen.[5]

Bardson's description, according to the Flatey codex, mentions a church on the Hvalseyarfjord, situate between the mouths of the Einar- and the Eiriksfjords. This church was perhaps the present Kakortok.[6]

At Kakortok have been found the best preserved ruins of any church in ancient Greenland. Was this perhaps the sacred edifice where the representatives of the colonies held their deliberations and made the laws of their country, in front of the altar of the God of wisdom and justice? We have noticed before that there existed such a church in the neighborhood of Brattalidha,[1] which was called Leaden Kerke, Leidharkirkja, Leiders or Leirdals; and to it belonged all the upper shore of the Igalikko inlet to the foot of the mountain Burafiall.[2] Moosmüller supposes[3] that these beautiful ruins, covering, with others in a lower state of preservation, an area of one hundred by one hundred and twenty feet, are the remains of some monastery or of the episcopal residence; but this opinion is both unwarranted and sufficiently disproved.

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[1] Map of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn; Jörgensen, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 14.

[2] Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 100.

[3] Ibid., p. 101.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 48; cap. x. p. 76; cap. xvii. p. 129; Moosmüller, S. 77; Map. of Östrebygd according to C. C. Rafn, and his Antiq. Amer., p. 282.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 49; cap. x. p. 76; cap. xvii. p. 129; Gravier, p. 34; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 282.

[6] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 282, and his Map of Östrebygd.

Having thus noticed the principal ancient places along Eiriksfjord, we shift our sails and come down again to the mouth of the gulf, where we meet with half a dozen small islands, separated from one another by different straits or sounds; the first of which, slightly to the North, is called Fossasund and is a dependency of the cathedral.[4]

The Danish version of Ivar's description states that the two next bays were called Ydrivich or Forther Bay, and Innrivich or Ener Bay, from their relative location; and it is remarked that all the adjacent islands were inhabited and tilled.[5]

Close by, towards the North, lay other firths and bays, named Oredfjord, Meyenfjord, Eyrarfjord, Burgarfjord, and Lodmundarfjord.

Among these the most important was Meyenfjord, also called Meydon Ford, Middle- or Midfjord, and situated to the Northwest of Eiriksfjord, on whose borders was a hamlet by the name of Gardanes, which had a parochial church.[1] On the west side of Midfjord lay the island Eiriksey, memorable through the first winter's sojourn of Eric the Red in Greenland. It is variously called Erics Hought, Herreya, Herrieven or the Lord's island, and was owned by the cathedral and by the church of Dyrnes.[2]

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[1] Supra, p. 208.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 49; Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 433.

[3] S. 193.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 50; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61.

[5] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 50.

At the Northeast of Eiriksey we enter the large and important gulf of Isafjord, in which is situated the present islet of Sennerut, and whose northern shore is almost covered with ancient ruins. There was a church on this inlet,[3] whose rector had charge also of the settlements on Utibliksfjord, the eastern extension of the Isafjord inlet.[4]

The western extension of Isafjord was called Breidifjord, Bredefjord, or Breda Ford. Next to it lay Larmont Ford, and farther still to the Northwest was the last inhabited place of Östrebygd, named Ice Dorpe.[5]

All the colonies, parishes, and churches thus far mentioned were located on the water's edge, within a distance of seventy miles from the sixtieth degree of northern latitude to little past the sixty-first.[6]

West of Ice Dorpe the coast was barren and unhabitable for a distance of twelve Danish leagues or fifty-six English miles. It took a galley with six banks of oars seven days to make this space between Östrebygd and Vestrebygd, and six more days to reach from the first western settlements to the most important inlet of this province, which was Lysufjord, the present Isertok, in the district of Sukkertoppen.[1] On Lysufjord there was a church, in a village called Saudanes, or Sandnes.[2]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 50; cap. x. p. 76; cap. xvii. p. 129; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 282; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Moosmüller, S. 72.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 48; cap. x. p. 76; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; supra, p. 144.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; cap. x. p. 77; cap. xvii. p. 129; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132, and Map of Östrebygd.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132.

[5] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Peyrère, p. 190.

[6] We could not exactly locate or identify several other smaller inlets and places, which belong to the southern province of Greenland. Such are: Tovafjord, Alptafjord, Hornafjord, Hafgrimsfjord, Stradafjord, Dyrafjord, Bergthorfsfjord, Tostafjord, Strandfjord, Solvadal, Melrakkanes, Snowfell, Sandham, Hrakbiarnorey, Lundey, Syllenda.

Near by lay Straumfjord, on the borders of which was erected a church, often called Straumsnes or Strömsnes, and, more generally, Steinsnes or Steines church. Here it was that the missionary bishops of Greenland had established their head-quarters,[3] in the Aglomersok of to-day.[4]

On the neighboring Rangefjord, also called Kagna or Rangnafjord, which corresponds to the present Amaraglik, were erected the gaard and church of Anavik; and farther north, on the gulf of Agnafjord the village and church of Hop, whose jurisdiction extended as far as Baals Revier in the modern district of Godthaab.[5]

Arngrim adds that another church of Vestrebygd was erected on the Anafirth.[6]

These were the principal locations of the Scandinavian colonies in the northern province of Greenland, but some settlers had found their way farther up Davis' Strait. It took twelve men six days to row from Lysufjord to Karlsbudhir, and three more from this place to Biarney or the present island of Disco. Still farther north were situated Eysunes or Esiunes, and Aedanes, which it required a fortnight's voyage to visit.[1]

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[1] De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132, and Antiq. Amer., p. 411; Moosmüller, S. 73.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 75; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 282.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 51–53; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. *seq.* 61; supra, pp. 198, 199.

[4] Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. x. p. 75; cap. xvii. p. 129; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132, and Antiq. Amer., pp. 282, 412; Moosmüller, S. 72.

[6] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xvii. p. 129.

According to Steenstrup, the only ruin in northern Greenland, not of Esquimau origin, of which we have any knowledge, is the so-called "Bear-trap" on Nugsuak Cape, a short distance north of Disco Island.[2]

The uttermost limit of Vestrebygd was the large and high mountain called Himinradz or Himelrachsfiall, and beyond this glacier navigation was insecure at all seasons of the year.[3]

Karlsbudhir, Biarney, Esiunes or Eysunes, and Aedanes properly belonged to what we might call the arctic province of Scandinavian Greenland, designated by the colonists under the name of "Nordhrsetur" or Northern Stations, and to which, in the summer season, they resorted on board their "big ships" for the purpose of hunting and fishing.[4] The most frequented places of this province were on that portion of the main-land coast called Greipar, south of the island Disco, and on this island itself.

The ancient Northmen, as daring as our modern explorers, sailed farther north still, to several localities, among which are known the island "Kingiktorsoak" or Women's Island, situated past Upernavik, which is the northernmost trading place of the present Danish colonies; and "Kroksfjord" or "Kroksfjordarheidi," that is, the Deserts of Krok's Inlets, corresponding to the shores of Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait.[5]

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 73; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vi. p. 36.

[2] Reeves, p. 166, n. 25.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 51.

[4] Beamish, Discovery, p. 125; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132, and Antiq. Amer., p. 413.

[5] Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 132; Moosmüller, S. 197; Beamish, Discovery, p. 125.

The Scandinavian colonists, thus scattered all along the western coast of Greenland, had built churches wherever their settlements formed a kind of agglomeration. If we except St. Thomas's monastery, no traces can be found of religious structures in other parts of the island; nor did we meet with ruins or other evidences of churches built at any particular spot of Greenland's continental province. It is very doubtful whether any titular bishop of Gardar ever visited the colonies of Vinland, nor is it likely that any sailed up to the frozen "Nordhrsetur;" but we know that portions of our continent repeatedly enjoyed the ministrations of Scandinavian priests, and we shall notice soon that Greenland clerics went, if not farther, as far north, at least, as any of their countrymen.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GREENLANDERS' EXPLOITS AND PERVERSION.

THE great distances between the few scattered parishes of Greenland, the hard and only possible mode of travel in open ships and skiffs, the rigors of the climate, and a hundred difficulties attendant upon the inception of a new diocese were sharp thorns in the bright new mitre of the first bishop. To all these material and unavoidable hardships no objections had been made by the chosen prelate; but Arnold had hesitated to accept the proffered honors and dignity, because of the rash and lawless character of the people whom he was requested to govern. He had not been deceived in his sinister anticipations: unjust and cruel deeds of those that should have respected him and obeyed the laws of the country soon made him feel his pectoral cross weigh heavy on his heart.

As soon as Einar Sokkeson had returned home with the valued prize of his important embassy, he inquired all over the colonies after the Norwegian vessel in which Arnbiörn had set out for Greenland at the time that he had himself commenced his return voyage; but Arnbiörn had not arrived, nor were there any tidings of him or his fate until four years later. In the year 1130 a Greenlander, named Sigurd Nialson, went on a fishing voyage to Cape Hvítserk. Meeting with but little success, he and his companions concluded to explore some of the unknown firths of the eastern coasts of Greenland; and in one of these distant inlets they saw a large ship stranded at the mouth of a river, and a jolly-boat near by. The ship had carved figures on it, was well painted, and well equipped for the ocean. On landing, they saw a large hut, and a tent not far away; and, on repeating their visit to the shore the next morning, they saw first a piece of timber with an axe sticking in it, and close by lay the body of a dead man. Proceeding cautiously, they soon discovered another corpse, and then approaching the tent, they raised off its roof, in order to allow the escape of the noxious vapors from the dead bodies which they expected to find within. There, indeed, lay the corpses of Arnbiörn and his companions, together with a considerable quantity of goods.

They placed the ghastly human remains in a boiling cauldron to remove the flesh still adhering to the bones, which were then, with all the goods, carried to the ship; for it was the intention of Sigurd to convey the remains to the cathedral for interment. The ship he presented to the Church for the benefit of the souls of the dead, and the commodities were divided among the captain and his sailors according to the laws of Greenland. The bishop accepted the fine ship and solemnly buried her unfortunate crew.

These tragical events had most fearful consequences. Özsur, Arnbiörn's nephew, having heard of them, left Norway in the year 1131 to claim his uncle's succession from the Greenlanders, and stayed with the bishop of Gardar the following winter. He required the ship from him, and requested his assistance to obtain the chattels from the other detainers. Bishop Arnold refused his demand, alleging that he had taken possession of the property according to the provisions of the laws of Greenland, that he had not acted arbitrarily nor on his own authority, and that, moreover, the whole wreck had belonged to Arnbiörn and to his companions of misfortune, and could not be more appropriately disposed of than for the benefit of their souls. Hearing this, Özsur would not stay with the prelate any longer, and left his presence with threats of revenge.

In the spring of 1132 Özsur preferred his claims at the "Thing," or general assembly of the people, held at Gardar. As soon as the court opened, Einar Sokkeson approached it with a great multitude of men, and said that the Greenlanders would have to expect little justice from the Norwegians in Norway, if the latter should thus carry everything with a high hand even in Greenland. "Here," he added, "we will abide by the laws of this country." The Norwegians, it is stated, were not allowed to plead, and left.

This last remark is evidence either that this ancient account was written by a party prejudiced against Einar and Bishop Arnold, or that the case was so plain and evident to all as not to admit of any formal trial.

Defeated at the people's tribunal Özsur assumed to do justice to himself, or rather to his passion. He went and cut two planks out of the disputed ship, one on each side of the keel, and left for the western colony.

When the bishop heard how the ship had been damaged, he felt greatly provoked, sent for Einar, and reminded him of his oath taken in Norway to defend the rights and emoluments of the Church; and he added that he would hold Einar as a perjured man if nothing was done. Einar, having rather excused Özsur, took a cold leave of the bishop.

While in Vestrebygd the wrathful Norwegian met with two merchant vessels from his country, upon whose crews he prevailed to lend him their assistance and revenge still further the injury offered in his person to all Norwegian subjects, and with them he threateningly returned to Gardar. It was evident that peace could not be kept long. A peaceful religious ceremony soon became the occasion of hostile demonstrations and bloodshed. A church was to be consecrated at the country seat of Langanes on Einarsfjord, at a short distance from Gardar. A great number of Greenlanders had gathered to witness the solemn rite. Özsur, well armed, had also come to Langanes with his Norwegians, and we may conjecture that their attitude was far from being placid, from the fact that a common friend of both parties, Brand Thordarson, went to Özsur and besought him to yield to the prelate, adding that, if he did, the issue would be favorable; but, as matters stood, danger might be apprehended. Yet Özsur refused. Bishop Arnold sang the Mass himself, and, when the whole ceremony was over, walked with Einar and other friends to the house to partake of a banquet. When they came to the door of the hall, Einar turned suddenly back from the crowd, and, returning alone to the church-yard, he took an axe from the hand of a man who had assisted at Mass, and proceeded to the south side of the church, where Brand Thordarson stood with Özsur, who was leaning upon his axe. Einar struck the latter a fatal blow, and went as suddenly back to the house where the feast was ready. He went to the table and took a seat opposite the bishop, but spoke not a word. Then came in Brand Thordarson, who went up to the prelate and said, "Hast thou heard aught new, my lord?" The bishop replied, "I have heard nothing, but hast thou?" "There is one that has fallen outside and needs thy blessing," quoth Brand. "Who has done this?" the bishop exclaimed, "and to whom?" Brand answered, that they were near him who could tell all. "Hast thou, Einar, caused the death of Özsur?" demanded Arnold. He answered, "Truly, I did so." The bishop observed, says the saga, "Such deeds are, indeed, evil, but this one may be excused." Brand then besought that the body might be washed and have a Christian burial; but the bishop said there was time enough for that. They still continued at table, and heeded little more of the matter, nor would the prelate give orders for singing over the dead body, till Einar himself begged that it might be done. Then the bishop said, "It were but just that Özsur's body should not be buried near the church; but for thy prayer, Einar, he shall be buried near this church of Langanes, for it has no priest attached to it."

Bishop Arnold is here represented in a most unfavorable light, and severe judgments have been rendered against his character and memory; but the question remains, to which party the reporter belonged. The reader has, moreover, noticed already that Özsur was unjust and defying the laws and the sentence of the whole country; and the sequel proves that he, with his men, was justly considered as dangerous to a peaceable community. Smaller reasons than these justified homicide among the uncouth and violent descendants of a hard-hearted piratical nation.

Özsur's companions, driven to flight by the sudden fall of their leader, soon rose to avenge his death. They first appealed to the supreme court for justice against Einar. When both parties were before the people's general assembly, the old Sokke, Einar's father, attempted to compromise the matter, offering a pecuniary compensation, but the proposition was responded to by the murder of Einar on the spot. A confused affray instantly ensued, in which several lives were lost on both sides. Sokke Thorerson proposed to attack the three ships of the Norwegians, but was persuaded by Hall, a discreet old farmer, to lay aside his purpose and rather enter into a treaty with the murderers of his son. Özsur's party having lost one more man than the Greenlanders, Sokke paid a sum of money to make up the difference, on condition that the intruders should immediately weigh anchor and leave the country to return no more. Such was the umpire's award, to which both parties submitted with reluctance.

The story is told at length by Torfæus, but this brief abstract will be sufficient to illustrate the manners and government of the old Norwegians in Greenland.[1]

Bishop Arnold was not unfortunate enough in having such a people to govern; gratuitous remarks must still be added to the narrative of an unfriendly reporter, in order to charge his memory with the crimes of subjects and strangers.—He was a missionary![2]

We know that the prelate became discouraged at the broils and bloody scenes of his adopted country, yet it is stated that he held out for twenty years altogether in Greenland, and it is reasonably presumed that the church of Langanes was not the only one which he consecrated during that time. Few particulars of his ministry have been recorded, but there is another event which took place during his reign and deserves well our attention. This was a bold exploration of Greenland's northern tracts.

After the Scandinavian colonists had established their settlements and trading-posts on the American continent, as far south as the fortieth degree and probably farther, they steered their good ships up Davis'

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxvii., xxviii., xxix. p. 222; *seq.;* Thorleif Gudmundson Repp, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 81, *seq.;* Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 252, *seq.*

[2] Cf. Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 255.

Strait and Baffin's Bay in quest of whales, walrus, and bears, reaching seventy-two degrees and fifty-five minutes of northern latitude, past the modern post of Upernavik, and as far as Tessuisak, the northernmost house of the earth to-day.

The sagas give no account of this daring expedition, but the courageous navigators, justly proud of their achievement, took care to preserve its memory.

In the year 1824 a rune-stone was found on the summit of a rocky elevation of the islet "Kingiktorsoak" by a Greenlander named Pelinut. The Moravian minister Kragh gave notice of it to the learned world, and Captain Graah deposited it in the rich Museum of the Northern Antiquaries. Rask and Magnussen deciphered the inscription and read it as follows: "Erlingr Sigvatson and Bjarne Thordson and Endride Oddson, on Saturday before triumph day, have erected these bourns and cleared ground, MCXXXV."[1] Dr. Gislius Brynjulvson, a minister of the church of Holar in Iceland, known for his Essay on Runology, gave, independently of the learned of Copenhagen, the same interpretation.[2] In 1833 von Humboldt wrote that doubts had been expressed by runic scholars as to the signification of the characters representing the date;[3] but a few years later he stated that Brynjulvson and Graah had, from comparison with other monuments, established that the stone of Kingiktorsoak certainly belonged to the eleventh or to the twelfth century. Since that time several inscriptions have been discovered at Egegeit, Upernavik, and on the Igalikko that afford important points of comparison with that of

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[1] Gravier, pp. 151, 152; von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 271, and Examen, t. ii. p. 97; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 354; Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 433; Peschel, Zeitalter, S. 83; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. pp. 337, 409.

[2] MS. Antiquariske Annaler, Bd. iv. S. 309, ap. Moosmüller, S. 193.

[3] Examen, t. ii. p. 97.

Women's Island; and there is no doubt any longer that the Greenlanders were close to the seventy-third degree of latitude on their western coast in the year 1135.[1] Triumph day, the "Gagndag" of the inscription, was celebrated on the 21st of April. According to the chronological Hand-calendar of Steinbeck[2] the 20th of April, 1135, fell, indeed, on a Saturday.[3]

This and similar glorious feats of navigation, not inferior to the memorable third polar expedition of John Davis in the year 1587, may, by some historians, be considered as a compensation for the lawless conduct of the Greenland colonists of the time; but they were not appreciated as such by their bishop. Arnold, who had lost his main support in the person of Einar Sokkeson, felt every day his burdens grow heavier and at last unbearable. He resigned the episcopal see of Gardar and went back to his native country, with the intention of returning to Greenland no more; in what year is uncertain. His long-suffering and other virtues were afterwards rewarded by his appointment as first bishop again of a diocese erected, it seems, for him in the kingdom of Norway.[4]

This transfer of Bishop Arnold is connected with important events which, although they took place in Norway, greatly affected the religious affairs of Greenland, and, in the course of time, exercised considerable influence upon its social and political condition.

We have observed already that, for a number of years, there existed some confusion and interference of jurisdiction between the Scandinavian archbishop of Lund and the German metropolitan of Hamburg-Bremen.[5]

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[1] Gravier, p. 153.

[2] S. 33.

[3] Moosmüller, S. 193.

[4] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. i. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 46; Gronl. Ant., cap. xxix. p. 239; Moosmüller, S. 59.

[5] Supra, p. 344.

In order to put an end to all consequent disturbances and uncertainties, as well as to other evils that were known to exist in Scandinavian churches, Pope Eugene III. appointed in the year 1148, as his special delegate, Nicholas Brecksparre, Breckesparre, or Breakspear, born at St. Albans in England, cardinal-bishop of Albano at the time, and afterwards exalted to the Apostolic See under the name of Adrian IV.[1] The papal envoy spared no pains to instruct the rude inhabitants and to gain souls to Almighty God. One of his first endeavors was to convene a provincial council and to erect, for the kingdom of Norway and its colonies, the cathedral of Drontheim—Throndum, Trudum, also called Nidaros or Nidrosia—into a metropolitan church, to which he subjected the diocese of Bergen, Stavanger, Osloe (Oesel or Christiania of to-day), and Hamar or Hammeren in Norway, those of the Orkneys, of the Hebrides, of the Faroes, the sees of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland, and that of Gardar in Greenland.[2]

This erection of Drontheim into an archiepiscopal see took place in the year 1152, and Bishop John Birgisson, promoted from the see of Stavangar, was invested with the pallium by the Apostolic delegate.[3]

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[1] Duchesne, t. ii. p. 388, from the contemporary card. Boson; Joan. Isacius Pontanus, lib. v. p. 222; Torfæus; Moosmüller, S. 59; Aa. passim.

[2] Baronius, t. xix., ad an. 1148, ¶ 40, p. 35; Joan. Isacius Pontanus, lib. v. p. 222; see Document LVIII.

[3] See Document LVIII.; Beauvois, Origines, p. 30; Moosmüller, S. 60; Langebek, t. iii. p. 57. Baronius refers the whole legation to the year 1148. Cf. Gams, p. 335, who erroneously calls Reidar the first archbishop.

Baronius relates, after John Olaus (t. xix. p. 35, ad an. 1148, ¶ 40) that the Delegate Nicholas also intended to establish the ecclesiastical province of Sweden, and for this purpose celebrated a council at the episcopal city of Linkoping; but the bishops could not agree either on the city or on the person to receive the honors of a regular archdiocese. Frustrated in his object, the delegate left, after having consecrated as bishop of Upsala the martyr St. Henry, the apostle and patron-saint of Finnland. Sweden proper had at the time

During the month of November, 1154, Anastasius IV. confirmed the action of his predecessor's delegate, establishing Drontheim as the spiritual capital of Norway and of all its colonies; granted to Archbishop John the use of the pallium, and gravely admonished him to be a model for all his inferiors, especially of those virtues which belong to the wearing of the archiepiscopal insignia. The Roman Pontiffs Alexander III., Clement III., and, on the 13th of February, 1205, Innocent III., added again and again the weight of their authority, to give renewed strength to the jurisdiction of the Norwegian metropolitan. Their diplomas are almost identical in form. We give, as Document LVIII., that of Innocent III., with a few words from the bull of Anastasius IV., within brackets, to complete or correct the registry of the former.

Other documents to the same effect are of Gregory IX., of the year 1237,[1] and of Innocent IV., of 1253.[2]

With the exception of the diocese of the Hebrides or Sudhrey and Man, the constitution of the Norwegian ecclesiastical province remained unchanged, until the time that it was drowned in the blood of its faithful bishops and priests during the sixteenth century.[3]

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of Amund, son of Olaf Schotkonung, received an archbishop from Poland, who had already contended for precedence with those of Lund and of Bremen, while the people of the southern province, Gothia, would rather obey the archbishop of Bremen than the one of Upsala. Nicholas, therefore, deposited the pallium or metropolitan insignia with the archbishop of Lund, to be given to the Swedish bishop upon whom the others might afterwards agree; but no prelate of that kingdom seems to have been willing to accept them at the hands of Eskill of Lund. Several years elapsed before the archdiocese of Upsala was lawfully established by Pope Alexander III., and the archbishop of Lund was until then held in Rome as the primate of Sweden. (Jaffé, Loewenfeld, vol. ii. p. 136, no. 10454.)

[1] Potthast, vol. i. p. 879, May 16, 1237.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 1226, February 25, 1253.

[3] Archivium S. Consistorii Vaticanum, 1492–1523, fo. 296vo; Cooley, Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 210. . . . Hialtland or the Shetlands formed

The Norwegian dioceses of Drontheim, Bergen, and Osloe had been erected during the eleventh century, and that of Stavanger in the beginning of the twelfth. The one of Hamar was established by the Apostolic delegate in the year 1152,[1] when Drontheim was elevated to the dignity of a metropolis. Arnold, the former bishop of Gardar, was present on the solemn occasion, and his reasons for deserting his distant see were accepted also by the papal envoy, who placed him at the head of the new bishopric in his native country.[2] It is not known how long he governed his second diocese. We find it stated that he was born on the 8th of January and died on the 20th of May, but the years are not mentioned. He must, however, have died before 1164, in which year Orm, his successor, occupied already the see of Hamar.[3]

The bishopric of Gardar, deprived of a supreme pastor by the resignation and departure of Arnold, was confided to Jonas or John I., surnamed Knut or Kut and, by the Flatey Codex, Kaut or Cat.[4] According to the Ancient Annals of Iceland and, says Torfæus, according to all annals,[5] John Knut was consecrated bishop of Gardar in the year 1150, and subsequent authors generally admit this date.[6] Björn of Skardza gives, however, the year 1149; and Arngrim, 1156,

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an archdeanery, pertaining to the diocese of the Orkneys. (Spruner-Menke, Handatlas, Map No. 65.)

[1] Not in 1150, as asserted in Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques 1894; Sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*

[2] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. i. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 46; Gronl. Ant., cap. xxix. p. 239; cap. xxx. p. 244; Crantz, vol. i. p. 252; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Langebek, t. ii. p. 504, n. f; t. iii. p. 57; Moosmüller, S. 60.

[3] Langebek, t. ii. p. 504, n. f; Gams, Series Episcoporum, p. 334.

[4] Cod. Flat., col. 850, ap. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 242; Langebek, t. iii. pp. 56, 138, from Annales Islandorum Regii, where John I. is surnamed Congius; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Gravier, p. 237; Moosmüller, S. 61; alii.

[5] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 242.

[6] In particular, Gams, p. 334.

which last date ought to be accepted as the correct one, says Torfæus in his "Addenda,"[1] because, he adds, his successor could not be appointed as long as Arnold was bishop of Gardar. This remark is correct, but we observed already that Arnold definitely left Greenland sometime before his appointment to Hamar; and we may readily admit that his resignation was lawfully accepted by his metropolitan before it was by the apostolic delegate in the year 1152.

However this may be, it is stated by all ancient records that John I. faithfully labored in Greenland for many years, dying in 1187 at his post of suffering and toil.[2]

The Flatey Codex inserts in the list of the bishops of Gardar, between John I. and John II., the names of Henry and of Harald, but without specifying for them any particular time; while, when we observe the well-known dates of the demise of John I. and of the accession of John II., we find no space left for the two pretended intermediate bishops.[3] We suppose that the mistake was the result of a confused remembrance of Greenland's two missionary bishops, Albert and Henry or Eric.

The third bishop of Gardar was John Arnson[4] or John II., surnamed Smyrill—*i.e.*, the Hawk—and Sverrersfostre. Sagas and later historians unanimously place his consecration in the year 1188,[5] and it is highly probable that the ceremonies took place in Scandinavia. It was likely on his first voyage to Greenland that he stopped for a while with the bishops of Iceland, where he is reported to have been in the year 1189 with Thorlak of Skalholt and Brand of Holar.[1] Bishop John Arnson visited Iceland again in the years 1202 and 1203, landing in Östfjord, where he was met by Gudmund, bishop of Holar, and Paul, bishop of Skalholt.[2]

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[1] Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 267.

[2] Annales Islandorum Regii, ap. Torfæum, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244, and Langebek, t. iii. p. 67; Aa. passim.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 242; Moosmüller, S. 61, was under the influence of some distraction, when reading Torfason's statement: "Inter hunc Kauttum et Jonem II., Henricum et Haraldum inserit."

[4] We consider as incorrect the solitary statement,—namely, that a certain Alarsius was bishop of Gardar in A.D. 1178,—*i.e.*, at the time that John Knut was occupying the Greenland episcopal see.—Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894; sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*

[5] Langebek, t. iii. pp. 68, 138; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Beauvois, Origines, p. 25; Gravier, p. 237; Moosmüller, S. 62; Gams, p. 334.

The Saga of Bishop Paul of Skalholt says, "In Bishop Paul's days came Bishop John from Greenland, and he staid for the winter in the Eastfiord in Iceland. But in the time of the long fast [in Lent] he travelled to Skalholt, there to meet with Bishop Paul, and he arrived there on Maundy Thursday; and the two bishops consecrated on that day much holy chrism, and had together many confidential and learned conversations."[3]

These are the only incidents of the life of Bishop John II. Smyrill recorded in the histories that have come down to us, and the name of only one of his priests has been preserved, thanks to the terrible fate that befell him. In the year 1188 the priest Ingemund, who had arrived in Norway from England the year before, sailed for Eiriksfjord, in Greenland. No tidings of his arrival in the island were ever received; but, fourteen years after, the ship in which this zealous priest went on his heroic apostolate, was found in an uninhabited part of the country, probably on the east coast, which was also explored at the time. Beside the ship lay the corpses of Ingemund and his six companions in a cleft of the rock. Let the ancient saga speak of this touching incident, in which God rewarded even in this world the faith and charity of this martyr of religion:

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[1] Langebek, t. iii. p. 68; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 267, from Annales Islandorum Regii.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244; Langebek, t. iii. p. 73, from Annales Islandorum Regii; Moosmüller, S. 62; Beauvois, Origines, p. 25.

[3] Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 255, who badly confounds the history of Bishops John I. and John II.

" . . . Among these was the priest Ingemund. His body was whole and entire, after fourteen years; but the skeletons of the six men lay around him. Wax was also found by his side, and runes thereon, telling of their hard fate and approaching death. But it seemed to men a great sign that God had been so well contented with the priest Ingemund's life and behavior that his body should have so long lain incorrupt."[1]

Another remarkable event took place in Greenland during the administration of Bishop John Smyrill. As we intimated just now, we know from a very ancient saga that, in the year 1194, the eastern coast of Greenland was visited and explored as far north as seventy-three degrees and sixteen minutes of latitude.—To this tract of country was given the name of Svalbard, and it corresponds to Scoresby Land of to-day.[2]

It is not said whether any attempt at settlement was made, but it may be well to recall to mind that Scoresby has found, besides some grassy spots, the remains of human habitations on this coast as high as the seventieth degree.[3] Vivier de Saint Martin makes another remark which must be noticed here. "If anything," he says, "may favor the opinion of those who place the ancient Östrebygd on the eastern coast of Greenland, it is the fact observed by Captain Graah, that the people found on this coast resemble better the Scandinavians than the Esquimaux. They are," he says, "neither flat-headed nor thickset, and have no stout limbs like the latter; they nearly all are above the average height, with head, features, and expression like those of Europeans. Their body is rather thin than fleshy, but nervous and well proportioned and seemingly strong. They are also less indolent than the population of the western coast. Their women and children are of a complexion as neat and fair as that of the Europeans, and many among them have hair of a chestnut color, as none others of the Greenland natives possess. For all the rest, as language, habits, and religious ideas, they are as all other Greenlanders." It is not unlikely that these people, so different from all other American aborigines, were the descendants of some eastern Esquimau tribe and of the Scandinavians, who, during the reign of John Smyrill, in 1194 and following years, explored and probably settled along some of the inlets of eastern Greenland, but were soon after abandoned and forgotten.[1]

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[1] Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 260.

[2] Alex. von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 458, n. 28.

[3] Supra, p. 150.

So far as records show, there was at no time any church or benefice in Greenland tributary to the see of Rome; and, in fact, there is but one religious institution in the whole province of Drontheim known to have paid yearly dues or census to the papal treasury,—namely, St. Columba's abbey on the island Iona; but it is stated that every family of Norway and of its colonies paid one penny of that country's money as St. Peter's Pence.[2] It was perhaps during the administration of John Arnson that this contribution was made the first time. We find, at least, that on the 11th of February, 1205, Pope Innocent III. wrote to the archbishop of Drontheim, enjoining upon him the collection of St. Peter's Pence in all his province.[3]

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[1] Vivier de Saint Martin, art. Groenland: Historique.

[2] See Document XXXVII., *a*.

[3] Ibid., *b*.

The bishop of Gardar, John II., died in the year 1209.[1]

The Greenland diocese remained vacant until 1212, when Helgius or Helgo, son of Augmund Hrappakoll, was consecrated in Drontheim by Archbishop Thorer.[2] Helgius arrived in Greenland the same year, and, besides the great science of saving their souls, he taught his people the knowledge of making from black berries,[3] like lentils in size, a sort of wine, which in color resembled that of the Canary Islands.[4] It is also stated of him that he made a voyage to Iceland.[5]

Pope Innocent III. had decreed in the general council of Lateran in A.D. 1215 that, after two years, a new crusade should be undertaken for the liberation of the Holy Land from the yoke of the Turks, and that the clerics of all Christianity should pay one-twentieth of their income for that purpose. Andrew, king of Hungary, had with great difficulty succeeded in 1217 in leading an army into Egypt, but had already left his confederates and returned home, when, in the following year, a considerable fleet of Germans, Belgians, Hollanders, Frisons, and Scandinavians landed in Egypt, and so strengthened the remainder of the Christian army that it became possible to take, after gallant fights, the fortress of Damietta, and to advance upon Cairo; but, overtaken by the waters of the Nile, they were in the year 1221 compelled to retire into Palestine. There are several evidences to prove that in all Christendom no nation was more generous and steadfast than the Northmen in carrying on the pious undertaking for a long time.[1]

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[1] Langebek, t. iii. p. 76, from Annales Islandorum Regii, and p. 138; Gams, p. 334.

[2] Langebek, t. iii. p. 78; Messenius, Scandia Illustrata, ap. Moosmüller, S. 62; Beauvois, Origines, p. 25; Gravier, p. 137; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[3] Probably black currants, which thrive at high latitudes.

[4] Langebek, t. iii. p. 78; Torfæus Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 267, ref. to Arngrim Jonas and Theodore Thorlak.

[5] Landnámabók, Appendix, ap. Langebek, t. iii. p. 78, n. y.

Gravier,[2] probably misled by Riant, gives it as "a positive fact, well established by authentic documents, that this Crusade was also preached on the American continent." We do not believe the fact, although it may be possible; but we have no doubt that Bishop Helgius and his clergy of Greenland paid the taxes imposed by the council of Lateran and promoted the holy expedition, because it is well known that Pope Gregory III. wrote on the 4th of November, 1226, to Peter de Husastadis, archbishop of Drontheim, enjoining upon him the duty of preaching the Crusade in all his province, granting him faculty to absolve from the crime of assault upon clergymen all who should be willing to embark in the expedition.[3] And that these orders were not confined to the kingdom of Norway, but to be executed also in the suffragan dioceses scattered in the ocean, is manifest from another letter of the previous day from the same Pontiff to Nicholas, archdeacon of "Hialtland" or the Shetlands. By this letter the vicar-general of the Orkneys for the Shetland Islands received orders to faithfully collect all the ecclesiastical taxes within his jurisdiction and to remit them to Skullo, a duke of Norway, who had resolved to rig a vessel for the Crusade and to transport free of charge all who were willing to go and fight for the liberation of the Holy Land. It is added in the same document that the twentieth part of the revenues of all the suffragan dioceses of Drontheim should have the same destination.[4]

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[1] Wouters, t. ii. pp. 268, 270; Messenius; alii.

[2] P. 177.

[3] Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vol. i. p. 8, no. 10; see Document XXXVII., *c*, note.

[4] See Document XXXVII., *c*.

That some Northmen of our continent may have fought for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre is not impossible, since we find it recorded that the Scandinavians commenced to take an active part in the Crusades in the year 1096,[1] when, from all appearances, their colonies on our coast were more numerous and powerful than in later times; but we could not find the slightest evidence allowing us to state this as a fact.

Information in regard to the history of Bishop Helgius is equally deficient, yet we know that he died in the year 1230.[2]

The "faithful saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work,"[3] seems to have been particularly true in regard to the diocese of Greenland at the time of Helgius's demise, for it lasted four years before a successor could be found. Nicholas was consecrated the fifth bishop of Gardar in the year 1234[4] by Sigurd Sim, archbishop of Drontheim; but he was little anxious to take possession of his honorable see, not departing for Greenland until the year 1239.[5]

Nor was Gardar, indeed, a desirable place for a bishop. Both the moral and the material condition of its people and clergy were in a pitiful plight. Maurer[6] is very severe on the clergymen of the North, although he acknowledges that "it is difficult to give a correct description of the religious life in Iceland,"—and the same may be said of Greenland,—"because in the historical sources we find but a few scattered reports on that subject."[1] It cannot be denied, however, that grave abuses existed during the first half of the thirteenth century in the ecclesiastical province of Drontheim; and probably more in Greenland than in any other of its suffragan dioceses, since its inhabitants, less in contact with the more polished nations of Europe, had also less brought under control the strong passions of their pagan ancestors, while their seafaring life was little calculated to encourage their religious practice and consequent morality.

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[1] Langebek, t. iii. p. 48.

[2] Ibid., p. 88; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244; Gams, p. 334.

[3] I. Tim. iii. 1.

[4] Not in 1246, nor 1236, which latter was probably meant by the Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*

[5] Annales Islandorum Regii, ap. Langebek, t. iii. p. 91: "1234: Nicolaus Gronlandorum Episcopus consecratus," and p. 93: "1239: Nicolaus Episcopus in Gronlandiam abiit;" Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244: "1234: Nicolaus Episcopus Gronlandiæ ordinatur;" "1239: Episcopus Nicolaus transit in Gronlandiam;" Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Gams, p. 334; "1234: consecratus Nicolaus; 1239, intrat.;" Moosmüller, S. 62, mistakes when he supposes that Nicholas's voyage in the year 1239 was a return trip to Greenland; Gravier, p. 237.

[6] S. 95 and passim.

The following letter of Gregory IX. to Sigurd, archbishop of Drontheim, dated May 16, 1237, gives us a fair idea of both the evil and of its remedy:

"It was in your name laid before Us that, both in the diocese and in the province of Drontheim, there has grown up the habit of a detestable abuse,—namely, that priests living there contract marriages and behave as married lay people. And though, in accordance with the duties of your office, you have taken pains to strictly forbid it, many still, trying to find frivolous excuses of their sins, allege that the practice had been allowed by our predecessor, Pope Adrian of blessed memory, bishop of Albano at the time, while he was a papal delegate in Norway; although they can show no document of his on this subject. Moreover, preferring rather to perish than to obey, they pretend to be justified by long-lasting custom. Now, therefore, as the length of time does rather increase than diminish the sin, We order that, if the facts be as represented, you should endeavor to extirpate this abuse, and apply the ecclesiastical censures to the rebellious if any there be. Given at Viterbo on the 17th before the calends of June in the year eleven."[1]

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[1] Maurer, S. 262: "Von dem Kirchlichen Leben auf der Insel hält es schwer ein einigermassen genügendes Bild zu geben, da sich in den Quellen nur ganz vereinzelte Zeugnisse über dasselbe finden."

The word of the Scripture, "Sin maketh nations miserable,"[2] was fulfilled, also, in Greenland; there, also, individual suffering and public disgrace followed in the train of moral degeneracy. If perhaps the necessaries of life were not deficient, the most common luxuries were altogether wanting, as we may judge from the following curious letter, in which the diocese of Gardar is not obscurely signified.

Sigurd, archbishop of Drontheim, had, strangely enough, proposed to the Sovereign Pontiff some questions, to which the Father and Teacher of all churches, always faithful to divine doctrine and law, answers in this manner, on the 11th of May, 1237:

"Gregory IX. to Sigurd, archbishop of Drontheim, etc. You state, beloved brother, that, in some churches of your suffragans, it is impossible to have the Holy Eucharist because of the scarcity of wheat, and that wine can never or hardly ever be had in those countries; and you ask whether it is allowed to deceive the people with some simulation of piety, and distribute to them mere oblations made of some other substance, and give them beer or another beverage, instead of wine. To this We answer that by no means can you do either one thing or the other, because visible bread of wheat and wine of grapes, consecrated through the ministry of the priest by the word of the Creator, must needs be the elements of this Sacrament, which, beyond a doubt, truly contains his flesh and blood. Bread simply blest may, however, be given to the people, according to a custom of some other countries. Given at Viterbo on the 5th before the ides of May in the eleventh year of our pontificate."[1]

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[1] See Document LIX.

[2] Prov. xiv. 34.

This deficiency of the small quantity of bread and wine required for divine service is for a casual observer sufficient evidence of the acts of rigorous abstinence which the Greenlanders of that time were compelled to perform. Bishop Nicholas could hardly fare better than others; and, besides, he had also to endure the many mortifications caused him by the conduct of his diocesans and probably by some of his priests. His patience and life lasted but one year after his arrival in Gardar.[2]

The lack of the most common European articles of food and drink in the distant dioceses of the Norwegian province leads us further to conclude that the naval intercourse and commerce between Iceland and Greenland and their mother-country had already considerably diminished by this time, and we may well presume that the want of timely information and of communication with the metropolitan see were partially the cause of the long vacancies of the cathedral of Gardar. It was no less than six years before the successor of Bishop Nicholas was appointed.

Olaf or Olaus was consecrated bishop of Gardar in the year 1246 by Archbishop Sigurd of Drontheim,[3] and not by Gellius Sorler, who was elected in 1452,[4] nor by Einar in the year 1263, as Lyschander erroneously asserts.[1] He left for the field of his labors during the next following year, 1247.[2]

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[1] See Document LX.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 245; Gams, p. 334; Moosmüller, S. 63; Gravier, p. 237. Langebek, t. iii. p. 95, reports his death in 1242, two years later.

[3] Langebek, t. iii. p. 96; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244; Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 256; Gravier, p. 237; Crantz, vol. i. p. 252.

[4] Gams, p. 335.

Events of the highest importance and most injurious to the honor and welfare of Greenland took place during the reign of this bishop, but they were the unavoidable consequence of the behavior of its people since quite a length of time.

We have noticed that private morality was low; and, already since the end of the previous century, civil order had constantly grown less. The rich gathered around themselves their beneficiaries and workmen, whom they formed into daring bands and factions, and under whose protection they did with impunity defy the law and act as supreme lords. Thus was Iceland at the time actually divided among thirty-nine local masters, not to say hostile governments.[3] Already a hundred years before this the supreme court of Greenland had been turned into a haunt of riot and murder. Intestine strife and sedition and the most unbridled licentiousness in their wake were making sad havoc of all laws human and divine.[4] "Some authors relate," says Sveinbjörnson,[5] "that Cardinal William, who was sent to crown Hacon king of Norway in the year 1247, advised that monarch to reduce under his sceptre the distant Scandinavian republics, because it was not customary with Christian nations to live independent of any king or prince; but I consider this," he adds, "as a shrewd invention of Hacon, who had long before resolved to enslave the colonies; for the cardinal should not have been shocked at the aristocratic government of Iceland, after he had seen several republics flourish in Italy itself." "We should not wonder, however," Torfæus says,[1] "if he expressed the opinion that it was absolutely necessary to bring them under the strong authority of one man to restore quiet and peace."

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 244; Hist. Rerum Norveg., lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 367; Moosmüller, S. 63.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 247; Hist. Rerum Norveg., lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 368; Langebek, t. iii. p. 97; Annales Islandorum Regii; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 269.

[3] Th. Sveinbjörnson, pp. i, ii.

[4] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 251.

[5] Introduction, p. iv.

The Church has, indeed, often encouraged faithful temporal princes to wage war on barbarism, lawlessness, and anarchy; but she never opposed any form of government able to promote order, morality, and general welfare. The greatest Christian philosophers consider monarchy tempered with democracy as the most perfect system of a State's polity; and the government of the Church herself would hardly differ from republican institutions, were it not for the difference of duration of pontifical and of presidential power, the one lasting a term of years, the other being for the term of life. No wonder, therefore, if to-day Leo XIII. so openly manifests his feelings of special affection towards our own great republic.

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[1] Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 251.

CHAPTER XIX.

GREENLAND UNDER NORWEGIAN SWAY.

It had been for some time already the policy of the Norwegian kings to win the Icelanders by favors, privileges, and honors; while, the better to attain their aim, they were sowing more division among them. The colonists had, moreover, slowly been accustomed to submit to Norwegian rule, by obeying, so far as they did obey, their metropolitan of Drontheim and their bishops, many of whom were Norwegian citizens. The contemporary Icelandic historian, Sturla Thordson, testifies that the submission of Iceland to Norway commenced as early as the year 1251 and 1254, the most patriotic and law-abiding class of people being the first to feel the need of foreign protection. Hacon had now a second time despatched embassadors to Iceland to formally propose easy and honorable conditions of reunion with the mother country, and he finally saw his wishes fulfilled in the years 1261 and 1262, when he received the submission of all the Icelandic districts, with the exception only of the eastern quarter, which eventually surrendered also to Norway in 1264, after Hacon had fallen in his expedition against Scotland. Thus ended an American proud and independent State which had been flourishing at one time, but had now come to the very brink of anarchy, destroyed in its social life by the few powerful men who had ruined its morals and popular welfare. Iceland, as a nation, died not on a glorious battle-field, but on a sick-bed; its people, three hundred and ninety years after their ancestors had exiled themselves to preserve the boon of independence and liberty, now voluntarily submitted to the supreme authority of a successor of the once odious tyrant. They tried, it is true, to save some of their national institutions and privileges, and drove the shameful bargain at fair conditions, if these had been kept; but despotism from above soon took the place of that from below, and ere long Iceland became like a neglected field whose owner is anxious only to collect its scanty spontaneous produce.[1]

Greenland, which had rivalled its sister-republic in private and social errors, amply shared in Iceland's doom; it also lost its liberty and former glories, its power and riches, and finally its people's very existence and life.

The king of Norway, Hacon, from the beginning of his reign observed in Greenland the same mild and crafty policy which he followed in Iceland. It is easily understood that he urgently requested Olaf, the new bishop of Gardar, to make use of his influence in order to bring about the submission of the island to the crown of Norway.[2] Whether Olaf promised to do so[3] is certainly doubtful, and it is not likely that he succeeded in such endeavors, if he made any; for no progress seems to have been made in this important concern until the king despatched three special envoys to Greenland in the year 1257,—namely, Oddo of Sioltis, Paul Magnusson, and Leif, surnamed Knarrarleif from the ship in which they sailed. For four successive years these men employed all their energies and skill to persuade the Greenlanders, and, finally, in

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[1] Th. Sveinbjörnson, Introduction to Hin forna Lögbók Islendinga, pp. iv, v; Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 301; Hughes, Storia della Geografia, p. 31; Aa. passim.

[2] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 251; Gravier, p. 177.

[3] Gaffarel, Histoire, vol. i. p. 334.

1261, they returned to Norway with the great tidings that the colonists had consented to pay tribute to the Norwegian king, and had, moreover, agreed to remit to him all the fines imposed for the commission of murder, whether by Norwegians or Greenlanders, in any part of the island, even though it should be directly under the Pole. All this is strikingly recorded by the contemporary Sturla Thordson.[1]

Thus were in the same year the two largest islands of the New World reduced to the humiliating condition of mere provinces of a small European country. Hacon sent out other deputies to confirm the compact with Iceland and Greenland, which, from the days of King Magnus, have continued to belong to the Scandinavian "Mensa regis" or royal treasury of Norway and Denmark.[2]

This quiet political revolution was not without important consequences upon religious affairs in the two former republics, and their bishops found it useful and proper to consult together on the course to be taken under the novel circumstances.

The following year, therefore, in 1262, Olaf of Gardar sailed to Iceland, landing at Herdisarvik,[3] and the next summer he assisted at the island's general assembly or Althing, together with Sigurd, bishop of Skalholt, and Brand, bishop of Holar.[4] We know that, at the accession of King Magnus, Hacon's son, the bishop of Gardar sailed to Norway in the year 1264; but it is doubtful whether he set out from Iceland, or had returned to Greenland first.[1] Both business and recreation detained him several years in Europe.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 246; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. iv. cap. xlv. p. 290; Rafn, in Mémoires des Antiq., 1845-49, p. 127; Gravier, p. 37; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[2] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 367.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 247; Langebek, t. iii. p. 104; Moosmüller, S. 63.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 268; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 368.

During his absence some of his priests, who likely were in the habit of following their countrymen on their hunting and fishing excursions to the Nordhrsetur of Greipar and Kroksfjordarheidi, conducted in the year 1266 an exploring expedition to more arctic regions. The account is preserved in a letter written by Halldor, a Greenland priest, and sent to another, named Arnald, who was born and had labored on the island, but had now become a chaplain of King Magnus Lagabaeter. The letter was carried to its destination in the year 1271 by the captain of the vessel which had brought back to Greenland its bishop, Olaf, as we shall notice soon.[2]

The letter tells that, in the same year in which Arnald had departed, the Greenlanders had sailed farther north than they had been used to do, but had found no traces of the Skraelings, except in the wilderness of Kroksfjord; whence the opinion that the aborigines lived at no great distance farther north. The priests had, therefore, afterwards organized an expedition to search the more northern regions.

Halldor relates that the adventurers sailed out of Kroksfjord in an open boat, and thence in a northerly direction to where the high mountains were replaced by low hills. But then the weather grew thick and dark, and they were forced to let their craft drive before the wind. When the weather cleared off they saw a great number of islands and a multitude of whales, seals, and bears. They made their way into the inner portion of a gulf, and all was level around them save a mountain towards the South covered with ice; and here they noticed more vestiges of the Skraelings, but they did not land for fear of the bears. After this, aided by the northern current, they rowed back to the South for three days, discovering other islands at the foot of a mountain called Sniofell, which had been known before, and finding still traces of the natives. Another day's voyage brought them back to Kroksfjord again. On St. James's day, July 25, they had severe weather, being obliged to row much and very hard. It froze during the night, but both night and day the sun was above the horizon, so low, however, that when it crossed the meridian at noon the shadow of the gunwale towards the sun would cover the face of one who lay stretched out on the middle rower's bench of a six-oared boat with his feet to the South. At midnight the sun was as high as it ever rose in the Northwest at their home of Gardar. Such is the report of Halldor, who was perhaps present on the occasion.[1]

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[1] Langebek, t. iii. p. 106; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 247; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 368.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. v. p. 27; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 269; Mémoire, p. 32; Beamish, Discovery, p. 126; Moosmüller, S. 196.

These daring mariners not only outdid the exploits sung by the scald Helge, who stated that the Gardarites sailed north as far as Greipar, "to the tail of Greenland's bridge" or to Greenland's remotest parts,[2] by the island of Disco; not only did they sail, as others before them, up to Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait; but it is somewhat mortifying to national pride, says Beamish,[3] to find that these simple navigators of the thirteenth century in their humble barks rivalled the most distinguished arctic explorers of the present day, such as William Parry and John and James Clark

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. v. p. 27; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 32; Antiq. Amer., p. 271; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 31; Moosmüller, S. 197; Gravier, p. 155.

[2] Garthar komu í Greipar Nordhr.
Grónlandz var thar brigjuspordhr.

[3] Discovery, p. 126.

Ross; yet, however unwilling we may be to accept the evidence of a progress in maritime discovery which tends to dim the lustre of our own enterprising age, the simple documents in support of those early voyages carry to the mind a degree of conviction which disarms scepticism and compels us to admit their credibility.[1]

From the astronomical observations recorded by the Greenland priests it seems to follow that, on the 25th of July, 1266, they were about the seventy-sixth degree of northern latitude; and they had made a three or four days' voyage north of this point, to the very head of Baffin's Bay or the entrance of Smith's Sound.[2] More fortunate than Sir John Franklin, the Greenland explorers returned in due time to their home in or near Gardar.

After reading this report, the royal chaplain of Norway will, no doubt, have thanked the Star of the Sea for the safe return of his countrymen and friends, all the more fervently, if it is true that he himself scarcely escaped with his life from the wreck of a ship which perished that same year at the headland of Hitarnes in Iceland, and in which forty-one men were lost.[3]

Bishop Olaf was still in Norway at this time, and in the year 1267 we meet him on a solemn occasion in Drontheim. Hacon, bishop of Osloe, had been promoted to the dignity of metropolitan of the Norwegian province, and his pallium had been brought from the Roman court by a canon of Drontheim. The investiture took place with great magnificence on Holy Thursday, and the contemporary records state that, besides the bishops, Peter of Bergen and Thorgilf of Stavanger, who imposed the insignia, there were present King Magnus with his Queen Ingeburga, Gauto, bishop of the Faroe Islands, and Olaf, bishop of the Greenlanders.[1]

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[1] Cf. von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 271; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 34; Gravier, p. 157.

[2] See Moosmüller, S. 198; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 33. Mr. Morton saw on the shores of Morris Bay, in latitude eighty-one, a sledge-runner made of the bone of a whale and worked out with skilful labor. (Arctic Explor., vol. i. p. 308, ap. Southall, p. 378.)

[3] Gravier, p. 157; Langebek, t. iii. p. 107.

Not until the year 1271 did Olaf leave the Scandinavian kingdom to return to his episcopal see of Gardar, and it is related that on this occasion he visited Iceland a second time,[2] no doubt, to inform the prelates of this island of the important business transacted in regard to the former sister-republics, both with the court of Rome and that of Norway.

Bishop Olaf was, indeed, accompanied by deputies of King Magnus, who were to introduce into the new provinces a digest of laws which, prepared already under King Hacon, was to replace the ancient Grágás, and to promote public morality by a prudent enforcement of Christian legislation. Some of these new laws were bitterly opposed, but others were readily admitted.[3]

It will, in more than one manner, repay the student's labor and time to examine Hacon's Code or "Hakonarbók," published by Finn Magnussen and others under the title of "Hin forna Lögbók Islendinga." A becoming review of this interesting digest would widely exceed our plan, and we must content ourselves with relating here the two articles forming, as it were, the basis and the sanction of all its particular enactments.

The literal translation of the former is as follows:

"Section concerning Christianity. First Chapter.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. vi. cap. iv. p. 346; Langebek, t. iii. p. 107.

[2] Langebek, t. iii. p. 111; Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 352; Gronl Ant., cap. xxx.

[3] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 352.

"Such is the principle of the established Icelandic laws, as is, also, the principle of all good works: That we should have and observe the Christian faith. We should believe in God the Father Almighty Creator of heaven and earth. We should believe in Jesus Christ Our Lord and His only Son, who was conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost and born of Mary the Virgin, tortured under the authority of Pilate, crucified, put to death and buried. He descended to hell, to deliver from thence all his men. The third day after he was put to death, he rose up from the dead, and was afterwards with his disciples, from Pascal day till the holy Thursday, and rose then up to Heaven; and from thence He shall come, on the last day of this world, to judge each one according to his deserts. We should believe in the Holy Ghost; that He is truly God, like the Father and the Son; and these three distinct persons are One God. We should believe in all that in which believe the Christian people and the community of the holy men, and which Holy Church has sanctioned with irrevocable stability. We should believe sins to be forgiven through true repentance and confession, together with our Lord's body and blood, consecrated with prayer in the Mass; and through alms deeds and fast and through all other good works that men may do, think, or speak. We should believe that the body of each man, who has come into the world or may come till doom's day, shall then arise; and from thence on shall they, who did ill in this world, have everlasting misfortune together with the devil and his angels in hell; while those who have done good in this world, shall from thence on, also, have eternal joy with God and all saints in the heavenly kingdom."[1]

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[1] See Document LXI.

Following is the second chapter of the same section: "In order to govern his divine religion and administer his holy law, God has, in his mercy, appointed among his servants, two agents that should be his visible procurators, and should make the good enjoy their rights and punish and correct the wicked. He had seen this to be a daily and imperative necessity for the various and numberless peoples of the earth. Of these two, the king is one and the bishop is the other. The king has obtained from God the civil power to govern the State; and the bishop, the spiritual authority, to attend to spiritual matters. Each of them must try to strengthen the sway of the other for the securing of all that is right and just. Both ought to acknowledge that their eminence and dominion are from God, not from themselves. Since they are the procurators of God himself, and, as is evident to all, absolutely indispensable; and, finally, since God has deigned to be called by their titles, he would certainly be in great danger of God's wrath, who would not, with sincere love and respect, uphold and promote the authority which God has granted them; for to God they shall have to give an account of their solicitude for the people's welfare. They establish, moreover, the terms of the laws. Nor is it allowed to the princes, should they think of doing so, to oppress the people or to vex them with too heavy taxes; neither is it lawful, on the other hand, for ignorant men, led by their stubbornness and improvident stupidity, to refuse their princes the just duties of subjects."[1]

It need not be remarked that such declarations are the only lasting props of all true and beneficent political institutions, whether the civil ruler have the title of king, emperor, or president. A nation, to be prosperous in this world, must believe in God, accept his doctrine, and abide his justice ; it is not obliged to brook tyranny, but it must obey its just and lawful governors as the lieutenants of Almighty God.

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[1] Finn Magnussen, Hin forna Lögbók Islendinga sem nefnist Járnsida edr Hakonarbók, p. 12.

That in this latter, most honorable capacity the kings of Norway, Hacon and Magnus, were not negligent may be concluded from the voluntary submission of the Icelanders and Greenlanders to them, as well as from the encouragements they received from the pontiffs of Rome. Thus did King Hacon obtain from Pope Innocent IV. the right of patronage, for himself and his successors, of all the churches which he would build and endow in all the neighboring provinces that he might succeed to win over to the Christian religion.[1]

We may readily admit that the prelates of the province of Drontheim were, also, dutiful in the government of their flocks, when we find them obedient to the directions of their own superiors. The general council of Lyons of the year 1274 had decreed a levy of tithes on all ecclesiastical revenues in Christendom, to be paid for six years towards the deliverance of the Holy Land from the yoke of Mahomedanism. The poor dioceses of the distant North were not excepted. Copies of pontifical bulls, in consequence of the decree, together with letters from the metropolitan of Drontheim, were received in Iceland and, no doubt, in Greenland during the following year, 1275.[2]

John the Red, archbishop of the Norwegian province, had been appointed by the Roman See as collector of the tithes in his various suffragan dioceses, with the duty of personally visiting every one of them. He set forth, however, to the Sovereign Pontiff the impossibility of accomplishing this task, "because the diocese of Gardar was so far removed from the metropolitan church that, taking into consideration the obstacles to the voyage, it would hardly be possible to make the round trip in less than five years." John XXI. answered on the 4th of December, 1276, directing the archbishop to choose some persons, fit and reliable, whom he should send for the purpose to Greenland in his own stead;[1] and, by letters of the same date, allowed him, also, to appoint sub-collectors for the other dioceses of his province.[2]

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[1] Lange et Unger, vol. i. p. 29. —November 7, 1246.

[2] Langebek, t. iii. p. 114.

The archbishop made use of these powers in regard to the diocese of Greenland, as we learn from a letter of Pope Nicholas III., dated January 31, 1279. He had shortly before availed himself of the rare opportunity offered by a ship bound for the distant island, to despatch a discreet man as tithe collector to the city of Gardar, and he had delegated to him the faculty of absolving, and dispensing with, the clerics of this diocese, who might have materially incurred ecclesiastical censures by not paying the tithes at the stipulated time. Nicholas approves of this action and ratifies the faculties granted by him. The Pope further allows him to impart the same power of absolution and dispensation to all other sub-collectors whom he may send hereafter "to the said island or to other islands situated in the same ocean."

We owe it to historical truth to notice here the perversion of a passage of the papal brief by some modern writers, who, over-anxious to establish the fact of ancient Christianity in the New England States, mistranslate the words of the Pontiff by "the diocese of Gardar and the neighboring islands and countries,"[3] identifying "the neighboring countries" with the American Vinland.[1]

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[1] See Document XXXVII., *d.*

[2] Ibid., *e.*

[3] "Tant dans l'évêché de Gardar que dans les îles *et terres* voisines."

The discreet man sent forth by Archbishop John of Drontheim had sufficient sagacity to accept as tithes almost anything that the Greenland clergy could offer him in their total deficiency of money. On March 4, 1282, Martin IV. wrote thus to the metropolitan of Norway:

"Martin Bishop, etc., to our venerable brother, the archbishop of Drontheim. Your fraternity has notified Us that the tithes of Iceland and of the Faroe Islands, situated within the kingdom of Norway, are being paid in divers articles which cannot easily be exchanged or sold for coin. You have added also that the tithes of Greenland cannot be collected except in cattle-hides, seal-furs, walrus-teeth, and ropes of whale-skin, which, as you state, could not be sold at a convenient price. You have, therefore, asked for instructions from the Apostolic See to know what to do under the circumstances. We recommend your carefulness, and answer to your inquiry by saying that you should try to exchange for gold or silver, as you may in the easiest and most profitable manner, the tithes of both the said islands and of Greenland, and send it as soon as practicable to the Apostolic See in behalf of the Holy Land, together with the tithes collected in Norway itself, and with a correct statement of what you forward and of its amount. . . . Given in Civita Vecchia, the 4th of March in the first year,"[2] 1282.[3]

Thus had, in 1281, the prelates and other clergymen of the Drontheim province faithfully paid the sexen-

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(Riant, p. 365, referred to by Gravier, p. 178; Congrès Scient., 1891, sec. v. p. 175.)

[1] See Document XXXVII., *h*. The "aliis insulis maris ejusdem" are interpreted in the following Document as Iceland and the Faroe group.

[2] Of our reign.

[3] See Document XXXVII., *i*.

nial taxes imposed by the council of Lyons. They had paid, it is true, one year after the appointed time; but, as the great distances and other obstacles had prevented the promulgation of the levy in due season, Pope John XXI. had deferred their duties one year.[1]

The bishop of Gardar, Olaf, had ceased to live when these contributions from his diocese were received in Norway. He died on the 9th of May,[2] in the year 1280.[3]

Claudius Lyschander is alone in believing that Olaf was succeeded by a certain Bartholus Gregory, and this one by another bishop named Andreas, who is said to have reigned until the year 1308, in which, according to Huitfeldt, was appointed the one upon whom both ancient manuscripts and later historians agree as having been the immediate successor of Bishop Olaf.[4]

Gams[5] states that Thord or Theodore was elected bishop of Gardar the very year of his predecessor's demise, but we may well doubt the assertion when we notice that he was not consecrated till eight years later. Jorund, transferred shortly before from the see of Hammeren to the metropolitan church of Drontheim, bestowed the episcopal Order on the new bishop of Greenland in the year 1288,[6] on the same day that he was invested with the pallium,[7]—namely, on February 22.[8]

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[1] See Document XXXVII., *g*.

[2] Langebek, t. ii. p. 194, from Annales Islandorum. He did not die in A.D. 1250, as asserted in Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, etc., p. 189, *seq.*

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx.; Langebek, t. iii. p. 116; Moosmüller, S. 63; Gams, p. 334.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Moosmüller, S. 63.

[5] P. 334.

[6] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 251; Hist. Rerum, Norveg., t. iv. lib. vii. cap. iv. p. 378; Langebek, t. iii. p. 119; Crantz, vol. i. p. 252; Moosmüller, S. 63; Gravier, p. 237.

[7] Annales Islandorum Vetustissimi, ap. Langebek, t. ii. p. 196.

[8] Moosmüller, S. 63.

A vessel set sail for Greenland the following year, and Bishop Theodore availed himself of the opportunity to go and take care of his flock.[1] He found the Greenland colonies weakened and disturbed: weakened by the hard winters, the epidemics, and the scarcity of food, with which they had been afflicted during that and the preceding years;[2] and agitated in consequence of the tyrannical measures, in religious affairs, of the king of Norway, Eric the Priest-hater, who went so far in his pretensions as to force a compromise upon the archbishop of Drontheim, in virtue of which the canons of the metropolitan chapter should have a voice in the election of the future bishops of Greenland.[3]

Little is known of the reign of Bishop Theodore. Gravier[4]—who, with Riant and Gaffarel, whom he copies, and the scientific congress of Paris in A.D. 1891, that copies him,[5] forms a sort of French school regarding this special subject—positively asserts that in the year 1307 "the tithes of Vinland figured again among the pious contributions" of Greenland. We could find no serious authority for such a statement, and, while Greenland may have paid its yearly Saint Peter's Pence, also in 1307, it is not likely that any tithes were collected at that time, since those decreed by the council of Lyons had been received long before, and the council of Vienna had not convened yet to order new tithes. What we know of the Vinland history makes the assertion still more improbable. It is recorded only that the promulgation of the latter council, decreeing another sexennial tax in behalf of the Holy Land, was made in Iceland seven years later, in 1314.[6]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx.; Langebek, t. iii. p. 119, from Annales Islandorum Regii; Gams, p. 334.

[2] Supra, p. 255.

[3] Supra, p. 248; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[4] P. 178.

[5] Section v. p. 175.

[6] Langebek, t. iii. p. 129.

For nearly a quarter of a century did Theodore steadily remain at his difficult post, faithfully, we may presume, fulfilling his responsible duties, and having in his labors but few distractions from the outside world. Eric "hin Prestahatare" had died in the year 1299, and Eyvind, bishop of Osloe, four years later; and in 1308—thus respectively nine and five years after the events—Arne, the bishop of Bergen, when writing to Gardar, supposed that the news of those deaths might not have reached the ears of its prelate![1]

So far as we can know, Theodore did not once leave the Greenland shores before the year 1309, 1310, or 1311,—the date being variously given by different authorities and by Torfæus himself. He then made a visit to Norway.[2] After that he is mentioned in a public document of 1311,[3] and his death is generally assigned to the year 1314.[4] Considering the scarcity of communication between Greenland and Norway at the time, together with the fact of Theodore's successor being appointed that same year, we may not unreasonably presume that the venerable bishop of Greenland remained in Norway after 1311 and died there.

Arne, Arnas, or Arnius was consecrated by Eilaf Korte, archbishop of Drontheim, and left for his see of Gardar the following year, 1315.[5]

One of his principal duties was the collection in his diocese of the six years' tithes ordered by the ecumenical council of Vienna in 1312, in support of new expeditions for the deliverance of the Holy Land.[1] The ordinaries of the several bishoprics and other prelates of the province had, indeed, been appointed as collectors of these taxes. The moneys gathered by them on the continent were, according to former instructions from Rome, faithfully kept at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff; and the tithes of the islands, in particular those of Greenland, had been in due season forwarded to the archbishop of Drontheim.[2]

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[1] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 251 or *seq.;* Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. viii. cap. ix. p. 434; Gams, p. 334.

[3] Langebek, t. iii. p. 119, n. b.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. viii. cap. x. p. 440; Gams, p. 334; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Gravier, p. 237, who adds that he died in Greenland, but gives no authority for this particular.

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. viii. cap. xi. p. 441; Langebek, t. iii. p. 130, from Annales, Islandorum Regii; Gams, p. 334; Moosmüller, S. 64; Crantz, vol. i. p. 252; alii.

On the 13th of August, 1326, Pope John XXII. despatched, as nuncios to Norway and Gothland, John de Seron, prior of the Dominicans of Figeac near Cahors, and Bernard d'Orteuil, rector of the church of Novaux in the diocese of Alet,[3] in order to receive and to forward to Avignon the amounts which lay thus for safe-keeping in these countries; as, also, to collect all unpaid tithes from beneficiaries and religious institutions that might still be in arrears, giving duplicates of receipts for every payment to be made.[4]

By other letters of the same date the Pontiff directed his envoys to inquire into the truthfulness of the reasons alleged for the remittance of part of the tithes to the king of Norway, who had made to the Pope a saddening description of the condition of his kingdom, and stated that he had not the means to prevent the incursions of the barbarous nations of Finnland Karelen and of Minor Russia, who since the death of Hacon, his grandfather, had repeatedly desolated his Christian provinces with fire and sword. Should the facts be found to be as represented, the nuncios were to pay to

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[1] Cf. Gaffarel, Histoire, t. i. p. 335, who sorely confounds countries and dates.

[2] See Documents XXXVIII., *a*, XXXIX.

[3] Gottlob, S. 11.

[4] See Document XXXVIII., *a*.

King Magnus one-half of all the tithes of the Drontheim province; provided, however, that no objection should be made against forwarding the other half to the court of the Sovereign Pontiff.[1]

The two delegates were, on the same occasion, charged with the collection of all that might yet be due the pontifical treasury from the revenues and income of all dignities, offices, and religious establishments, whether secular or regular, during the time of their vacancies, and from the reservations or first year's possessions.[2] Nor did the Pontiff forget the great means by which, then as now, the pontifical court and congregations were supported; for he directed, by a further brief written the same day, that his nuncios should pay special attention to gathering in St. Peter's Pence due by the faithful of Norway for that year, and, in some dioceses, for a few years previous.[3]

John de Seron and Bernard d'Orteuil were thus appointed, with all necessary and sufficient powers, as supreme and general collectors of all moneys due to the Roman See in all the extensive and widely separate portions of Norway and Sweden. We should not wonder, therefore, if it was soon found advisable to send them supplementary faculties, by which they were allowed to appoint sub-delegates as often as they should find it useful to do so.[4]

The first tithes paid to the papal nuncios were those of the diocese of Osloe,—namely, on the 17th of February, 1327. The record in regard to those of Gardar is as follows:

"Greenland.

"The tithes of the bishopric of Greenland were received by me, Bernard d'Orteuil, in walrus-teeth.

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[1] See Document XXXVIII., *b*.

[2] Ibid., *c*.

[3] Ibid., *d*.

[4] Ibid., *f*.

These tithes I received at Bergen from the archbishop of Drontheim, in the year of Our Lord One thousand three hundred twenty-seven, the eleventh day of August; to wit, one hundred and twenty-seven liesspounds, at Norwegian weight.

"And afterwards, in the above year and the sixth day of the month of September, I sold the said teeth, according to the advice of their lordships, the archbishop of Drontheim and the bishop of Bergen, to John d'Ypres, a Flemish merchant, at the price of twelve livres and fourteen sous tournois of silver.[1]

"Of these twelve livres and fourteen sous tournois of silver the lord king of Norway has had the half. But I, the said B. d'Orteuil, have retained the remaining half for the treasury of the lord Pope; and this half was six livres and seven sous tournois of silver and one sterling. The said six livres and seven sous amount to one hundred and fourteen florins of gold and four [pennies] tournois of silver. This money I, the said B., have obtained from the said merchant,—that is, for the part of the lord Pope's treasury. . . . CXIIII florins of gold, IIII [pennies] tournois of silver."[2]

The two pontifical collectors received at the same time the various amounts due from St. Peter's Pence. Following is the entry of the Greenlanders' annual tribute:

"In the above stated year [1327], and the eleventh day of the month of August, I, B. d'Orteuil, have received from the lord archbishop of Drontheim, as St. Peter's Pence of the bishopric of Greenland, three liesspounds of walrus-teeth. And afterwards, in the above year and the sixth day of the month of September, I have sold the said teeth to John d'Ypres, a Flemish merchant. I have had for each liesspound two sous tournois of silver. The said three liesspounds amount to six sous tournois of silver."[1]

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[1] And not "40 sols of Turin currency," as ap. Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 257. The coin was from Tours in France.

[2] See Document XXXIX.

The Sovereign Pontiff, John XXII., made about this time a special appeal to the Christian colonists of Greenland for a voluntary subsidy in aid and assistance towards the repression of numerous and daring crimes of the Italian renegades of that epoch. His letter written to Bishop Arnius, as also to the other bishops of Sweden and Norway, on the 29th day of August, 1326, is a pathetic exposition of the spoliations, ravages, and wanton destructions of churches in several parts of Italy, and in particular of the churches and pious establishments of Rome, the mother city of all the Christian world, caused and perpetrated by the heretics and infidels of that country, who, under the name of Ghibellines, were devoted to, and supported by, the schismatic emperor of Germany, Louis of Bavaria.[2] The records do not state the practical result of the Pontiff's request; but, considering what we know of the Greenlanders' dutifulness towards him, we may well admit that the Canadians of our own day were not the first Americans to lend a helping hand to the Pope of Rome against his infidel rebellious subjects.

It is likely, however, also, that the material help of Greenland on this occasion was of no great consequence, because, as we have noticed already, the country was for some time rapidly declining in wealth and laudable activity. Its downward march was imputable principally to its lack of commerce and communication with the mother country, which, by improvident and selfish laws, had suspended almost entirely the once frequent navigation from Norway to the annexed provinces of the ocean.

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[1] See Document XL. It may be of interest to the student to find in Document XLI. various exchanges and conversions of the ancient Norwegian small coin into other monetary denominations of Europe.

[2] See Document XXXVIII., *e*.

The last particulars of Bishop Arne's history are a striking illustration of this sad state of affairs. As we remarked before,[1] a learned and reliable priest of the diocese of Bergen, Ivar Bardson, had been sent to his assistance in the year 1431; and we may presume that the returning vessel had brought to Norway unfavorable news of the health of the venerable prelate, for tidings of his death were expected to follow soon. Yet no tidings, no vessel from Greenland arrived for two years; and, in 1343, the metropolitan of Drontheim simply supposed that his distant suffragan was dead.

A new bishop of Gardar was, therefore, elected, although Arnius was actually alive still, and seems to have lived a few more years,[2]—namely, till about 1350;[3] although his death has lately been announced as having taken place in A.D. 1343.[4]

In spite of several well-established data, the historian Arild Huitfeldt mentions, as immediate successors of Bishop Arnius, a certain Alfus, said to have been consecrated in the year 1325; Barthold, in 1332; Gregory, in 1346, and Arndius, whom he says to have reigned from 1348.[5] We shall observe presently that Alfus was the resident successor of Arnius in Greenland, but the alleged date of his consecration is evidently erroneous. All other authors agree in stating that Jón, Jonas, or John Eirikson, surnamed Skalle, and often called John III., directly succeeded Arnius as bishop of Gardar, and was consecrated at Drontheim by Archbishop Paul in the year 1343.[1]

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[1] Supra, pp. 351, 352.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. ix. cap. vi. p. 473; Moosmüller, S. 64; Gravier, p. 237.

[3] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[4] Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*

[5] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Moosmüller, S. 64.

At the time of his election he was an abbot of one of the Norwegian monasteries.[2]

Was the error in regard to Arnius's death detected before the time that his successor should have gone to take possession of the see of Gardar? In fact, it seems that John III. never entered into his Greenland diocese. When Gyrder Ivarson was consecrated bishop of Skalholt in the year 1349,[3] and Gisbert, bishop of Bergen either the same or the following year, the bishop of Osloe, Salomon, who performed the sacred rites, was assisted by Orm, the prelate of Holar, and John Skalle of Gardar, these being the only three bishops in the whole province of Drontheim who had escaped the Black Death raging at the time.[4] In 1351 we meet again with the Greenland bishop in Norway, where he assists at a provincial council of Drontheim under the presidency of Archbishop Olaf. Here he subscribes, together with the metropolitan and the bishops of Bergen and Hammeren, to a series of most important decrees enforcing priestly celibacy,[5] the duty of residence on the part of clergymen having care of souls, the wearing of the clerical costume, and the train-ing of the younger clergy by the older.[1] Further regulations were also made on this occasion in regard to the clausure of nuns, the authority of ecclesiastical tribunals, ecclesiastical immunity, clandestine marriages, etc.[2] "Brother John, by the patience of God bishop of Gardar," was in Norway yet in the year 1354, when he signed in Osloe a "vidimus" or official inspection of the appointment brief of Giurd as bishop of Stavanger.[3]

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[1] Gams, p. 334; Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. ix. cap. vi. p. 473; Baumgartner, S. 281; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland. He is called John Calvus by Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248, and by Gravier, p. 237.

[2] Baumgartner, S. 281.

[3] Or 1348 or 1352.

[4] Supra, pp. 137, 139; Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. ix. cap. viii. p. 478; Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 248; Moosmüller, S. 65.

[5] Wherein it is stated that "Plures Noricanæ provinciæ presbyteri non solum sibi focarias simpliciter adjungunt et in curiis suis publice detinent, verum etiam convocatis ad hoc earum consanguineis, adinstar laicorum sibi impudenter associant."

His presence in Greenland would, however, have been very useful and encouraging during all these years, for at this time the impoverished colonists underwent more severe trials than at any other in all their history.

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[1] Because "his temporibus, quod dolenter referimus, defectu personarum exigente, ad regimen animarum simpliciores et ignari plerumque assumuntur."

[2] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[3] Ibid.

CHAPTER XX.

RUIN OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF GREENLAND.

The chroniclers report in terms of dismay that, in A.D. 1347 or, rather, 1348, the most frightful plague that ever was heard of, called the Black Death, after desolating Asia, rapidly spread over Europe, striking down hundreds and thousands all along its wild destructive course, until it finally reached the Scandinavian countries of the North, where, enraged for not finding other nations to mow down, it did its deadly work with redoubled violence. Florence in Italy lost forty thousand inhabitants. Clement VI. gave orders to bless the Rhone as a cemetery, and, as there were not people enough to bury the dead, the corpses were dragged into the river. The compassionate Pontiff gave all possible assistance to the suffering victims, while he published two severe edicts against the persecutors of the Jews, whom the frenzy of the populace made responsible for the terrible scourge. Sixteen thousand people died in Strasburg, and the small town of Lubeck lost nine thousand of its population. England was visited with such fearful effect that in the city of London only fourteen persons survived. Nor was the ocean spared: ships were floating about or cast upon the shores after the last man of their crew had succumbed. One of these vessels was driven into the port of Bergen in Norway, and the people, seeing that every man on board was dead, carried its cargo into the town. They had led the dreadful foe within their walls; and from this place the plague spread all over Norway with such fury that scarcely one-third part of the population, and, in some districts, only one man in a hundred, remained alive. All but one of the Norwegian bishops and all but one canon of the metropolitan chapter of Drontheim fell victims to the epidemic. The fatal disease assailed the children first, the youths afterwards, and finally the grown and older people. Before two days after the first symptoms appeared the sufferers threw up, with their heart's blood, their last dying breath.[1]

The few vessels that sailed to Iceland and Greenland carried the dread plague among the poor colonists of these islands, where also it made a great number of victims.[2] The scourge lasted till the year 1351.[3]

It had been, for some time, the custom of Norway to send every year a fleet of vessels to the distant provinces. Government ships, together with private merchantmen, had been wont to bring every year new recruits, arms, tools, and provisions in exchange for the produce of Greenland's hunting and fishing; but the mother country had now been so much reduced, and so many of its sailors had perished, that the yearly solemn navigation took place no longer; and the weakened and suffering colonies were now, in their distress, almost completely abandoned and deprived of the much-needed support and assistance of the Eastern Continent.[4] When, in the year 1355, King Magnus Ericsson sent out a trading-vessel to Greenland, he said, "We do this for the glory of God, for the sake of our soul, and for the honor of our ancestors who have founded and kept up to our time Christianity and colonization in Greenland, and we cannot let their work become useless today."[1] These sad words clearly tell to what straits the poor Greenlanders were already then reduced. We should not wonder, as we remarked before, if the Greenland vessel that returned from Markland in the year 1347 was perhaps the last to set sail from the island's fjords for the Scandinavian settlements of continental America.

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[1] Wouters, t. ii. p. 342; Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. ix. cap. viii. p. 478; Langebek, t. i. p. 171; Pontanus, lib. vii., ad an. 1348.

[2] Gravier, p. 217; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 232; Maltebrun, t. i. p. 362.

[3] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 459; Gravier, p. 217.

[4] Hornius, lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 166; Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. ix. cap. viii. p. 478; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 103; Pontanus, lib. vii., ad an. 1348; Moosmüller, S. 65.

To fill the cup of Greenland's misfortunes, war was adding its horrors to the ravages of the plague. The Skraelings or Esquimaux had been driven northward again by other savage tribes of our continent;[2] and here they met, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, with the Scandinavian people, whose colonists they had more than once assailed and perhaps exterminated on the northeastern coasts of the American main-land. The exact date of their most pernicious attack on the Greenland shores is not recorded, but we know that Ivar Bardson, who was sent from Norway to Greenland in the year 1341, was afterwards one of the principal men of an expedition organized for the relief of the settlers in Vestrebygd. The help came, however, too late. Bardson tells us that, when they arrived in the northern province, they saw a great number of the sheep and cattle of their countrymen roaming about on the verdant meadows, but they found no people, whether Christian or heathen. The Scandinavians of Vestrebygd had been exterminated or taken along as slaves to the other side of Davis' Strait, or farther north. All that the expedition could do was to kill as many of the animals as their ships would carry and to return with them to their homes. Several authors place these events in the year 1349, and are of the opinion that Vestrebygd was abandoned by the Northmen ever since.[1]

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[1] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[2] See supra, vol. i. p. 234; vol. ii. p. 256.

The date of 1342 assigned by Winsor[2] to the total ruin of Greenland's northern settlements appears to be rather unlikely, when we remember that of Bardson's departure from Bergen, in the year 1341; for he could hardly have been ready or known sufficiently in Greenland the next following year to be chosen as one of the leaders of the relief expedition. Nor is it probable that these events took place in 1379, as other authors are inclined to believe, because Ivar's advanced age would scarcely have permitted him, that late, to perform the arduous task. The attack of the Skraelings at this latter epoch is, moreover, distinguished from the former by special particulars, which we shall relate farther on.

The Esquimaux were either given little opportunity of conversion to Christianity and civilization, or resisted the efforts of the Scandinavian clergy; they considered the Europeans as national enemies and invaders of their land; and it is stated with good reason that they early and often, not to say constantly, harassed their white neighbors with sudden and treacherous inroads, in which they did all the harm they could, and then hastily returned in their canoes to their holes and caves on the adjoining continent.

Greenland was no more the green, inviting land of Eric the Red; new arrivals from Iceland or Norway landed no more to take the place of those who had fallen under the sting of the plague or the tomahawk of the aborigines; and John Skalle, the bishop of Gardar, felt so deeply discouraged by the sad condition of his diocese that, at the death of Bishop Orm of Holar, in the year 1356, he resolved to request his succession; and at the end of that or in the year following he went to Rome to obtain from the Sovereign Pontiff the desired translation.[1] The next year, 1358, he arrived in Holar, stating that his petition had been granted; but, as he would not or could not show any papal bulls, he was not received well; both clergy and laity of the North of Iceland refused him obedience and respect, saying that he was no bishop of Holar but of Gardar.[2] Bishop Skalle could, under the unpleasant circumstances, imagine nothing better to do than to leave for Norway, where he passed the following winter. Afterwards he went to Rome again, and obtained, this time, more probatory papers of confirmation in his new see.[3] He was respectfully recognized at his second arrival in Holar, and acted as bishop of this diocese until his death in the year 1390.[4] He is said to have greatly improved the administration of the diocesan temporalities. During the winter of 1363 he received a visit from Arne Svaela, bishop of the Faroe Islands, and in the year 1375 he introduced into his diocese the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[5]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. p. 42, *seq.;* De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 79; Precolumbian Discovery, p. 32; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 103.

[2] Vol. i. p. 68.

Gams[6] and Wetzer and Welte[7] state that before the entry of the next bishop, in 1368, the see of Gardar was vacant for nineteen years. By this information is further confirmed the opinion that Bishop Skalle never set his foot in Greenland, although his appointment as ordinary of this country, which was irregular in its beginning, was undoubtedly made valid by the death of Arnius, his predecessor, and, consequently, we may conclude that the diocese of Gardar was juridically deprived of a bishop only from the translation of John Skalle to Holar in the year 1358, until the election of Bishop Alfuir, Alf or Alfus, formerly a friar of the monastery of Munkalif in Norway.

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 369; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. x. cap. i. p. 483; Baumgartner, S. 281. Moosmüller, S. 65, erroneously says that he desired the bishopric of Sudor.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 369; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. x. cap. i. pp. 486, 488.

[3] Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. x. cap. i. p. 488; Baumgartner, S. 281; Gams, p. 334.

[4] Supra, p. 139.

[5] Baumgartner, S. 281; Torfæus, Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. x. cap. iv. p. 494.

[6] P. 334.

[7] Art. Grönland.

We have noticed already the error of Messenius and Huitfeldt, who place the consecration of this prelate in the year 1325. Gams[1] likewise mistakes when assigning the year 1368 as the date of this consecration,[2] and still more, Torfæus[3] and Gravier,[4] who defer it to 1376. Wetzer and Welte assure us[5] that Alfus was already consecrated in 1375, and we have found a document in which he styles himself "Bishop of Greenland" on the 28th of July, 1366. As the paper is an indication that he was at that time preparing for his departure to his distant field of labor, it may not be amiss to literally translate it here:

"To all men who may see this writing or hear it read, brother Alfus, by the grace of God bishop of Greenland, sends God's blessing. And be it made known that we testify with all truthfulness and under our oath, which we have sworn to Holy Church and to the Lord Olaf, by God's grace archbishop of Drontheim, before the honorable lords: the Lord Gisbert, by God's grace bishop of Bergen, the Lord Ogmund Findson, agent in Norway, and the Lord Thorstein, provost of the church of the Apostles; that that hillock which lies about the church of Nordnoese, outside of the church enclosure, is the property of St. Michael and of the monastery of Munkalif. But that house which there stands, we have built with our own money, with such help as we received from the monastery. Thus done with the advice and approval of the foresaid lords. We make this in the archbishop's safe-keeping at Bergen,—to wit, that Diderick Nicolasson, the son of our sister, shall have the herewith named house as long as he will, but after that it shall fall to the monastery. And for the truthfulness thereof we have set our seal to this writing, which was done at Bergen the twenty-eighth of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand three hundred and sixty-six. And to bear witness of the truth thereof, we have set our seal to this copy, which was made at Bergen."[1]

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[1] P. 334.

[2] Gams's error was revived in a paper for the Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*

[3] Gronl. Ant., Addenda, p. 369.

[4] P. 237.

[5] Art. Grönland.

This was not, it seems, the last business which Alfus had to settle in Norway, for he did not arrive in Greenland until the year 1368.[2]

The silence of the chroniclers leaves us to presume that the new prelate, with all the zeal of a saintly friar, did what lay in his power to console and comfort his suffering and distressed diocesans, with whom he remained as long as he lived.

When Pope Gregory XI. had recovered the Pontifical States and was preparing to transfer his court to Rome again, he found his treasury exhausted, and himself unable to cover the expenses necessary to provide for his own security and that of his subjects. He decreed, therefore, the levy of one year's tithes on all the revenues and income of ecclesiastical offices and property. On January 13, 1373, he wrote to the archbishop of Drontheim and to all his suffragans, intimating to them the strict duty of collecting and forwarding these tithes.[1] We may suppose that the letter reached Greenland some time, but there is no record of its practical results in the diocese of Gardar, which certainly was not then in a condition to contribute large sums towards the subjection of the schismatical rebels of Italy.

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[1] See Document LXII., *a*.

[2] Gams, p. 334; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

In the year 1382 a ship named Olafssud was driven out of her course from Iceland to Greenland, and compelled to pass the following winter in Iceland again. When her crew finally landed in Norway in 1383, they brought the news that Bishop Alfus had died five years before,—that is, in 1378![2]

The crew of the Olafssud made it also known in Norway that the distant province of Greenland had lately been in danger of total destruction. The year after Bishop Alfus's death the Esquimaux had made another assault upon the settlements of the Scandinavian colonists, where they had killed eighteen persons, kidnapped two boys, and carried off a large booty.[3]

The Greenlanders, compelled to draw back before their savage enemies, stood sorely in need of assistance from the mother country, but were so unfortunate as not to receive any help, not even from their neighboring kindred of Iceland.

It is stated by some authors that the cause of their abandonment was the extraordinary accumulation of a mole of ice along the coasts of Greenland, intercepting all communication by large ships with the outside world.[4] Von Humboldt, however, justly calls this a fable of meteorology;[1] and better authenticated causes can be assigned. When we read Torfæus[2] we notice that from the year 1382 until 1385, and even 1389, the Greenland seas have been unusually rough and stormy, that many vessels are known to have perished on them, while others sent there were never heard of since. Björn Einarson, the Jerusalem-pilgrim, fared better than many another sea-captain. In A.D. 1385 he was driven away by a tempest and cast upon the Greenland coast, but he pleased the colonists so well that, for his support, they gave him the revenues of Eiriksfjordarsyssel and made him a present of a monstrous whale stranded on the shore.[3]

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[1] See Document XLII.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 253; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. x. cap. viii. p. 507; Baumgartner, S. 279; Cooley, Histoire Générale, t. i. p. 215; Gams, p. 334; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Gravier, p. 237; Moosmüller, S. 65.

[3] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 253; Hist. Rerum Norveg., t. iv. lib. x. cap. viii. p. 507; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 103; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[4] Hornius, lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 166; Moosmüller, S. 2.

The Norwegian royal monopoly of transmarine commerce was still more deleterious than the elements of angry nature to the interests and the very existence of Greenland's waning population.

No wonder if, under these circumstances, the see of Gardar remained vacant again for several years.

Henry was the name of its next bishop.

According to Torfæus,[4] followed by Gravier,[5] Henry was consecrated by the archbishop of Drontheim, Winald Henrikson, in the year 1389. But this is an evident mistake, for he is mentioned by several authors and contemporary documents as bishop of Greenland at least three years before that time. When Olaf, king of Denmark and Norway, had convened the

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[1] Kosmos, t. ii. S. 346, ap. Gravier, p. 216.

[2] Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 25; cap. xxx. pp. 253, 254.

[3] Baumgartner, S. 279, refers this incident to the year 1391, and says, with Torfæus (Gronl. Ant., cap. xxxii. p. 260), that Björn, a governor of Iceland, was thrown on an uninhabited spot of Greenland, where, for a time, he and his crew had to live on bears and a stranded whale, but afterwards reached the settlements, whose people vainly offered him the position of supreme judge with a yearly income, and that he found the bishop of the country to have died shortly before.

[4] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 254.

[5] P. 237.

States of the former country at Viburg on the island Funen in the year 1386,[1] and invested on St. John's day, Gerhard, son of Henry the Iron, with the duchy of Holstein, the prelate of Gardar, Henry, was present, together with several other bishops. A plenary council of the hierarchy of the united kingdoms was celebrated on the same occasion, in which took part the archbishops of Drontheim, Nicholas, and Magnus of Lund, the bishops John of Ripen in Jutland, Sueno of Bornholm, James of Viburg, John of Slevik, and the prelate of Greenland, Henry of Gardar. On the 26th of July they granted special favors to the church of Stendorp, soon after to those of Bendrop and Harby, and on the 29th of the same month to the monastery of Godsort. They conceded several indulgences to all who would co-operate towards the erection of new churches and monasteries, and ordered public prayers for the health of the Danish king and queen and for the success of their undertakings.[2]

Messenius[3] and Huitfeldt[4] state with great probability that Bishop Henry was consecrated in 1383, the year in which the demise of his predecessor was heard of in Norway. He went and took possession of his episcopal see, but not until 1388; probably not finding an opportunity to cross the ocean before this time. Gams[5] says that he left his native country to reside in the city of Gardar, and Beamish[6] has found the interesting particular that, at his departure from Norway, he was charged by the government to have the royal dues of Greenland lodged in a specified place, as no state vessel would sail for the island that year.

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[1] And not in 1389, as is said by Peyrère, pp. 189, 211.

[2] Hamsfortii Chronologia 2a., ap. Langebek, t. i. p. 315; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 254; Pontanus, lib. viii., ad an. 1386, p. 509; Wetzer und Welte, art., Grönland; Moosmüller, S. 66; Crantz, vol. i. p. 252.

[3] Scandia Illustrata, t. ix. lib. v. p. 65.

[4] Ap. Moosmüller, S. 66.

[5] P. 334.

[6] Discovery, p. 151.

One of the most curious particulars in the history of the small and poor diocese of Greenland is that its cathedral could, for a few years, boast of two simultaneous bishops. Whilst Henry was in legal possession of the see, two priests were successively appointed bishops of Gardar.

This anomaly, incompatible with canon law, may be explained by the possible ignorance at the pontifical court of the fact of Henry's consecration by the archbishop of Norway, but it is more likely a consequence of the sad schism which for some time distracted the Western Church.

At the death of Pope Gregory XI., in the year 1378, the Sacred College elected Urban VI. But a month after, when it became apparent that the new Pontiff was bent upon the reform of the Roman court, eighteen cardinals under the protection of Jane, queen of Naples, set up another, the antipope Clement VII., under the pretext that the election of Urban VI. had not been free and was, consequently, invalid. So many arguments were set forth and learned discussions carried on by both parties, that even the best-intentioned and deepest scholars of the time doubted on which side were to be found authority and right. There was no real schism, but it was doubtful who was the one true Pope, whom all were ready to obey. This uncertainty with all its evil consequences lasted until the council of Constance most providentially restored peace and unity in the year 1417.[1]

The bishop of Greenland, Henry, had been promoted, according to ancient custom founded on several concessions of the Roman pontiffs, by the metropolitan of the province. There can be no doubt that he was in communion with Urban VI. and paid allegiance to him, when we see him afterwards visit Pope Boniface IX., Urban's immediate successor. No wonder if the pope of Avignon, Clement VII., should have required obedience from the prelates of the northern countries, and, at the refusal of the bishop of Gardar, should have given him a competitor in the Greenland diocese, or, rather, replaced him by another bishop.

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[1] Cf. Wouters, vol. ii. pp. 358, 360, 361.

In fact, we find one of the bulls in which he recognizes as bishop of Gardar a certain Georgius, whom he had probably appointed himself, and at whose death he named the successor. "At the time," Clement says, "that Georgius of blessed memory presided at the government of the church of Gardar, We concluded to reserve his cathedral to our own command and disposal in case of his demise." Making this deviation from customary rights more evident, he adds, "By this act we do not intend to occasion for the future any prejudice to our venerable brother, the archbishop of Drontheim, to whose metropolitan authority the above-named church is known to be subject."[1]

Following is part of the bulls by which Clement VII. appoints the successor of Georgius, bishop of Gardar: "To our beloved brother Nicholas, cardinal priest of the title of St. Mary in Trastevere, Greeting, etc. . . . Now that the church of Gardar has become vacant and is vacant yet through the death of the aforesaid Bishop Georgius, who died without the city of Rome [yet not likely in Greenland], We are anxious to prevent a long vacancy, and trust that the diocese will be well and usefully governed by our beloved son, Peter Staras, a professed brother of the Order of Minorites, a priest of religious zeal and honest life. We, therefore, give you charge and command to provide the said church with the person of the above-named Peter Staras. . . . Given in Avignon the sixth day before the ides of April in the year eleven,"—*i.e.*, April 7, 1389.[1]

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[1] Document LXII., *b.* Further information regarding this bishop George is not to be found in the papal archives.

Nothing more is to be found of the history of Bishop Staras. It is not likely, however, that he ever sailed for Greenland, to dispute with Henry, the resident prelate, over the right to the cold, hard seat of its cathedral.

Intercourse between Greenland and Europe had been steadily decreasing from the time that the distant provinces of Norway had lost their independence. The Scandinavian kings not only collected the fines due for murder and a yearly tribute; but, to further profit by the honest labor and industry of the Greenlanders, they established a royal monopoly of its commerce, forbidding all trade with the islands not carried on by the appointed merchants, who were to pay them a share of their profits. The ancient abuse, which affords sufficient grounds for the modern Monroe doctrine, enriched a few individuals in Norway, but ruined the colonies and proved eventually to be a damage to the Crown.[2] Greenland became isolated and its industries neglected, and the tributes due to the king grew so insignificant that it was not worth while to go to receive them regularly. Yet the avaricious decrees continued to be strictly enforced and obeyed with fear. About the year 1389 some vessels of Norway had accidentally touched Greenland. When this became known to Queen Margaret, the sailors were indicted and the day was set for an exemplary condemnation; but the culprits succeeded in establishing their innocence, as they had been compelled to seek refuge on the forbidden shores from the dangers of storms and icebergs.[1] The queen despatched a few ships to the unfortunate island, but they never returned. Their loss inspired with awe the mariners that might have wished to sail past Iceland; and Margaret, busily engaged in her wars with Sweden, did not care about Greenland any longer. Her successor, Eric of Pomeren, continuing her hostilities with Sweden, never gave a thought to Greenland, and so also did her later successors attach more importance to a castle in their neighborhood than to their transmarine domains. Greenland was completely abandoned, and it was a rare event when a foreign ship would peacefully approach its coast.[2]

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[1] See Document LXII., *b*.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 23; von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 276, 459; Examen, t. ii. p. 103; Peschel, Geschichte der Erdkunde, S. 161; Gravier, p. 217.

From all this we may readily conclude that Bishop Henry did not pass the days of his administration in luxury and pleasure. A papal document assures us that he manfully bore the solitude and destitution, and the hardships of his high and sacred vocation, attending in a praiseworthy manner to both the spiritual and the temporal concerns of his diocese.[3]

Torfæus[4] and Moosmüller[5] erroneously assert that he died at his post of honor in Greenland in the year 1391. From the evidence of his seal, bearing the date of 1388, which was published in the Historic Monuments of Greenland,[6] it is clear that at such a time he was the bishop of Greenland, and he continued to be for half a dozen more years. It is uncertain, however, at what time he ceased to reside in his diocese. We only know that during one of the first years of the last decade of the fourteenth century he was offered, by one of the rare ships that landed still on the Greenland coast, an opportunity to sail for the European continent, and we find him in Rome at the papal court in the beginning of the year 1394.[1]

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[1] Pontanus, lib. ix., ad an. 1389, p. 521.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 25; Kunstmann, S. 31.

[3] Document LXII., *c*.

[4] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxxii.

[5] S. 66.

[6] Mémoires des Antiq. du Nord., 1845–49, p. 432.

Whether, unable to bear any longer the cross of his Greenland diocese, he applied for relief, or had previously had an understanding with his colleague, the bishop of the Orkney Islands, who must have been a man of truly apostolic zeal, the documents do not state; but they show that the two prelates, undoubtedly with their full consent, were transferred either to the other's diocese, on the 9th of March, 1394, by the Roman pontiff, Bonifacius IX.[2] Bishop Henry, absolved from all further duties in his former see of Gardar, was on that day duly appointed to the cathedral of Kirkwale, on the island Pomonia or Mainland, in the Orkneys, where, according to Gams,[3] he was performing his sacred functions in the year 1396, and seems to have had no successor before 1418.

The bishop of the Orkney diocese, made on this occasion the ordinary of Greenland, was named John. He was rector of the parish Penclarie in the Orkneys at the time of his elevation to the cathedral of Kirkwale on the 10th of February, 1384. Shortly after he had been consecrated in Rome.[4]

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[1] Document LXII., *c*.

[2] Ibid. The bulls of the removal of the bishop of the Orkneys to the cathedral of Greenland are not to be found any longer in the papal secret archives; but, without any doubt, they were exactly worded and dated like those of Bishop Henry's transfer to the Orkney group, with the only difference of the names of the prelates and of the respective localities.

[3] P. 240.

[4] Several bulls of promotion made by Urban VI. were not written yet at the time of his death. His successor, Bonifacius IX., ordered them all drawn up and expedited on the day of his coronation (November 9, 1389). Thus we find

We could not discover any further information in regard to this John, bishop of Greenland. It is doubtful whether he ever entered his cathedral, nor do we know where or when he died.

Torfæus,[1] followed by nearly all subsequent authors, states that, in the year 1406, Eskill, archbishop of Drontheim, consecrated bishop of Gardar a Norwegian priest named Andrew, in the event that Bishop Henry might be dead. But this is a mistake, as appears from both the foregoing facts and from the following historical information.[2]

Another prelate, Alverus by name, was promoted to the see of Gardar, probably as the immediate successor of Bishop John. But neither documents nor records show when the appointment took place, and all we know of him is that he died outside of Rome before the 25th of February, 1401, as it is expressed in the bulls of promotion of the next bishop of Greenland.[3]

Berthold, a friar of the Order of St. Francis, was on that day[4] named by Bonifacius IX. to succeed the deceased Bishop Alverus in the diocese of Greenland;[5]

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the record of Bishop John's appointment to the Orkney diocese in the Second Book of Bonifacius IX.'s first year, fo. 259.

[1] Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 26, and cap. xxx. p. 256.

[2] Torfæus's mistake has been copied by Gravier, p. 237, and in a paper of the Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.* The error was possibly caused by some copyist's inadvertence in transposing the figures 0 and 6. We shall, indeed, find a Bishop Andrew in the year 1461. More probably, however, was by this Andrew meant the episcopal functionary Eindrede Andreasson, of whom we shall speak presently.

The Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique adds that this Andrew died "before the 17th of March, 1411." Perhaps so; but, had he been a bishop of Gardar, he must have died or been removed some considerable time before that date, since Bishop Eskill was seated in Greenland already before the middle of the year 1410. (See Document LXIII., *c.*)

[3] Document LXII., *d.*

[4] Not "circa annum 1407," as stated in Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, ubi supra.

[5] Document LXII., *d.*

but the right of Berthold to the see of Gardar was not of long duration, for we notice in an authentic document that the cathedral of Greenland was vacant before the 23d of January, 1402, Berthold being probably transferred or promoted to some other diocese. We find, indeed, that on such a date an archdeacon of Schwerin was appointed to the church of Strengnäs in Sweden, and in the bull it is stated that the prelate of this latter city had been transferred to the vacant see of Gardar.[1]

The Swedish prelate moved to the Greenland diocese was named Peter.[2] His translation, however, must afterwards have been revoked, because he remained bishop of Strengnäs until his death in the year 1408.[3] Nor is it to be doubted that the continuance of Bishop Peter in Strengnäs was either the cause or the consequence of that of Berthold in Gardar. Gams[4] finds traces of this latter prelate as bishop of Greenland about the year 1407, and Wetzer and Welte have discovered[5] that in that very year he replaced the archbishop of Drontheim at the blessing of the church of Lille Herdall in the archdiocese; and in 1408, jointly with the same metropolitan Eskill, he issued letters of indulgence in behalf of a church in "Svartalandh" situated in his own diocese, "nostræ diœcesis."

We consider it as very doubtful whether he ever extended the scope of his episcopal functions beyond the limits of the Drontheim bishopric, as there is no record of his presence in Greenland.

By letters of the 26th of February, 1395, Bonifacius IX. had appointed the bishop of Osloe as general collector of all moneys due the Roman see in the kingdom of Norway,[1] and on September 16, 1402, the bishop of Bergen was charged with the same duties in the archdiocese of Drontheim and its suffragan dioceses, especially in the bishopric of Gardar.[2] But there is no report of any practical result, nor even probability of the publication, of these letters in Greenland. Rafn well says[3] that, in fact, hardly anything at all, posterior to the year 1391, is known about the history of the island.

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[1] Document LXII., *e*.

[2] Archivium Lateranense, Bonifacii IX., Anno XIII., Lib. Provisionum, fo. 153.

[3] Conrad Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi.

[4] P. 334.

[5] Art. Grönland.

Nor could we learn with any certainty the time of Bishop Berthold's demise.

It is related by Torfæus[4] and generally admitted that the archbishop of Drontheim[5] sent forth, in the year 1406, a Norwegian named Andrew or Eindrede, whom he had consecrated a bishop,[6] to be the next prelate of Gardar. It follows, however, from the fact that Bishop Berthold was still alive in the year 1408, that Andrew was not consecrated a bishop of Greenland, nor was he sent by Archbishop Eskill, but rather by the ordinary of that diocese, to attend, as his vicar-general and in his name, to the administration of the few remaining churches in the abandoned island. Perger[7] is, therefore, correct when stating that "Sira Eindrede Andreasson was only an episcopal functionary." Torfæus doubts whether he ever arrived at his destination, but the learned Finn Magnussen has found documents to prove that Eindrede Andreasson has actually officiated in the cathedral of Gardar three years later, or in 1409, at a marriage to which the great runologist and others owe their descent.[8]

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[1] See Document XLIII., *a*.

[2] Ibid., *b*.

[3] Antiq. Amer., p. 12.

[4] Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 26 ; cap. xxx. p. 256.

[5] Archbishop Vinold, Lyschander says, but Eskill was archbishop from A.D. 1404 to 1428.

[6] Mallet, p. 245, assigns the year 1404.

[7] Kirchenlexicon of Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[8] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 32 ; Beamish, Discovery, p. 152 ; Mallet, p. 245.

De la Peyrère[1] makes the remark that this Andrew was the last prelate who ever resided in Greenland; but it is a well-attested fact that the next following bishop died at his post. We could not find at what time Berthold ceased to be the bishop of Gardar, but we know that a certain Eskill occupied the cathedral of Greenland before the middle of the year 1410, and that he died in that country, "in partibus illis decessit." This is, however, all the information which we were able to procure in regard to Bishop Eskill, who was probably the last of Greenland's resident bishops.[2]

Before entering upon the last and saddest epoch of Greenland's ancient history, we should not neglect to narrate the little that is known of the religious institutions which have, in all probability, largely contributed towards its conversion to Christianity, its moral melioration, and intellectual development.

The first apostles of the Scandinavians, St. Ansgar and his companions, were Benedictine monks, and it is well known that at an early date the Dominican and the Franciscan friars were established in Norway.[3] Hence we might *a priori* conclude that they were not slow in sending some of their members among the Northmen of Iceland and Greenland; and the first Christian that set foot on the Greenland shores was, not unlikely, a monk.[4] The ancient registers of the Roman court are silent about convents and monasteries in Greenland, but, as these were not subject to any yearly tribute, there was no reason for inserting their names on the account-books of the papal treasury.

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[1] P. 212.

[2] See Document LXIII., *c.*

[3] Bibliotheca Corsini, Rome, Codex 776 or Col. 39, G. 2: Chronica Fr. Joannis de Capistrano, fo. 103; Lange og Unger, vol. i. p. 23, n. 29; Aa. passim.

[4] Supra, p. 177.

Gaffarel,[1] referring to Pontanus, states that a monastery was established in Greenland in the year 1244, and Moosmüller,[2] giving as authority the Flatey codex, asserts that the one of Sts. Olaf and Augustin near Petersvik and Vatnsdale existed already in the twelfth century.[3] We have mentioned St. Benedict's convent of nuns situated on Rafnsfjord.[4] These are the two religious institutions marked down in Spruner-Menke's historical atlas[5] and seen by Björn Einarson in 1385 or 1391. Brockhaus asserts[6] that, at the time of Bishop Alfus, or during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, there existed three or four cloistered establishments in Greenland's southern province.

Sts. Olaf and Augustin's monastery was one of Canons Regular,[7] an affiliation, says Moosmüller,[8] of the Benedictine Order; and the convent's name sufficiently indicates the rule which was observed by the nuns.

There was, we are assured by the Zeni, another monastery in Greenland, dedicated to St. Thomas and belonging to the Order of St. Dominic. The following wonderful description of this latter establishment is made in the Zeno narrative, nicely translated by the Hakluyt Society:[9]

". . . M. Nicolo remayning nowe in Bres [which, in the narrative, is said to be an island near Iceland, but more probably designates Bressay of the Shetlands], determined upon a time to goe forth and discover lande, wherefore arming out their small barkes, in the moneth of July, he sayled to the Northwardes, and arrived in Engrovelande, where he founde a monastery of Fryers of the Order of the Predicators, and a church dedicated to S. Thomas, harde by a hill that casteth forth fire like Vesuvius and Etna. There is a fountayne of hot burning water, with the whiche they heate the churche of the monasterie and the Fryers chambers. It commeth also into the kitchen, so boyling hotte, that they use no other fire to dresse their meate; and putting their bread into brasse pottes without any water, it doeth bake, as it were in a hot oven. They have also small gardens covered over in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the snowe and colde, which in those parts, being situate farre under the pole, is very extreeme; and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of sundrie sortes, even as in other temperate countreys in their seasons, in such sorte that the rude and savage people of those partes, seeing these supernaturall effectes, doe take those Friars for gods, and bring them many presentes, as chickens, fleshe, and divers other thinges, and have them all in great reverence as lords. When the frost and snowe is great, they heate their houses in maner before said and will, by letting in the water or opening the windowes, temper the heate and colde at their pleasure.

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[1] Découverte, t. i. p. 388.

[2] S. 168.

[3] Cf. supra, p. 356.

[4] Supra, p. 357; Moosmüller, S. 168; Archivio Storico Italiano, serie iv. t. ii. p. 389.

[5] Map No. 65.

[6] Art. Groenland.

[7] Supra, p. 356.

[8] S. 168.

[9] Divers Voyages p. 77, *seq.*

"In ye buildings of the monastery they use no other matter but that which is ministered unto them by the fire, for they take the burning stones that are cast out as it were sparkles or cindres at the firie mouth of the hill, and when they are most entflamed, cast water upon them, wherby they are dissolved and become excellent white lime, and so tough, that being contrived in building, it lasteth for ever. And the very sparkles after the fire is out of them do serve in steede of stones to make walles and vautes: for being once colde, they will never dissolve or breake, except when they be cut with some iron toole; and the vautes that are made of them are so light, that they need no sustentacle or proppe to holde them up, and they will endure continually very fayre and whole. By reason of these great commodities, the Friers have made there so many buildings and walles, that it is a wonder to see. The coverts or roofes of their houses, for the most part, are made in this manner: first they rayse the wall up to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by little and little in forme of a vaute. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in those partes; for that, by reason of the pole or colde climate, the first snowe being falne, it thaweth no more for the space of nine moneths, for so long dureth their winter.

"They feede of the fleshe of wilde beastes and of fish, for where the warme water falleth into the sea, there is a large and wide haven, which, by reason of the heate of the water, doeth never freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is suche concourse and flocks of sea foule and such abundance of fishe, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, whereby they maintayne a great number of people rounde about, whiche they keepe in continuale worke, both in building and taking of foules and fishe, and in a thousande other necessarie affaires and busines about the monasterie. Their houses are builte about the hill on every side, in fourme rounde, and 25 foote broade, and in mounting upwardes they goe narower, leaving at the toppe a little hole, whereat the ayre commeth in, to give light to the house; and the flore of the house is so hot, that being within they feele no colde at all.

"Hither in the sommer time come many barkes from the ilands there about, and from the Cape above Norway and from Trondon [or Drontheim], and bring to the Friers al maner things that may be desired, taking in change thereof fishe, which they drie in the sunne, or in the colde, and skins of divers kindes of beastes. For the which they have wood to burne, and timber verie artificially carved, and corne and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two foresayde commodities, all the nations bordering rounde about them covet to trafficke with them; and so they, without any travell or expences, have that which they desire.

"To this monasterie resort Friers of Norway, of Suetia [or Sweden], and of other countreys, but the most part are of the Islandes.

"There are continually in that part many barkes, whiche are kept in there by reason of the sea being frozen, wayting for the season of the yeere to dissolve the ice.

"The fishers boates are made like unto a weavers shuttle; taking the skins of fishes, they fashion them with the bones of the same fishes, and sowing them together in many doubles, they make them so sure and substantiall, that it is miraculous to see how in tempests they will shut themselves close within, and let the sea and winde carry them, they care not whether, without any feare eyther of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driven upon any rocks, they remaine sounde, without the least bruse of the worlde. And they have, as it were, a sleeve in the bottome, which is tied fast in ye middle, and when there commeth any water into their boat, they put it into the one halfe of ye sleeve, then fastning ye ende of it with two peeces of wood, and loosing ye band beneath, they convey the water forth of the boate; and this they doe as often as they have occasion, without any perill or impediment at all.

"Moreover, the water of the monasterie being of a sulphurious or brimstone nature, is conveyed into the lodginges of the principall Friers by certaine vessels of brasse, tinne, or stone, so hotte that it heateth the place as it were a stowe, not carrying with it any stinke or other noysome smell. Besides this, they have another conveyance to bring hot water, with a wall under the ground, to the ende it should not freese, unto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great vessel of brasse, that standeth in the middle of a boyling fountayne; and this is to heate their water to drinke, and to water their gardens, and thus they have from the hill the greatest commodities that may be wished; and so these Friers emploie all their travaile and studie, for the most part, in trimming their gardins, and in making faire and beawtifull buildings, and especially handsome and commodious. Neither are they destitute of ingenious and painefull artificers for the purpose, for they give very large payment, and to them that bring them fruites and seedes they are very bountifull, and give they care not what. So that there is great resort of workmen and maisters in divers faculties, by reason of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

"The most of them speake the Latin tongue, and especially the superiors and principalls of the monasterie."[1]

There are in this description, made about the year 1400, several passages which both ancient and modern experience proves to be perfectly correct, although quite singular. The most interesting particular is undoubtedly the curious system of heating and cooking, by means of overheated water issuing from the adjacent volcano. Yet the honor of original invention does not belong to the friars of St. Thomas's monastery.

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[1] See Document LIV., *g–l*.

They had enjoyed this modern improvement and convenience in the religious communities of their mother country. The chronicle of Brother John de Capistrano explicitly relates that the Dominican and the Franciscan monks of Norway used for heating purposes not only firewood in stoves, but also boiling water, which they conveyed in hidden pipes into the heating-hall and under the benches and seats used by the brothers.[1]

A German author, Dithmar Blefken, tells us that in the year 1546, *alias* 1564, being in Iceland when its governor confiscated the revenues of the monastery of Helgafell, he spoke with a Dominican monk who had come the year before from St. Thomas's cloister in Greenland, and gave a description of it in accord with that of the Zeni. In Cæsar Longinus's Extract of All Journies[2] it is said that an English sailor, James Hall, in the service of Denmark, made several voyages to Iceland and Greenland, and received similar information from the same old friar. The Danish Chronicle of Greenland also makes mention of this institution and of its fertile garden, but the more ancient Icelandic records do not speak of St. Thomas's monastery.[3] Gravier,[4] with Gaffarel, says that in the year 1564 a vessel was sent out to verify the old monk's report, and that the mariners crossed with great difficulty the wall of ice which enclosed the land, but were driven back by excessive cold and a multitude of white bears, and returned to Iceland.

We leave it to our readers to judge of the amount of credibility deserved by the later testimonies. From the facts to be stated farther on, it is evident that they would appear more likely and admissible, in case St.

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[1] Rome, Bibliotheca Corsini, Cod. 776 or Col. 39, G. 2, fo. 103.

[2] Part ii. p. 147.

[3] Crantz, vol. i. p. 265.

[4] P. 199.

Thomas's monastery had actually been situated at or about the place where it has been located by the Zeni brothers and afterwards by the great Flemish geographer, Mercator. But the learned have spent much labor and time in trying to identify elsewhere the volcanic hill at whose foot the religious institution once flourished, without coming, however, to any certain conclusion. The learned Englishman, Major, and after him the Italian, C. Desimoni,[1] defend the opinion of St. Thomas's monastery having existed on the borders of Rafnsfjord, in Greenland's Östrebygd; and they sustain their belief by the topography of Ivar Bardson, who speaks of the hot springs still to be found in that firth; but it must also be remembered that Bardson plainly calls St. Benedict's convent an institution for nuns. It seems equally impossible to confound the monastery of Sts. Olaf and Augustin for Canons Regular with the Dominican house of St. Thomas. Rafn locates the institution a little to the North of Rafnsfjord, at the present Tessermint, because the lake and the mountain of this locality seem to correspond well with those spoken of by the Zeni; and, if the mountain is a volcano no longer, it is not hard to suppose that it was one in former times.

Distance and other good reasons prevent us from attempting to decide the quarrel of the savants, but we cannot refrain from thinking that the Zeni and Mercator are justified in locating St. Thomas and the adjoining settlement of Alba on the eastern coast of Greenland. We presume that the erection of this monastery was due to a colony established by the explorers of the year 1194,[2] whose metifs were still found to live in Scoresby Land by Captain Graah during his cruise of 1829 to 1830.[3]

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[1] Archivio Storico Italiano, serie iv. t. ii. p. 389.

[2] Supra, p. 382.

[3] Gravier, p. 200.

Gravier relates a few facts,[1] which throw some light on this obscure question. A band of roaming Esquimaux came in modern times among the Danish colonies, probably for the sake of trade, and stated that far away on the eastern coast of Greenland they had seen ruins of human habitations. Maltebrun suspects that these may be the ruins of the Dominican institution.[2]

Scoresby has discovered on the long and deep inlets of eastern Greenland dwelling-places similar to those of the Esquimaux, and tracts of country covered with grass and shrubs. So, also, have the Moravian Brethren found in eastern Greenland tribes which were in communication with natives living still farther north, and have there seen waving meadows and bays free of ice, protected by mountains of snow that were slowly drifting towards the West.

That, as Iceland, the neighboring eastern Greenland is subject to all the phenomena connected with volcanic action, appears to be established by the fact that, at the time of the fearful eruption of the Krapta-Syssel, on June 11, 1783, three immense columns of flame were seen in Iceland to shoot up into the skies from the neighborhood of the rivers Skapta and Hverfisfliot in eastern Greenland. Whalers along these cold coasts have, moreover, testified that they have felt shocks as of earthquakes, and have noticed quantities of pumice-stone ejected by volcanoes in these districts.

In time to come more may be known of the history of Egede's Land, Scoresby Land, William Land, and Edan Land; some saga speaking of these countries may yet be found, but until this day nothing can be stated with historical certainty about events that probably took place in the long ago on the southeastern and eastern shores of the extensive arctic island.

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[1] P. 199, *seq.*

[2] Coup d'œil sur les Découvertes géographiques qui restent à faire et sur les meilleurs moyens de les effectuer, ap. Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, t. i., 1819, pp. 95–97; ap. Gravier, p. 200.

Very little also is known of Greenland's western coast after the beginning of the fifteenth century until the final and complete ruin of the Scandinavian colonies. A few priests, secular or regular, continued for a while yet to minister, as best they could, to the spiritual wants of the Greenlanders,[1] but probably not one of the bishops appointed after Eskill set foot within the limits of the diocese of Gardar.

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[1] See Document XXIX.

CHAPTER XXI.

TITULAR BISHOPS OF GREENLAND.

It is to be supposed that the messenger who carried to Rome the news of the death of Eskill, the late bishop of Greenland, also made before the Roman court such a description of the forlorn condition of the church in that country as to make the Supreme Pontiff understand that life had become impossible for a prelate in Gardar. As a consequence, the following bishops were not expected any longer to fill their Greenland see, but simply were titular bishops. This statement is borne out by the text of the bulls by which the next prelate of Gardar, James Treppe,[1] *alias* Peters, was promoted on the 27th of March, 1411; as again by the appointment, shortly after, of several pontifical penitentiaries living in Rome as bishops of Gardar.

We read in the records of consistorial transactions preserved both in the Vatican and in the Cancellaria, in Rome, that "on Wednesday, March 27, 1411, Our Lord John XXIII. provided for the cathedral of Gardar in Greenland, vacant through the death of its ordinary, by appointing as its bishop the person of brother James Peters, a member of the Order of Minorites."[2]

Following is an extract from the bulls of the promotion:[3] "John, etc., to our beloved son, James Treppe, bishop elect of Gardar, Greeting, etc. . . . We have learned shortly after our exaltation to the apostolic see, that the diocese of Gardar, formerly governed by its bishop, Eskill of blessed memory, was deprived of the comfort of a pastor through the demise of the said Eskill, who died in that country. Desirous of supplying that diocese with a useful and fit person to preside over it . . . we have cast the eyes of our mind upon you, a member of the Order of Minorites, endowed with priestly ordination, . . . and with our apostolic authority we dispose of your person to provide for the said diocese, and we place you at its head as bishop and pastor. . . . Now, it is our will that, as soon as you shall have received these letters, you go to that diocese and actually reside in it, and that, outside of your city and diocese of Gardar, you shall not be allowed to exercise episcopal functions. . . . Given in Bologna, March 27, 1411."

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[1] Gams, p. 334, and Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland, call him Teppe.

[2] See Document LXIII., *a. b.*

[3] Ibid., *c.*

An ordinary reader would naturally conclude from the last sentence of the papal brief that the new bishop, James Treppe, was seriously ordered by the Roman Pontiff to go to take personal charge of the diocese of Gardar; but the very contrary is apparent to one who is acquainted with the customs and style of the Roman court. Indeed, such a clause is never inserted in the appointment bulls of a bishop who is expected to reside in his diocese, but always found in apostolic letters naming titular bishops; with no other meaning than that of an ardent desire that an episcopal see once filled by Catholic bishops may again receive apostolic men to bring back to the faith the country in which it is located. It is customary, however, that another bull be issued the same or the following day, by which the recipient of the former is excused from personal residence in his titular diocese, and authorized to act as coadjutor of some resident bishop, or as vicar apostolic of a certain district, or to fill other honorable positions.

James Treppe thus became a titular bishop of Gardar in Greenland. For a length of time he acted as vicar-general and coadjutor of the bishop of Roeskilde near Copenhagen.[1] He is mentioned in records of the years 1417 and 1425—in the latter as being deceased.[2]

His seal has been found, and published in the "Groenlandz historiske Mindesmaerker." The legend was: "S. Jacobi de. gra. epi. garden," Seal of James by the grace of God bishop of Gardar.[3]

During the time that James Treppe was bishop of Greenland new and fearful calamities befell that doomed country.

The numerous pirates of the northern seas had long since been a continual danger for Norway's distant provinces. The learned Nordenskjöld remarks that, almost immediately after Greenland's discovery, there is question of pirates on its waters,[4] and, while the improvident edicts of Norway and Denmark restricted and destroyed honest navigation and commerce on the northern Atlantic, they increased the opportunities and the number of robbers on the high seas. Greenland, the most abandoned region of the North, was especially made to suffer in the first years of the fifteenth century from the invasion of a hostile fleet whose point of departure is unknown,[5] yet seems to have been none other than that of the pirate "Principe" Siegmund,[6] whose incursion is glossed over by the Zeni in the following fashion:

"Zichmni, seeing that nothing could be done [against the northeastern coasts of the American continent], and that, if he should be obstinate in his warlike resolutions, his provisions might run short, availed himself of the favorable wind and weighed anchor. He sailed westward for six days; but the wind then shifted and, blowing from the Southwest, filled all the canvas and swelled the ocean. After a run of four days they sighted land and made for it with no little fear, because the breakers were heavy and the shores unknown. But God came to our assistance, the wind fell and calm set in. Some of the sailors manned the row-boats and went on land. Returning soon after, they told us, to our great satisfaction, that they had found an excellent country and a port better still. We, therefore, set in motion all our ships, large and small, entered a good haven, and disembarked. We saw at a distance a high mountain from which smoke arose, and this gave us hopes that we would meet with people on the island. Although the place was very remote, Zichmni ordered a hundred good soldiers to go and reconnoitre the country and to report about the people that might live in it. In the mean time the fleet took in provisions of water and wood and caught a great number of fish and of sea-fowl, and they found such a quantity of birds' eggs that the half-starved crews had their fill. During the time that we sojourned here—namely, during the month of June—the climate of the island was temperate and pleasant more than I could say. Not seeing, however, any human being, we commenced to suspect that this lovely place was not inhabited; and to the bay and the tongue of land that advanced into the sea we gave the names of Trin and Cape Trin.

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[1] Gams, p. 334, and Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[2] Gams, p. 334; Document LXV., *a*, *b*.

[3] Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 432; Gravier, p. 238.

[4] Cronau, S. 159.

[5] Brockhaus, art. Groenland; von Humboldt, Examen.

[6] Maltebrun, t. i. p. 362; Gravier, p. 219, ref. also to von Humboldt, Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 346; and Brasseur de Bourbourg, t. i. pp. 21, 22.

"After eight days the one hundred soldiers returned and reported that they had travelled about the island and to the mountain, and that the smoke was rising from the mountain's bowels, where there evidently was a great fire; and that there was a fountain which poured forth some kind of melted mass, like rosin, running to the sea. They also related that a great number of people were living all round: people half-wild, who hid themselves in caverns, low of stature and very timid, who, as soon as they saw us, they said, fled to their holes. There was also a river and a good, secure haven."

Does not all this recall to our imagination the Greenland firths, the Ounartok steaming springs, and the poor exiles assaulted again and again? The Zeno writer continues:

"Zichmni, having received such information, finding the air to be pure and healthy, and seeing the soil to be better yet, and the streams and several other alluring particulars, conceived the idea of settling that region and of building a city in it. But his men, tired of a voyage so full of hardships, commenced to mutiny, saying that they wanted to return home, because winter was coming, and that, should they tarry till the cold would set in, they could get away no more before the next summer. Zichmni, therefore, retaining only the row-boats and such of the crew as were willing to stay, remanded all the others back to the ships, and willed that, in spite of myself, I should be their captain. Unable to do otherwise, I set out, and, without seeing land, sailed eastward for twenty continuous days, veering after that to the Southeast. Five days later I discovered land, and found that I had reached the isle of Neome, which I recognized, and thus knew that I was past Iceland. Having obtained some refreshments from the islanders who were under the power of Zichmni, I sailed with favorable wind in three days to Frisland, where the people received us with marks of the greatest joy, as they had thought their prince to be lost, because of the long duration of our absence."[1]

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[1] See Document LIV., *q–s*.

The length and the direction of Zeno's return voyage leaves hardly a doubt of his departure having been from Greenland. The Italian sea-rover probably never wrote how the shy and powerless Greenlanders fared at the hands of the arch-pirate Siegmund and of his most daring and lawless accomplices.

Beamish,[1] with other writers, thinks that the mysterious fleet, which ravaged Greenland in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was of English origin. Many complaints, he says, were made against English piracy by Margaret of Denmark and her successors, until, in the year 1433, a treaty was made between England and Denmark, containing the stipulation that "whatever people have been carried away from Iceland, Finnmark, Helgeland, and other places, His Majesty of England must provide that, wherever they be found in his dominions, they shall go back, and shall receive payment for their services; and he must give orders that they come free to their homes again." It should be remarked, however, that the navy of England was not the only one to blame for robbery, kidnapping, and murder on the northern seas and coasts of Europe. In the year 1411 the king of England was compelled to take severe measures to prevent further crimes being committed upon his feal subjects by the unscrupulous sailors of the Hansa, who had their head-quarters in Bergen; and when, as late as 1489, peace was restored between England and Denmark, King Henry VII. stated that until then outrages of many kinds, by sea and by land, had been common on either side.[2]

Poor helpless Greenland was thus constantly exposed to, and had doubtless often to suffer from, hostile assaults of bold and heartless sea-rovers from many parts of civilized Europe. But it is from the American savage natives of the neighborhood that, in the year 1418, the ancient colonies received the most calamitous visitation that ever afflicted their land, and by which they were almost irreparably destroyed. This we learn from their own tearful statements and complaints, recorded in a papal authentic document of 1448.

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[1] P. 154.

[2] See Document LXIV., *a*, *b*.

"Thirty years ago," we read, in a bull of Nicholas V., "barbarians came with a fleet from the neighboring pagan shores, cruelly invading and assaulting all the people who dwelt there; they laid waste with fire and sword the land and its sacred buildings, leaving on the island, which is said to be very extensive, only nine parochial churches, which, for the height of the mountains, they could not well reach; they took off the pitiable inhabitants of both sexes, especially those whom they saw fit and strong enough to take up the burdens of perpetual slavery and suitable to do their bidding; and they led them captives to their own haunts."[1]

While all these misfortunes and calamities of the ancient colonies are known long ago, it takes some little courage to write that "in the year 1418 Greenland still paid to the Holy See, as annual tithes and St. Peter's Pence, two thousand six hundred pounds of walrus-teeth."[2] It requires boldness to read before an assembly of savants that "Greenland had steadily improved since the year 1327, so as to be able to pay to the Pope, in 1418, twice as much as in the former year, and to have a clergy and laity considerably augmented in numbers."[3]

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[1] See Document XXIX.

[2] Gravier, p. 179.

[3] Congrès Scient., sec. v. p. 178. Gravier is justly punished by his manifestation of gross ignorance, for the slur he casts with the same breath upon Catholic indulgences. (P. 179.)

It is highly probable that James Treppe never heard of the fearful ravages wrought in Greenland during the time he was its bishop, although he lived near the court of its sovereign for six or seven years later; so scarce had become, or, rather, so entirely suspended, all intercourse between the Scandinavian kingdoms and their isolated perishing province.

The bishop died, as we noticed already, at the end of the year 1424 or in the beginning of 1425.

Gams[1] mentions a certain Nicholas as successor of Bishop Treppe, and so also do Wetzer and Welte, who assign the time of his reign from 1422 to 1432.[2] But they mistake. The next prelate of Gardar was Robert Ryngmann, as evidently appears from several authentic records. Robert was, indeed, proclaimed by Pope Martin V. in the consistory held on Wednesday, May 30, 1425, to fill the see of Gardar in the province of Drontheim, become vacant by the death of Brother James of the Order of Minorites. Bishop Ryngmann was a member of the same religious Order of St. Francis.[3]

The bulls of his promotion are in the ordinary form, and relate nothing of interest besides what is contained in the foregoing short abstract.[4] As usual, the new bishop received also letters of recommendation to his metropolitan, the archbishop of Drontheim, and to the sovereign of Greenland, King Eric of Denmark. Other pontifical briefs introduced him to the people, to the clergy, and, while it is probable that at the time there was not even a shadow of dignitaries in the cathedral of Gardar, even to the Chapter of that church. The pontifical scribes were on this occasion more concerned with the observance of custom and their consequent

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[1] P. 334.

[2] Art. Grönland.

[3] See Document LXV., *a*, *b*.

[4] Ibid., *c*.

fees than with the usefulness of such a paper. It is a wonder that they forgot to issue the usual letters to the imaginary vassals of the Greenland diocese. As a curiosity, interesting to scholars, we append these briefs to Document LXV., *c*.

On the 20th of the following month "the Reverend Father in Christ, Lord Robert Ryngmann, bishop-elect of Gardar, personally offered to the apostolic treasury and to the College of the lords cardinals two hundred and fifty treasury gold florins, more or less, as the Church of Gardar would be found to be taxed, in payment of his common dues and of the five smaller fees; and he promised to pay one half within the next eight months and the other half within the eight months thereupon following."[1]

We did not find any particulars of the subsequent history of this bishop, nor when he died or was transferred to some other diocese. It appears that Nicholas was the name of his immediate successor, who, in turn, was replaced by another bishop of Gardar, called John.

This new Bishop John was appointed on some fourth day of July, in or before the year 1431;[2] and from the record of his successor's promotion we learn that he died already before the 24th of September of that same year.[3]

At this last date, "Pope Eugene IV., upon the report of Cardinal L. dei Conti, provided for the church of Garder vacant through the death of the last lord Bishop, etc., by appointing to it the person of the Reverend Father, Lord Gibelin Volant [*alias* Boland], a baccalaureate of theology, a friar of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustin and a minor penitentiary in the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles" in Rome.[4]

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[1] See Document LXV., *d*.

[2] Schede Garampi, at the Vatican Secret Archives.

[3] See Document LXVI., *b*.

[4] Ibid. *a*, *b*.

Bishop Volant had formerly been a priest of the diocese of Cologne.

He did not remain long the ordinary of Greenland, being promoted to the see of Aalborg in the Province of Lund on the 19th of March,[1] 1432.[2]

On the next following fourth day of July, 1432, he was replaced by John Erler de Moys or de Monis, a priest of the diocese of Meissen in Saxony, of the Order of Minorites, a licentiate of theology, and, as his predecessor, a penitentiary in St. Peter's basilica in Rome.[3] A month later he paid eighteen florins to the thirteen cardinals who had assisted at his preconization and to their clerks, and on the 13th of August he solemnly promised to make, within the eight and the fourteen next following months, two dimidiate payments, wherewith to satisfy the claims of the papal treasury and those of the Pontiff's employees and officials.

It is noteworthy that the sad condition of the Greenland diocese was now better understood in Rome than it had been a few years previous. The taxation of the Gardar cathedral was, indeed, reduced from two hundred and fifty to sixty-six florins.[4]

We did not find any more of Bishop Erler's good deeds, nor how or when he ceased to be the titulary of Greenland. His reign must have been short, however, for already his second successor was proclaimed on the 24th of September of the next following year.

Berthold, or, rather, Bartholomew of St. Hippolyte, who was promoted on this day, had, indeed, been immediately preceded by a bishop of Gardar named Michael, who must have died shortly after his appointment, as it appears from the record of Bartholomew's elevation.

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[1] Not on the 5th of July, as stated in Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, etc., p. 180, *seq.*

[2] See Documents LXVII. and LXVIII., *b*.

[3] See Document LXVIII., *a*, *b*, *c*.

[4] Ibid., *d*.

Here we read that, "in 1433, on Wednesday, the 24th of September, upon the report of Cardinal dei Conti, provisions were made for the church of Greenland in the province of Drontheim, vacant through the death of the late Lord Michael, the last bishop of the said church, who had died without the city of Rome; and to take his place, was named the person of Brother Bartholomew of St. Hippolyte, a licentiate of Holy Scripture and a friar of the Order of Preachers."[1]

The bishop-elect of Gardar, Bartholomew, paid on the 28th of October, in the city of Florence, to the seven cardinals and their clerks who had honored the occasion of his promotion the sum of nine florins and forty skillings.[2] It seems it was also in this city that he was consecrated on the 7th of November of the following year.

This bishop of Gardar is better known in history than his nearest predecessors or successors. Several authors mention the year of his appointment, his name, and religious association;[3] and from Gams[4] and Fita[5] we learn that Bartholomew died a bishop of Greenland in the year 1440.

He was succeeded by Gregory, who was proclaimed about the month of August that same year, and was still bishop of Gardar in 1450,[6] as appears from the discovery of his seal, which bears the latter date.[7]

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[1] See Document LXIX., *a*.

[2] Ibid., *b*.

[3] Respectively, Gravier, p. 238, ref. to von Humboldt, Essai Critique, t. ii. p. 104; Kosmos, Bd. ii. S. 546, n. 29; Gams, p. 334; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Fidel Fita, Boletín, t. xxi. p. 237; Clarke, Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xv. p. 258; alii.

[4] P. 334.

[5] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 237.

[6] Gams, p. 334; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[7] Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 432; Gaffarel, Histoire, p. 344; Gravier, p. 239.

An ancient chronicle states[1] that, in the year of Our Lord 1445, one Andrew, bishop of Gardar, granted indulgences to the Gabin monastery at Nestveda; but the date is unduly advanced twenty years. Often incorrect and scarce, indeed, is the information we have regarding the bishops of Greenland since the beginning of the fifteenth century; nor is there any record of their administration or episcopal functions to be found. That priests and bishops could not, and the most industrious workmen hardly could, live in Greenland at this time, clearly appears from certain statements and facts in regard to Iceland, where poverty and suffering were great under circumstances ten times better.

The bishop of Skalholt was residing in England, and when, in the year 1436, he proposed to visit his bishopric, it was found proper to send first a ship to Iceland, and exact from his diocesans merchandise in sufficient quantity to pay the debts which he had been obliged to contract.[2]

During the same year, John, the newly appointed bishop of Holar, requested the English king to allow one of his subjects to go to administer the temporalities of that diocese, because he was afraid of going to live there himself.[3]

The appointment of this bishop had been made in the year 1435, but in 1438 he had not yet come in possession of the pontifical bulls, which had been deposited with certain merchants of London until he should pay into the papal treasury the first year's revenues of his diocese. He now requested permission from the king of England to import, on one or more vessels, certain goods which he had obtained from friends in Norway; therewith to release the bulls, which, if remaining unpaid, would be sent back to Rome after the next coming month of January. The king graciously consented, but the plans of the indigent prelate did not succeed, and another bishop, Robert, was already appointed for the see of Holar on the 14th of July, 1441.[1]

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[1] Hamsfortii Chronologia 2a., ap. Langebek, t. i. p. 333.

[2] Rymer, t. x. p. 659.

[3] Ibid., p. 645.

An example more striking still of the great destitution of the Icelandic clergy during the fifteenth century is afforded by another diploma of the king of England. On the 26th of February, 1440, Henry VI. issued a license for two vessels to be laden in his dominions with one hundred measures of wheat and other victuals and cloth, to be shipped to Goswin, bishop of Skalholt in Iceland, and to return with merchandise from that country. His Majesty had been requested to that effect by the prelate, who had exposed to him the pressing need of clothes and victuals. "The poor bishop had no bread to eat, no beer nor wine to drink, neither could he procure cloth to cover himself and his servants." The compassionate monarch, who required, however, the payment of all custom duties, was further inclined to make the generous concession by the thought that, for the want of bread and wine, divine service and Holy Communion of the faithful had become impossible in the diocese of Skalholt; and he happily made a mistake in supposing that, without salt, baptism itself could not be administered.[2]

We may presume that the royal grant procured great relief to the bishop of Skalholt. But, if such was the destitute condition of the head of the principal diocese, what must have been the misery of his clergy and of the people in Iceland? And if such was the pitiful predicament of Iceland, so much nearer to civilization and wealth, and still entertaining commercial relations with Europe, it should not be difficult to imagine to what degree of want and suffering must have fallen its sister-island, situated so much farther in the northern seas and glaciers and almost forgotten by all kindred nations.

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[1] See Document LXX. and supra, p. 140.

[2] See Document LXXI.

There is comfort in knowing that our misery engages the commiseration of others; but even this slight consolation was denied to the poor sufferers of Greenland. Their rulers of Denmark and even, it seems, their less unfortunate relatives of Iceland had abandoned them to their sad condition, and not until thirty years after most of them had been killed or reduced to slavery had the survivors been able to invoke the compassion of the Father of all Christians.

The famous bull of Pope Nicholas V., issued the 20th of September, 1448, is a sympathetic echo of their laments, and an answer, as fatherly as prudent, to their pious request. Although we have already presented an extract from it, the document is of such importance that we shall translate it here unimpaired and in full:

"Nicholas, etc., to our venerable brethren, Goswin and Godschalk, bishops of Skalholt and of Holar, greeting, etc. Presiding over all the churches, in virtue of the office of Apostolic Servant which has been imposed upon Us from Above, We are, with the help of the Lord, most solicitous for the souls redeemed at the high price paid by our Redeemer, trying to restore to them steady and perfect peace, not only when they are tossed about by storms of impiety and error, but also when they suffer from tempests of misfortune and persecution.

"Verily, we have been shocked and our soul has been filled with bitterness when hearing the tearful complaints of our beloved children, the natives and all the inhabitants of the isle of Greenland, which lies, it is said, at the uttermost bounds of the ocean, to the North of the kingdom of Norway, in the province of Drontheim. The inhabitants and people of that country state that for six hundred years they have, obedient to the regulations of the Holy Roman Church and of the Apostolic See, preserved intact the faith which they have received from their apostle, the Blessed Olaf King; and that, in the course of time, the people, constantly animated with pious zeal, have erected a great number of sacred edifices and a respectable cathedral in which divine service was carefully performed. But thirty years ago God, who, in the inscrutable designs of his wisdom and science, often corrects in this world those whom he loves and leads them with chastisements to better reformation of life, allowed that barbarians should come on a fleet from the neighboring pagan shores, and cruelly invade and assault all the people who dwelt there, lay waste with fire and sword the land and its sacred buildings, leaving on the island, which is said to be very extensive, only nine parochial churches which, for the height of the mountains, they could not well approach. They captured the wretched inhabitants of both sexes, especially those whom they saw fit and strong to bear the burdens of perpetual slavery; and, as well adapted to their tyranny, they led them off to their own haunts.

"But, as it is further said in the same complaint, a great number afterwards returned home from their captivity and built up the ruins again in different places, and they now wish to commence anew and to extend as much as possible the divine worship as it was of old. While, in consequence of the aforesaid calamities, they greatly suffered from want and famine and had not the means to support a prelate and priests, they have, for all that period of years, been deprived of the consolations of a bishop and of the ministrations of priests, except when some one, from his great desire of assisting at divine service, would make a long journey of several days to those churches which the hand of the barbarians had spared.

"They have sent humbly to entreat Us to assist them with fatherly compassion in their pious and salutary design, to supply their spiritual wants, and deign to bestow upon them, under the present circumstances, our good-will and the favors of the Apostolic See. We, therefore, feel inclined to grant the just and honest prayers and wishes of the natives and of all the people of the said isle of Greenland; but, as We have no certain knowledge of the alleged facts and of their circumstances, We, by this apostolic brief, commit and commend to you, venerable brethren, whom we have understood to be among the bishops that are nearest to the said island, that you or either one of you should carefully inquire into, and become acquainted with, the above named statements; and, if you find these to be correct, and the people and natives to be sufficiently recruited in numbers and means to make it appear expedient for the present, that you should grant them their desires, by ordaining for them suitable priests of exemplary life, by providing them with pastors and by appointing rectors, who shall govern the restored parishes and churches and administer the sacraments. Finally, should you or either one of you find it to be useful and convenient, We give you the faculty of appointing and establishing, after having requested the advice of the metropolitan, if the distance does not prevent it, some person useful and able who is in communion with Us and the Apostolic See, to be their bishop, and of conferring in our name upon him the grace of consecration according to the usual rites of the Church, and of granting him the administration of things spiritual and temporal, after having first received the oath due to Us and to the Church of Rome. Charging your conscience with all matters hereunto pertaining, We grant, by these presents, with our apostolic authority, to you or either one of you, to do all this, full and absolute power; any statutes or apostolic constitutions or anything published by general councils or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Given in Rome at St. Potenciana, in the year, etc., One thousand four hundred and forty-eight, the twelfth of the calends of October, the second year of our pontificate.[1]

"Gratis by order of our lord the Pope.

"Collated by S. Cousin Ja. de Rizonibus"

This letter of Nicholas V.[2] gives the most complete information we possess regarding the sad history of Greenland during the first half of the fifteenth century. It is further completed and explained by a paper of Pope Alexander VI., as we shall notice soon. But neither from the latter document nor from any other historical source can we conclude that the cares of Nicholas V. were rewarded by any practical result. It is likely that the bishops Goswin and Godschalk had neither the means nor the opportunities to go and examine the actual condition of the neighboring island; for it was believed in 1492 that "since eighty years not a single European vessel had arrived at the Greenland shores."[3]

Björn of Skardza speaks of a Hamburg sailor who frequented the northern Atlantic during the latter half of the fifteenth century, and whose adventures had earned him the name of Jón Greenlander; but this very remark indicates that voyages on the northern seas were very scarce at that time; and Jón Greenlander may likely have been one of the last pirates to seek after a possible subsistence along the Greenland firths. The Danish government was not in the least concerned about the welfare of its transmarine subjects, although it kept in existence the chartered company of merchants who alone were allowed, for the pretended benefit of the royal treasury, to sail to, and trade with, Greenland. Even this last means of communication was lost in the year 1484. Kunstmann says[1] that the last sailors acquainted with the dangerous route were poisoned in Greenland; but Rafn, with higher probability, assures us that they were murdered in Bergen by non-licensed merchants.[2]

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[1] September 20, 1448.

[2] See Document XXIX. Mr. Winsor, vol. i. p. 146, need not doubt any longer the authenticity of the document. Its official record can be seen in the Vatican private archives, Regest. 407, Nic. V., De Curia, lib. ii. fo. 251 vo.

[3] See Document LXXIII., initio.

Greenland was actually lost, and its memory became in Europe an object of mere sympathy or curiosity. Its very bishop would likely have been considerably puzzled if asked about the geographical location of his diocese.

It is doubtful whether the brief of Nicholas V. ever reached its destination, since Iceland itself was seldom visited at that time; and it is more uncertain yet, whether the court of Rome was again requested to send a bishop to Gardar. We may, rather, consider it highly probable that the next prelate was a titular only, like both his predecessors and successors of that epoch.

Fidel Fita, a respectable authority, assures us that after Gregory, a certain Boniface was appointed bishop of the Greenland cathedral in the year 1450.[3]

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[1] S. 64; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 26.

[2] Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 127.

[3] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 237.

However this may be, we find, in the year 1461, officiating in Iceland a certain Andrew, who added to his name the titles of bishop of Gardar and of vice-bishop or vicar of Skalholt. A circumstance of the occasion on which he is mentioned suggests the presumption that he was acting in the latter capacity, as lieutenant of Bishop Marcellus, who, although promoted to the metropolis of Drontheim, had no successor in Skalholt before he died in the year 1462. It is related that, during the previous year, Bishop Andrew summoned before a tribunal composed of twelve priests the rector of the church of Hrun, John Johnson, whom he accused of having taken possession of that church without the permission of the archbishop or of the Chapter of Drontheim, nay, in spite of the objections of the ordinary. He deprived the culprit of his office and of the administration of his parish, and adjudged his goods to the cathedral and the bishop, till he should return to obedience and offer satisfactory apology to the Church. That same year he gave the revenues and goods of the rebellious cleric to the nobleman Thorleif Björnson. "I have," says Torfæus, "the copies of both documents before me."[1]

Andrew, vice-bishop of Skalholt probably since the time that Bishop Marcellus had been advanced to the archdiocese of Drontheim, was also for a length of time administrator of Gardar, before being appointed as ordinary of that see. His promotion from administrator to titular bishop was made after the resignation or transfer of Gardar's former incumbent,[2] Bishop Boniface, or Gregory; and we are inclined to think that it took place in the year 1462, when Andrew was no longer needed in Iceland. In this year, indeed, Archbishop

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. xxx. p. 256; cf. Moosmüller, S. 68.

[2] Document LXXII., *a*.

Marcellus had died, and was succeeded in Skalholt by Bishop John Krabbe.[1]

From the action of Pope Sixtus IV. proclaiming for Gardar a prelate used to the severe climate and privations of the neighboring island we may readily conclude that it was his desire to procure to the poor remnants of the Scandinavian colonists in Greenland the assistance of a resident bishop. There is, however, neither record nor probability of Bishop Andrew having ever set foot within the limits of his episcopal jurisdiction. Afterwards, particularly in the year 1476, we find him acting in the capacity of an auxiliary to the bishop of Linkoping, in Sweden.[2]

He was succeeded in 1483 by the Dominican friar James Blaa,[3] a Dane, whose seal has been found bearing the date of 1487, and the legend : "Secretu. iacobi. epi. gadensis," Private Seal of James, bishop of Gardar.[4]

James Blaa had been promoted to the see of Gardar by Pope Sixtus IV. on the 15th of June, 1481.[5] Probably to give free scope to the zeal of another priest, and, not unlikely, at the request of Cardinal Roderic Borgia, who was anxious to see a bishop proceed to Greenland and prevent the total ruin of Christianity in that country, Bishop Blaa tendered to the Sovereign Pontiff the resignation of his titular diocese, which Innocent VIII. accepted on the 9th of July, 1492 ; and another bishop of Gardar was proclaimed that same day.[6]

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[1] Supra, p. 138.

[2] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[3] Not "de Blois," as it is stated in Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894, sec. Sciences, p. 180, *seq.* See Document LXXII., *a*.

[4] Gravier, p, 240 ; Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 432.

[5] Not on June 16, 1483, as it is said in Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, 1894.

[6] The Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, ubi supra, mistakes in saying that, already in 1491, "Matthias, O. S. B., was elected bishop of Gardar." See Documents LXXII., *b*, and LXXIII.

This new prelate was a member of the Benedictine Order of Stricter Observance. His name, Matthew Canutson, is pretty fair evidence that he was of Norwegian parentage. When we learn that about this time the government of the northern kingdoms was making efforts to rediscover the lost province of Greenland, we may readily presume that more than one of the friars and priests of Norway were kindled with the fire of holy ambition to restore to the glory of God's service the long-abandoned descendants of their ancient countrymen and kindred. News had lately been received from the far-away island, in a manner which the records do not specify, that had stirred up the most generous feelings of the priestly heart of Matthew Canutson. In spite of forbidding fact and fancy, he was prepared to step on board a vessel bound for Greenland, and to undertake a voyage that was at the time considered as coupled with the most imminent dangers of death. He is even credited with the extraordinary liberality of equipping at his own expense the ship needed for his passage; but we must confess that this latter praise is hardly in keeping with the officially stated circumstance of his extreme poverty.[1]

These particulars and others still more interesting and important we learn from a well-authenticated command of the maligned Pope, Alexander VI. When this Pontiff was yet a vice-chancellor of the Holy See, he was the best-informed member of the Sacred College in all public affairs and a regular correspondent with the numerous courts of Europe. It would be no wonder if the king of Denmark, moved by temporal interests as much as by religious considerations, had introduced to him the courageous friar of his kingdom, the Benedictine Matthew. Be this as it may, we know that, when Cardinal Borgia heard of the daring zeal of the religious priest, he insisted with his predecessor in the papacy to appoint him a bishop, who might go and reside at the ancient, long-abandoned cathedral of Greenland. The cardinal's pious endeavors were crowned with success, the resignation of the titular bishop, Blaa, was secured, and Matthew Canutson was proclaimed by Innocent VIII. at the date just stated. There existed, however, a very serious obstacle to the realization of the monk's laudable projects. The scribes and employees of the Roman court were richly paid for drawing up the necessary papers, and the poor Bishop Matthew could not obtain the papal bulls during the reign of Innocent VIII., who, be it said for his exoneration in this case, died only a few days after. Cardinal Borgia, who was elected by the unanimous votes of his colleagues on the 3d of the following August, did not, in the splendor of his coronation, forget the small, trifling cathedral of the American island; nor did he mind his own financial interests, the "servitia communia," nor those of his clerical officials, the "servitia minuta," when there was question of missionary work to be done in distant regions. He issued orders, as positive and stringent as were required to restrain the heartless selfishness of the corrupt body of Vatican scribes, and to make them compose, engross, seal, register, and deliver all papers needed by the penniless bishop of Gardar. The scoundrels of those times, who lived high on the liberality of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and felt no shame in styling themselves "the Liars' Club," made Alexander VI. pay dearly for his apostolic generosity by forging documents, which until this day are set forth against the memory of one of the greatest and best among the popes of Rome.[1]

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[1] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 476; Document LXXIII., in fine.

The registry of Alexander's important document bears no date, but we consider it as belonging to the very beginning of his reign, as is indicated by its contents. We find it copied on one of the first pages of the first volume of Alexander's treasury records, in which the entries are generally made according to the order of time. The next preceding item is of September 26, 1492, and the next following of October 2 of the same year.

The paper is as follows:

"An order to issue, free of charge and also of minor fees, the bulls of appointment to the church of Gardar:

"We have been informed that the church of Gardar is situated at the end of the world, in the country of Greenland, and that the people dwelling there, for want of bread, wine, and oil, are used to live on dried fish and on milk. For these reasons and because the waters there congeal very extensively, the voyages wont to be made to that country were very rare; nor is it believed that a single ship has come to its shore for the last eighty years. And if any sailing for Greenland were undertaken, it could not, it is thought, be accomplished except during the month of August, after the ice is melted. As a consequence, it is said that, since eighty years also or thereabout, there has not been one bishop or priest to personally reside in that land and govern the churches. Consequently and because of the absence of Catholic priests, it has happened that many persons of that diocese have unfortunately disowned the baptism which they had received, and that the inhabitants of the country have no other memorial of the Christian religion left, but a 'corporal,' exposed once a year, upon which, a century ago, the body of Christ was consecrated by the last priest who was there.[1]

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[1] As we intend to prove in another work, Alexander VI. was too just and disinterested a character to be thrown among his Italian officials, and not become aspersed by their reviving paganism.

"Wherefore, after considering all this and other reasons deserving of attention, Pope Innocent VIII. of happy memory, our predecessor, desiring to provide the said church, then deprived of a pastor's consolation, with a pastor useful and suitable, proclaimed, with the advice and consent of his brethren, of whose number We then were, and at our urgent prayers when We yet were in a lower station, our venerable brother Matthew, the bishop-elect of Gardar, a professed member of the Benedictine Order of Stricter Observance. He appointed him as pastor and bishop of that church, because the friar was much inflamed with the fervor of self-sacrifice, ready and willing to expose his life to the most imminent danger, in order to bring back to the path of eternal salvation the souls of the wandering renegades, and to uproot the errors into which they have fallen, and because he even intended to sail personally himself to that country.

"Therefore, highly praising in the Lord the pious and laudable intentions of the bishop-elect, and wishing to procure him some help and assistance in the said undertakings; Of our own accord, etc., and with our full knowledge, with the advice and consent of our brethren, We do, under pain of excommunication inflicted beforehand and to be incurred by the act of violating our orders, enjoin and command, to our beloved sons the rescribendary, the abbreviators, the solicitors also, and the sealers of the bulls, and to the recorders of them, and to all other employees as well of our chancery as of our apostolic treasury, whosoever they may be; We command that all and several the apostolic papers, which need be issued for the said bishop-elect on the occasion of his promotion to the said church of Gardar, be sent forth, and be ordered sent forth from each and all their offices, free of charge and for God's sake, without receiving or requiring the payment of any tax whatsoever and without making any objection. We also of our own accord, and with the like knowledge, and under the aforesaid censures, enjoin and command to the clerks and notaries of the apostolic treasury that they shall hand and consign to the said bishop-elect these letters or bulls, without the payment or exaction of any annats or minor fees or of any other dues whatever, usually paid in similar cases; Notwithstanding anything whatsoever to the contrary.

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[1] From what we have seen before, we must conclude that the century of this statement ought not to be taken in a strict sense.

"Be it done free of charge every-
where because he is very poor, etc.
"Ascanio Maria Sforza vicechancellor Jo. Datary"[1]

There is no proof, nor, indeed, much probability, that Matthew Canutson ever reached the cathedral of Gardar. There are strong indications, on the contrary, that he never landed in Greenland, nor even found an opportunity to sail for it. The king of Denmark had, a few years before, made an unsuccessful attempt to renew relations with his distant province; but John, his son, was kept too busy by his quarrels with Sweden to encourage any search for lost Greenland.[2] Voyages of private individuals were still forbidden by royal monopoly, and, while they could hardly be expected to prove remunerative, they were at the time beset with extraordinary danger. Zichmni had actually built his so-called city in Greenland,—that is, had established a regular sea-rovers' nest, similar to Akraberg of the Faroes, on the southernmost point, it seems, of the island, on Cape Farewell. At the end of the fifteenth century the famous Pinning was the ἐπίσκοπος, the overseer here, watching all Greenland and Icelandic navigation. Robbery and murder were his occupation, and woe to the settler whom he found on the coasts and to the seaman whom he espied on the waves of the northern Atlantic.[1]

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[1] See Document LXXIII.

[2] Kuntzmann, S. 48; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 27.

Under this reign of pirates the last vestiges of Christianity and civilization rapidly disappeared, and a few years later it could be said in truth that Greenland was in the possession of pagans.

As we could find nothing further of Bishop Canutson's history, we suppose that, unable to execute his zealous purposes, he continued until death, in the silence of his monastery, to pray for the poor people of his distant diocese.

His successor, named Zacharias, was appointed shortly after the year 1500. He was born at Vicenza in Italy, and employed a portion of his time in literary pursuits. Pope Clement VII. recommended the reading of his hymns, and his countryman, Luigi da Vicenza, published them in 1549.[2]

The title of bishop of Gardar was conferred the last time in the year 1519. On Monday, June 20, Pope Leo X. proclaimed "the lord Vincent Peters of the Order of Minorites of Strict Observance as bishop of the diocese of Gardar, located on the island of Greenland and suffragan to the metropolis of Drontheim, but occupied by infidels." This appointment was made at the request of the king of Denmark, Christian II., who was at the time considering plans for sending out another fleet in search of lost Greenland, and was desirous of having a bishop to restore civilization on the island and dispose it to return to its former allegiance. Provisions were made that the new titulary should receive an annual pension of two hundred Roman florins of gold,—namely, one hundred and twenty from the revenues of the convent of St. Nicholas in the city of Ripen in Jutland, which were formerly received by secular clergymen, and eighty more from certain prepositures and parochial churches, payable in full by the present rectors and their successors. The diocese was styled "i. p. i.,"—*i.e.*, in a country of infidels.[1]

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[1] Kunstmann, S. 64, ref. to An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands, ed. Edinburgh, 1840, p. 274, *seq.*

[2] Moosmüller, S. 69.

Some modern authors give both the family name and the title of the last bishop of Greenland in a manner different from that of the Roman archives, calling him "Vincent Kampe, bishop of Tule;" but, as they agree on the date of the prelate's promotion, we think that the apparent divergence may be settled by saying that the name of this bishop was Vincent, that he was a son of Peter Kampe, and that his title, "Tulensis," was indicative of the mysterious island, which was only known to be in the direction of the "Ultima Thule" or Iceland.[2]

Vincent Kampe was born in the Netherlands.[3]

That he did not proceed to Greenland is easily understood. We find him at Odense on the island Fyen or Funen as administrator of that diocese during the imprisonment of its bishop, John Andersen Beldenak, until the year 1520. After the election of Joachim Rönnow, who was never consecrated, but died for the faith, in prison also, Bishop Kampe went over to Roeskilde as coadjutor of the ordinary of this latter city in the isle of Sjaeland. To a document dated in 1533 the coadjutor of Roeskilde subscribes with the title of bishop of Greenland.[1]

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[1] See Document LXXIV., *a*, *b*; Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 27.

[2] Cf. Boletín, t. xxi. p. 478; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[3] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

In the year 1536, at the assembly of the Danish nobility in Copenhagen, there was a general hue and cry against the riches and tyranny of the Catholic bishops. The properties of the Church were confiscated and distributed between the crown and the reformed noblemen; and a spirit of the bitterest intolerance sprung up and swayed the country, so relentlessly that a few years later John Lascy, a Polish nobleman, who, fleeing from England's persecution, had sought refuge in Denmark, was expelled with one hundred and seventy co-religionists in the midst of a severe winter.[2]

We can readily imagine the fate of the Catholic bishops. Hardly a year after, Vincent Kampe signed his name with the adjunct, "bishop and prebendary of Our Lady's Chapter in Copenhagen." The seal he used in 1537 hardly testified to his sacred dignity: a stag's antlers were the bearings of his escutcheon having as legend the two letters, "W" for Vincent and "E" for "Episcopus" or bishop. Thus he signed and sealed a writing made at Maribo on the isle of Laaland or Lolland; where, we may presume, he retired into obscurity and died after the victory of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century.[3]

Vincent Kampe closes the interesting series of Greenland's and Vinland's missionary prelates and of the bishops of Gardar—the catalogue of whom we here subjoin.

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[1] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Crantz, vol. i. p. 252.

[2] Allen, t. ii. pp. 6, 11,—a Protestant work crowned in Denmark; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

[3] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Grönlandz Histor. Mindesm., Tab. I., ap. Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 432.

I. The Regionary Bishops of Greenland.

1. Olaf, *circa* A.D. 1030.[1]
2. Eric (perhaps only a priest), A.D. 1052.[2]
3. Albert or Adalbert, consecrated in 1055.[3]
4. Eric Gnupson or Upsi, elected A.D. 1112, consecrated 1112, 1113, or 1120,[4] left for Vinland in 1121.[5]

II. The Regionary Bishops of the American Continent.

1. Jón or John (?), A.D. 1053 or 1059.[6]
2. Eric Gnupson, in the year 1121.[7]

III. The Bishops of Gardar: of Greenland and the American Continent together.

1. Arnold, consecrated A.D. 1124,[8] entered Gardar in 1126,[9] was transferred to Hameren in Norway in 1152,[10] died before 1164.[11]
2. Jonas Knut or John I., consecrated A.D. 1150, died in 1187.[12]

Henry and
Harald, according to the Flatey Codex.[13]

3. John Arnson or John II., surnamed Smyrill, consecrated A.D. 1188,[14] died in 1209.[15]
4. Helgius or Helgo, son of Augmund Hrappakoll, consecrated in the year 1212,[16] died in 1230.[17]
5. Nicholas, consecrated A.D. 1234,[18] died in 1240.[19]

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[1] Supra, p. 196.

[2] Supra, p. 195.

[3] Supra, pp. 197, 201.

[4] Supra, p. 201.

[5] Supra, p. 202.

[6] Supra, p. 275.

[7] Supra, pp. 248, 275.

[8] Supra, pp. 342–345.

[9] Supra, pp. 345, 346, 360, 369–376.

[10] Supra, pp. 376, 379.

[11] Supra, p. 379.

[12] Supra, pp. 379, 380.

[13] Supra, p. 380.

[14] Supra, pp. 380, 381.

[15] Supra, p. 384.

[16] Supra, p. 384.

[17] Supra, p. 386.

[18] Supra, p. 386.

[19] Supra, p. 389.

6. Olaf or Olaus, consecrated A.D. 1246,[1] died in the year 1280.[2]

Bartholus Gregory and

Andreas, according to Lyschander.[3]

7. Thord or Theodore, consecrated in 1288,[4] died in 1314.[5]

8. Arne, Arnas, or Arnius, consecrated in the year 1315,[6] died in 1350.[7]

Alfus was consecrated A.D. 1325;

Barthold, A.D. 1332;

Gregory, in the year 1346; and

Arndius reigned since A.D. 1348, according to Huitfeldt.[8]

9. Jón, Jonas Eirikson or John III., surnamed Skalle, was consecrated A.D. 1343,[9] transferred to Holar in 1358,[10] and died in 1391.[11]

10. Alfuir, Alf, or Alfus, consecrated before July 28, 1366,[12] died A.D. 1378.[13]

11. Henry, consecrated before A.D. 1386, probably in 1383, entered Gardar in 1388,[14] and was transferred to the Orkneys, March 9, 1394.[15]

12. Georgius, bishop before April 7, 1389.[16]

13. Peter Staras, appointed April 7, 1389.[17]

14. John IV., consecrated for the Orkneys A.D. 1384, was transferred to Gardar, March 9, 1394.[18]

Andrew, Eindrede Andreasson, consecrated A.D. 1406, according to Torfæus.[19]

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[1] Supra, pp. 389, 393, 394, 397.

[2] Supra, p. 404.

[3] Supra, p. 404.

[4] Supra, pp. 404–406.

[5] Supra, p. 406.

[6] Supra, pp. 406, 411.

[7] Supra, p. 411.

[8] Supra, p. 411.

[9] Supra, pp. 412, 413, 417.

[10] Supra, p. 418.

[11] Supra, p. 418.

[12] Supra, pp. 419, 420.

[13] Supra, p. 421.

[14] Supra, pp. 422, 423, 427.

[15] Supra, p. 428.

[16] Supra, pp. 425.

[17] Supra, p. 425.

[18] Supra, p. 428.

[19] Supra, pp. 429, 431, 432.

15. Alverus, died before February, 1401.[1]

16. Berthold, proclaimed February 25, 1401, was transferred on or before January, 1402.[2]

17. Peter, bishop of Strengnäs in Sweden, appointed on or before January 23, 1402, did not leave his former see; he died A.D. 1408.[3]

Berthold continued to act as bishop of Gardar in the year 1407,[4] and died before A.D. 1410.[5]

18. Eskill, appointed before the middle of 1410, died in Greenland.[6]

19. James Treppe, *alias* Peters, appointed March 27, 1411,[7] died in or before A.D. 1424 or 1425.[8]

Nicholas, according to Gams and Wetzer and Welte.[9]

20. Robert Ryngmann, proclaimed May 30, 1425.[10]

21. Nicholas (?).[11]

22. John V., appointed July 4, in or before the year 1431, died before September, 1431.[12]

23. Gibelin Volant, appointed September 24, 1431,[13] was transferred to Aalborg in Jutland, March 19, 1432.[14]

24. John Erler de Moys or de Monis, John VI., promoted July 4, 1432.[15]

25. Michael, died before September, 1433.[16]

26. Bartholomew of St. Hippolyte or Berthold, proclaimed September 24, 1433,[17] died A.D. 1440.[18]

27. Gregory, promoted about August, 1440, was bishop of Gardar still in the year 1450.[19]

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[1] Supra, p. 429.

[2] Supra, p. 430.

[3] Supra, p. 430.

[4] Supra, p. 430.

[5] Supra, p. 432.

[6] Supra, p. 432.

[7] Supra, p. 442.

[8] Supra, pp. 444, 449.

[9] Supra, p. 449.

[10] Supra, p. 449.

[11] Supra, p. 450.

[12] Supra, p. 450.

[13] Supra, p. 450.

[14] Supra, p. 451.

[15] Supra, p. 451.

[16] Supra, p. 451.

[17] Supra, pp. 451, 452.

[18] Supra, p. 452.

[19] Supra, p. 452.

28. Boniface, appointed A.D. 1450.[1]

29. Andrew, at first administrator of the Gardar diocese, then made its bishop, likely in 1462,[2] was coadjutor at Linkoping in Sweden in A.D. 1476.[3]

30. James Blaa, promoted June 15, 1481, resigned July 9, 1492.[4]

31. Matthew Canutson, proclaimed July 9, 1492.[5]

32. Zacharias, appointed shortly after the year 1500.[6]

33. Vincent Kampe, *alias* Peters, proclaimed June 20, 1519,[7] administrator of Odense till A.D. 1520, coadjutor at Roeskilde,[8] died after 1537.[9]

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[1] Supra, p. 459.

[2] Supra, p. 460.

[3] Supra, p. 461.

[4] Supra, p. 461.

[5] Supra, pp. 461–467.

[6] Supra, p. 467.

[7] Supra, pp. 467, 468.

[8] Supra, p. 469.

[9] Supra, p. 469.

CHAPTER XXII.

GREENLAND LOST AND FOUND.

During the course of the fifteenth century Greenland was gradually lost to Christianity and civilization; the route from Europe or even from Iceland to it was unknown to honest mariners, its location and configuration had become doubtful, and its very name was forgotten by many. The kings of Denmark cared little about their remote territories, nor did the court of Rome expect much from them. When Sixtus IV. was trying to gather money to defray the expenses of his projected expedition against the invading Turks, he sent his delegate, Bartholomew de Camerino, in the year 1483, to the archbishop of Upsala, and gave him letters for every bishop of Sweden and Norway, but Greenland and even the other dioceses of the northern Atlantic were not remembered.[1] The diocese of Gardar is not mentioned in a copy made in the year 1471 from the authentic register of all bishoprics and monasteries in the world.[2] Neither is it mentioned in another copy of the sixteenth century.[3] Ruysch marks pretty correctly "Gruenlant," west and southwest of "Islant," as also the "Sinus Gruenlanteus," southwest of "Gruenlant," on his map of about 1495; but the Roman Ptolemy-drawing of 1508 is very defective, while already, on de la Cosa's world's map of 1500 Greenland had become irrecognizable.[1]

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium 39, no. 16: Sixti IV. Brevia ad Principes, Anno 1483, t. i. fo. 47.

[2] Roma, Bibliotheca Vittorio Emanuele, MSS. Sessoriani, no. 46; Liber Taxarum Omnium Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum diligentissime emendatus ad exemplar Libri Sacri Collegii et Camere Apostolice.

[3] Bibliotheca Vaticana, Ottoboniana, Cod. 2651.

The king of Denmark, Christian I., sent out in the year 1476 the pilot John of Kolno, of whom we shall speak soon again, in order to resume business intercourse with Greenland; but, although very important in other respects, this voyage did not produce the intended effect.

It is said that Christian II. renewed in the year 1513 the attempt to recover the lost province.[2] For this purpose he also requested the assistance of the Catholic hierarchy, and, on June 17, 1514, obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo X., ample indulgences for all who might be willing to sail to the islands of the glacial ocean.[3] The Protestant editors of Greenland's Historic Documents make the obvious remark that the king had likely promised to His Holiness to co-operate towards the restoration of Christianity on the distant island, and that the indulgences were granted in view of this salutary purpose.[4] There can be no doubt but that the appointment of the last bishop of Greenland, at the request of Christian II., was made with the same intentions.

No man, however, made greater efforts to accomplish the king's wishes than the next to the last archbishop of Drontheim, Eric Walchendorff, consecrated in A.D. 1513. He made inquiries of old mariners, gathered books and manuscripts regarding the lost land, and composed the original of the work to which we have before this often referred as "Sailing Directions." He also wrote a series of practical suggestions for the seamen and missionaries that were to embark in the perilous undertaking. "All should act with the greatest caution and prudence; in case that the natives or their chief might refuse to receive the missionaries as such, these should offer themselves as scribes or as servants in any other capacity, and see what might be done in the course of time; should they perhaps find the land uninhabited, then they must erect large wooden crosses, or chisel crosses upon the rocks and upon the trees, cut down wood and build big fires, erect large and numerous lookouts, and leave many monuments of their presence."[1]

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[1] Kretschmer, Tafel ix. no. 3; von Humboldt, Examen, vol. vi. carte 4, 5.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 27.

[3] "Copiosam indulgentiam navigantibus ultra mare glaciale ad insulas."

[4] Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland.

The archbishop was willing to defray the heavy expenses of the undertaking, but claimed, in return, its profits for the space of ten years. This condition being refused, the project failed. Christian II., who invited into his kingdom the German reformers; and, to better reduce the people, became the declared enemy of their natural protectors, the bishops and the priests, afterwards instigated a Norwegian nobleman to pick a quarrel with the prelate, who was eventually compelled to leave his diocese and country. Archbishop Walchendorff sought refuge in Rome, where he died on the 28th of November, 1522. His enemy, the king, was, in just punishment for his many cruelties, deprived of his crown the year following.[2]

Crantz says, after Torfæus,[3] that Bishop Augmund Paulson, who, consecrated in the year 1521, was compelled in 1540 to resign his see of Skalholt, had been driven at one time by a storm, on his return from Norway, so near the coast of Greenland by Herjulfsnes that he could see the people driving their sheep and lambs to their sheds. But he did not land, because just then a good wind arose, which drove the ship the same night to Iceland (!). The Icelander, Bjorn of Skardza, says further that a Hamburg sailor, called Jón Greenlander, was driven three times on the Greenland isle, where he saw fishers' huts for drying fish, as they have in Iceland, but saw no men; again, that pieces of shattered boats, nay, in the year 1625, an entire boat fastened together with sinews and wooden pegs and pitched with seal blubber, have been driven ashore on Iceland from time to time; and since then they once found an oar with the sentence carved on it in runic letters, "Oft was I tired when I drew thee."[1]

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[1] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 27; cap. ix. p. 70; cap. xxxi. p. 258; Wetzer und Welte, art. Grönland; Moosmüller, S. 73; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 34.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. ix. p. 70; Allen, t. ii. p. 6; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 34; Wouters, t. iii. p. 14; Gams, p. 335.

[3] Gronl. Ant., cap. xxxii. p. 261.

According to the Danish historiographer, Claudius Lyschander, all efforts were not abandoned by the kings of Denmark to rediscover Greenland after those of Archbishop Walchendorff had failed. He says that Frederic I.—A.D. 1523–33—made preparations for another exploration, but the project was no success; that his successor, Christian III., sent out a vessel for the same purpose, yet without any consequence; and that this latter king revoked the old monopoly restrictions, allowing any and all of his subjects to land in, and trade with, historic Greenland; but all was useless. In 1578 Frederic II. sent out Magnus Henningsen. He came in sight of the land, but does not appear to have proceded farther. Another useless attempt at rediscovery was made in the year 1585. Crantz gives an account of a number of voyages towards the arctic coasts, and we know that Dutch vessels struck several times the shores of lost Greenland, but no lasting settlement was established.[2] Torfæus, who died in 1719, testifies[3] that until his time little more was done to find again the distant province; and Crantz adds very correctly,[1] that at last Greenland was so deeply buried in oblivion that one would hardly believe that such a land was ever inhabited by Christian Norwegians.

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[1] Ap. De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 33.

[2] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 28; De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 34; Kerchenlexikon, Art. Grönland.

[3] Gronl. Ant., Præf. p. 28.

No man contributed more effectively towards the renewal of Northman colonies and of Danish authority in Greenland than a well-meaning Protestant clergyman. This man must have been an adept in history, and as courageous as he was zealous and self-sacrificing. For the space of eleven years, while preparing for the voyage, he stood the ridicule of his countrymen, but in 1721 he set sail for Greenland, together with his wife and four young children, and landed in Vestrebygd at Baal's Revier.[2] His immortal name is Hans Egede.

The "Moravian Brethren," who have been given charge of the religious interests of the modern Danish colonies in Greenland, and some excursionists to the northern regions, have of late years discovered on the island not a few most highly interesting relics of the ancient settlements and of their ancient religion. We have noticed already[3] that Captain Graah has found in Greenland a tribe of Esquimaux bearing on their persons evident signs of crossings with the Scandinavian settlers. It is to be presumed that the Northmen of Greenland—like those of Vinland, and, in fact, like all colonists who do not succeed in taking absolute possession of the country to which they emigrate, when becoming enfeebled and abandoned by their mother-country—readily allied with the more powerful natives, and were eventually lost among them; not, however, without leaving upon their mongrel progeny the indelible stamp of their own identity. This opinion has of late received considerable support from the studies of E. B. Tylor,[1] who shows that the Greenland natives still preserve some of the Norse customs, due, as he thinks, to the lost Scandinavian survivors being merged in the savage tribes. Their relation to the Northmen seems evident from the traditions collected by Dr. Rink in his "Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn," from their dress and some of their utensils and games as seen by Hans Egede.[2]

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[1] P. 279.

[2] De Costa, Precolumbian Discovery, p. 35.

[3] Supra, pp. 382, 383.

We need not recall to mind the ruins of buildings, reported by the natives to exist in the eastern districts, and believed by some authors to be those of St. Thomas's monastery.[3] The reader is also aware of the great number of ruins of old Scandinavian settlements along almost every bay and creek of south-western Greenland; and we have noticed already some of the Christian tombstones found at Herjulfsnes.[4]

It is, however, on the borders of the ancient Einarsfjord and Eiriksfjord, at the modern Kaksiarsuk and Kakortok, that the most important and best preserved remains have been discovered. A number of curious relics, drawn from the excavations made at the former place, were sent to the Society of the Northern Antiquarians by the Moravian minister, Jörgensen, who has added to his donations the report of the old Greenland tradition, which relates the feuds between the Esquimaux and the Scandinavian colonists, resulting in the extinction of the latter in the environs of modern Fredericshaab. The legend is copied in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*.[5]

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[1] Old Scandinavian Civilization among the Modern Esquimaux, in Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 1884, xiii. 348, ap. Winsor, vol. i. p. 70, n. 1.

[2] Winsor, vol. i. p. 70, n. 1.

[3] Supra, p. 440.

[4] Supra, p. 353.

[5] Vol. xv. p. 265.

On the banks of the Igalikko firth was found a tombstone with a runic inscription, saying, "Vigdis, M. D. [Mar's daughter], rests here; God rejoice her soul." Near by remain the foundations of what probably was a church, forty-eight feet wide and ninety-six long; and at no great distance, partly at the bottom of the creek, are seen some dilapidated walls, hardly six feet high at any point, but so thick that it seems they should have lasted forever, inclosing an area of one hundred by one hundred and twenty feet, and they are considered by some writers as the remnants of St. Nicholas's ancient cathedral.[1]

The historic church of Kakortok is situated about twelve miles from Julianashaab, between the Tunnudliarbik and the Igalikko firths, at the foot of a high hill. It is constructed in a style at once simple and tasteful. The materials have doubtless been taken from the precipitous rocks close by the church, which are of the same kind of stone as that of the walls. The flat building stones, after being carefully selected and trimmed, were laid alternately lengthwise and crosswise. On the outside there is no trace of mortar to be seen, but on the inside are found, at some places, joints of pale-blue argil extremely hard. The perfect orientation of the edifice could not be attributed to chance, because the same correctness is noticed at the sacred buildings of the neighborhood. The walls do not deviate one degree from the meridian line, and the trifling angle which I noticed was perhaps caused by an instrument that I had no means to adjust, says Hayes. The old Northmen, he adds, closely observed the motion of celestial bodies, and they must have known the true North.

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[1] Mallet, p. 249; Moosmüller, S. 193.

The church is twenty-six feet in width and about fifty-two and a half in length, and its walls are four feet and a half in thickness, on an average; those to the East and the West being somewhat broader. The south wall is still thirteen feet high, but the northern seven only, while the one facing the East, which in the year 1777 attained the height of twenty-one feet, has lost about three feet since. The one to the West is yet sixteen feet high, and the ruins still give us to understand how the roof was supported.

The door- and window-jambs are well preserved, except on the north side, where the wall has crumbled down to the sills. The southern wall has six openings,—four windows of one foot four inches by two feet eleven inches on the outside and four feet four inches square on the inside; and two doors, of which the main, near the western end, is three feet and a half wide and six feet and a half high; while the other, near the sanctuary, is considerably lower. The architect has, however, greatly concealed the irregularity by so managing the projecting lintels as to make them run in a straight line. The top of the main door-way is a stone twelve feet long, two feet and one inch wide, and about eight inches thick. There is a window-opening in each of the end walls, the one to the West being rectangular, of one foot three inches by three feet one and a half inches; but that over the sanctuary is notably larger,—namely, two feet one and a half inches by three feet nine inches on the outside, and four feet four inches by five feet four inches on the inside; and it is quite remarkable for the carefully executed arch encircling its top. In the interior of the church there are some small rectangular niches,[1] which were probably intended for wooden or stone images of saints.

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[1] Hayes, La Terra, p. 17; Moosmüller, S. 193–195; Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 102. See frontispiece.

In a corner of the church-yard is another pile of ruins, likely of the old vestry; a little farther we may recognize the priest's residence, whose walls rise yet to the height of a door and a window. All around this group of buildings we find, at the distance of from twenty-one to twenty-nine feet, the remains of a stone enclosure, which, to judge from the amount of the *débris*, must have been five or six feet high. Beyond this, yet close by the church, are other ruins, among which those of five dwellings; and, at a distance of some two or three hundred paces to the East, those of a circular edifice, forty-four feet in diameter, whose walls were four feet thick, and, it seems, have been seven or eight feet high. Its only door was in the direction of the church. Some antiquarians think that this was the main baptistery of the diocese.[1]

"I afterwards visited other portions of the fiord," says Hayes,[2] "and found that there must have been a great number of houses; but the ruins are generally so much overgrown with willows and junipers and other small shrubs that it becomes very difficult to notice them."

Quite a number of various interesting articles have been taken from those *débris* and sent to the Museum of Copenhagen, but we shall call the reader's attention to two of them only,—namely, two fragments of a church-bell, which, by reconstruction, is found to have been as large as the largest in the rural districts of Norway. These fragments of bell-metal were picked up in the year 1843 on the inlet of the modern Kiskefjord.[3]

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[1] Hayes, La Terra, pp. 17, 18; Mémoires des Antiq., 1840–44, p. 103; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 47.

[2] La Terra, p. 18.

[3] Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, pp. 97, 435.

Another remarkable relic is a thin square piece of lead, one and three-fourths of an inch long and one and a half inches wide, bearing the image of Our Lord Jesus-Christ on the cross, with His Blessed Mother and the apostle St. John standing on either side. This very significant little memorial was discovered at the present Friederichsthal.[1]

These ancient souvenirs of Christianity are all that the mother Church can claim in Greenland at the present time. Strictly excluded from all Scandinavian territory until a recent period, the Catholic missionaries have made little progress in their occasional attempts at bringing back to their former religion the islands of the northern Atlantic; nor have they ever renewed the efforts of Archbishop Walchendorff to restore Catholicity in Greenland. The isle continues to be, under Danish protection, in the hands of the Herrnhuthians or Moravian Brethren, and of a Lutheran sect little differing from the former.

Ten thousand was, in the year 1880, the official number of its inhabitants, nearly three hundred of whom are of European origin, and, principally by trading with the Esquimau hunters and fishermen, accumulate considerable stores of merchandise, which they ship to Denmark every year on board vessels that are sent out by the government of that country.

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[1] Mémoires des Antiq., 1845–49, p. 119.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LATER DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

THE desire of presenting to the reader a continuous abstract of all that is known of ancient Greenland's history has made us trespass upon the chronological limits which we had prescribed to our study, and we feel now obliged to retrograde over a space of time in order to give, in regard to pre-Columbian America, some more information, without which our work would remain incomplete. We must, namely, point out a few more discoveries and attempts at discoveries of our Western Continent, which were made by European sailors until the time of Christopher Columbus.

When consulting the learned, we can attach no great importance to a tradition stating that America was reached across the Dark Ocean about a century and a half after its discovery by the Northmen. It is said that eight Arabian mariners of Lisbon, called the "Almagrurim," sailed to the end of the ocean and set foot on American soil before the year 1147; but their voyages do not seem to have extended beyond the islands of the African coast: the Canaries or, possibly, the Azores. The main source of the belief is the historical treatise of the Arab geographer Edrisi, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century.

In the report of similar excursions made in 1291 by the two Genoese, Vadino and Guido dei Vivaldi, mention is made of "red men," and this circumstance has caused some authors to suppose that these explorers also landed on our hemisphere. Of historical certainty there is no question, and the probabilities are slight.[1]

It is hardly worth while speaking of the conquest of the Canary Islands by some Spanish privateers in the year 1393, and soon after, by John de Bétancourt; nor of the finding of the Madeiras in 1423, and of Terceira and the other Azore or Flemish Islands by James of Bruges about the same time, because all these groups rather belong to the Old World, and there is no sign of their discoverers having seen land farther west.[2] But more attention is due to the claims of Dieppe, St. Malo, Havre de Grâce, Honfleur, and other sea-coast places of French Normandy and Flanders.[3] It is well known that the mariners of these coasts entertained commercial relations, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the Scandinavians,[4] who had continuous intercourse with Greenland, which itself was still sending out ships to trade with its colonies on the Western Continent. It was not difficult, therefore, to the daring and adventurous fishermen of Normandy and Flanders to receive information of the rich fishing-grounds of Newfoundland and of other North-American shores; nor is it likely that they would have contented themselves with buying, in the Norwegian ports, the fish and ivory which they imported all over western and southern Europe.[5] They may not have earned the glory of discoverers of America, but it cannot be doubted that people of these provinces and of French Brittany sailed early and often to our coasts. Witnesses of their commerce on American soil are the Flemish coins found by the first English near

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[1] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. pp. 137–142; Maltebrun, p. 339; Cooley, Maritime and Inland Discovery, p. 173; Payne, p. 104; Winsor, vol. i. p. 72.

[2] Navarrete, i. pp. 28, 33.

[3] Lescarbot, p. 247, *seq.*

[4] Supra, pp. 409, 410; Documents XXXIX., XL.

[5] Supra, p. 249.

St. Johns, in Newfoundland.[1] That the Breton French were here as early as the year 1465 appears from a letter of the queen regent, Catherine dei Medici, to her envoy Forquevantes at the court of Spain.[2]

As Cabral in 1500, so was the Frenchman, John Cousin of Dieppe, driven in the year 1488 to the coast of Brazil.[3]

The claims of the Basques to ancient communication with the northern parts of our continent are similar to those of the Normans and of the Flemish. Had not the archives of their cities been destroyed, we might look for positive documents in support of these claims, but we must now be satisfied with evidences of less authority; and all we know with certainty in this regard is that the Basque mariners entertained, for centuries, an active commerce with the northern kingdoms, and imported all over southern Europe great quantities of whale lard, whale oil, and stockfish. They likely were not unacquainted with the coasts from where these commodities were derived.

It appears from late researches, says Berthelot,[4] that the Basques, together with people of St. Malo and Dieppe, were in Newfoundland and on the coasts of Canada in the year 1495; but Ree and Manet,[5] to whom he refers, afford no plain evidence in favor of this opinion.

Postlewayt alleges the statements of several cosmographers to prove that a Biscayan settler of Newfoundland had told Columbus of the existence of our Western Continent, and Cronau[1] supposes this information to be the same which Las Casas attributes to two seamen of Santa Maria and Murcia, who, on a voyage to Ireland, had been driven by adverse winds far away to the Northwest. An ancient chronicle states that the daring sailors of St. John de Luz pursued the whales as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the year 1373;[2] another, that a man from the kingdom of Navarre, named John de Echaide, had discovered on the American coast, probably on Newfoundland, a seaport to which his countrymen gave the name of Echaide's Haven.[3] A fact worthy of notice is that in St. Marc's library of Venice we find a map drawn by Bianco in 1436, on which is reported an island whose location corresponds to that of Newfoundland and is called "Stocafixa."[4] It is well known, says Duro,[5] that the Cantabrians have records to prove their ante-Columbian voyages to America. It is known, indeed, that, as early as the thirteenth century, they chased the whales as far as the northern seas. Many probabilities in this regard, collected by Garibay and Henao, give us to understand that, before Columbus was born, the daring sailors of Biscay, without any claim to discovery or any cosmopolitan benefit, used to land on the northeastern coast of America and there to take in supplies of fresh water. As we have noticed before,[6] Galvano writes that in the year 1153 American natives arrived in Lubeck, likely from the coast of "Baccalaos,"[7]—another name for Newfoundland,—"which standeth in the same latitude that Germanie doth;"

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[1] Bastian, Bd. ii. S. 441, n.; supra, p. 304.

[2] Horsford, The Discovery, ref. to Gaffarel's "Thevet," p. 399.

[3] Bastian, Bd. ii. S. 444, n. 2; Gravier, p. xxxviii; Cronau, S. 146. Major, however, discredits this story. Certain claims of the Dutch have also been advanced. Cf. M. Hamconius's "Frisia" and C. Van den Bergh's "Nederland's Aanspraak op de Ontdekking van Amerika voór Columbus, Arnheim, 1850. Winsor, vol. i. p. 75 and n. 3; supra, p. 477.

[4] T. i. n. 2.

[5] Cyclopædia and Notions historiques sur la ville de S. Malo.

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[1] S. 145.

[2] Kunstmann, S. 42.

[3] Navarrete, t. i. p. 51.

[4] *I.e.*, dried codfish.—Cronau, S. 145, 146.

[5] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 46.

[6] Supra, vol. i. p. 169.

[7] *I.e.*, fresh codfish—from Newfoundland.

from which it appears that the eastern parts of North America were at the time well known all over Europe. It is not incredible, therefore, what the eminent scholar Harrisse pretends,—namely, that the Basques very probably visited American waters during the seventh century of our era.[1]

The "Terra de Bacallaos" or Newfoundland is also said by Cordeyro to have been discovered by John Vas Corterreal in the year 1463. This voyager was a Portuguese, and we know that in 1464, at his return, it is said, from northeastern America, he was appointed governor of the island Terceira, the chief island of the Azores; but the claim of João Corterreal rests on no positive document or information, and is subject to serious objections. We know that the father-in-law of the great cosmographer, Martin Behaim, Jost Von Hurter, Lord of Moerkerken and Harlebeke, was shortly after named feudal governor of the Flemish colony of Fayal, belonging to the same archipelago, where Behaim met and married his daughter in the year 1490, after a four years' sojourn on the island. In 1493 Behaim returned to the Azores and remained there twelve years. These facts are evidence that John Corterreal's voyage, if real, must have been known to the cosmographer, who could not have forgotten to enrich his famous globe, drawn at that time, with the important discovery so recently made. Yet the Terra de Bacallaos makes no appearance on his map. Von Humboldt, therefore, with the learned generally, rejects the claim of John Vas Corterreal.[2]

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[1] Notes on Columbus, ap. Cronau, S. 146; Navarrete, t. iii. p. 183, thinks that Terranova, with its fisheries of caballaos or cod, was not discovered before 1525, and that the Biscayans visited it only afterwards. His authority is the evidence of various witnesses at a lawsuit in 1561: a weak authority.

[2] Examen, t. i. p. 278; Cronau, S. 146; B. F. De Costa, Sailing Directions; Kretschmer, S. 244.

The identity of the names is our apology for making here a record of three more early voyages to the northwestern coasts of our continent. Two vessels, probably in the spring of 1500, were sent out from Portugal to find a northwestern passage to the Asiatic coast, but no journal or chart of the expedition being now in existence, little is known of its results. Touching at the Azores, Gaspar Corterreal, its captain, possibly following Cabot's charts, struck the coast of Newfoundland, and, sailing north, discovered a land, which he called "Terra Verde" or the Green Land, but is not Greenland, says von Humboldt. He was stopped by ice at a river, named by him "Rio Nevado" or Snow River, but whose location is unknown. Corterreal returned to Lisbon before the end of the year 1500. On May 15, 1501, he set sail again from Belem near Lisbon, with two or three vessels; he probably touched at a point of Newfoundland and coasted northward some six or seven hundred miles; yet, prevented by the ice, he did not reach the "Terra Verde" of the former voyage.

One of the vessels returned to bring the news of the captain's loss, and his brother, Miguel Corterreal, was despatched on the 10th of May, 1502, to search for him; but Miguel himself was never heard of afterwards.[1]

Another rediscovery of America, better authenticated than that of João Vas Corterreal, is the one to which we have alluded already,[2]—namely, of John of Kolno in the year 1476. It is stated that, when this daring pilot had been appointed by the Danish king, Christian I., to renew the intercourse between Denmark and Greenland, he sailed past Norway, Iceland, and

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[1] H. H. Bancroft, Works, vol. vi.; Central America, vol. i. pp. 114, 117; von Humboldt, Examen, t. iv. p. 222.—See a few interesting notes belonging here, Document LXXV.

[2] Supra, p. 475.

Greenland itself, and never folded canvas until he had reached the American main-land, in particular Labrador and the more southern coasts, still called Estotiland, after the Zeni's designation.

This voyage is vouched for by the most respectable authorities and generally admitted by the learned.[1] Authors like Wyfliet, Pontanus, and Horn record it in their important works,[2] and trustworthy historians, Kolno's contemporaries, mention the latter's American discoveries. Michael Lok sets down on his map of 1582, to the West of Greenland, a country designated by the legend; "Jac. Scolvus Groetland." His drawing, as he acknowledges, is based upon a chart made at Seville and presented to Henry VIII. by Giovanni Verrazzano. Gomara, who received much valuable information from Olaus the Goth in regard to the history of the northern countries, speaks of Kolno's voyage in his "Storia Generale delle Indie,"[3] when describing Labrador; and so also does Herrera in his "Historia General."[4]

Lelewel was the first to correctly identify the Polish pilot as John from the village Kolno in Masovia.[5]

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[1] Moosmüller, S. 226; Kunstmann, S. 48; De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 22, *seq.;* Kretschmer, S. 244; von Humboldt, Examen, t. ii. p. 152; Cronau, S. 147.

[2] Wyfliet, Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum, ed. 1603, p. 102, ap. De Costa, Sailing Directions, p. 22: "Secundum detectæ hujus regionis decus tulit Johannes Scolnus Polonus, qui anno reparatæ salutis MCCCCLXXVI., octingenta et sex annis a prima ejus lustratione, navigans ultra Norvegiam, Greenlandiam Frislandiamque, boreale hoc fretum ingressus, sub ipso arctico circulo, ad Laboratoris hanc terram Estotilandiamque delatus est." (Pontanus, De Situ Daniæ; Hornius, Ulyssea, p. 279.)

[3] Cap. xxxvii.

[4] Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 16, ap. Kretschmer, S. 244.

[5] The name is, however, variously given as John Scolnus, Scolvus, Sciolvus, Szolny, and Skolny, and even as Juan Seduco, by Herrera. (Cronau, S. 147; Moosmüller, S. 227.) In regard to the voyage of John Skolny, see Gomara, Historia de las Indias, Saragosa, 1553, cap. xxxvii.; Wyfliet, Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmen-

To John of Kolno could hardly be awarded the full honors of a discoverer of America, because he, no doubt, availed himself of the faint knowledge of the ocean route to Greenland and the American coast, still preserved in the northern kingdoms; yet his merits were great in achieving his distant western voyage. No one seems to deny them.

The same justice is not done to another mariner who, shortly after, got sight of more southern portions of our hemisphere, and who, if made immortal perhaps by circumstances, which he may have considered as most unfortunate, is not without deserts for having consigned and communicated such notices and reports as have most probably completed the information which Columbus had carefully gathered concerning the existence of the West Indies and the two distinct routes leading respectively to, and back from, them.

It can hardly be doubted that Alonso Sanchez de Huelva landed in the year 1484 on one of the Islands of the Antilles, likely San Domingo, when carried farther west than he wished by continuous eastern and northeastern winds, while on a voyage either from the coasts of Spain or from the Madeira Islands.[1] Such an assertion is apt to arouse the bile of Columbus's admirers. We are aware that the greatest of discoverers has been slandered shamefully, but it is our opinion, also, that the great deeds and the names of illustrious men should not be effaced from historical records in order to secure to him undeserved merits on the part of science or religion. Juan Perez de Guzman has lately made such a mistake when declaring that the landing of Alonso Sanchez in the Antilles is nothing

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tum, Douay, 1603, p. 102; Pontanus, Rerum Danicarum Historia, Amsterdam, 1631, p. 763; von Humboldt, Examen Critique, t. ii. p. 153.

[1] Bastian, Bd. i. S. 444, n. 2; alii.

but a vulgar invention made for the purpose of tarnishing Columbus's glory.[1]

We shall consider the argument.[2]

The accidental discovery of Alonso Sanchez had no immediate results, nor did it procure any benefit to the public. It was, therefore, ignored by the writers of his time, and its memory confined to the humbler circles of the men of his own calling,—of the seamen and adventurers of Portugal and Spain. Yet, being extraordinary and important as it was, its particulars were never forgotten, but soon formed the subject of long adorned yarns on all the coasts of both continents. The chroniclers of the time, like Aspa, Garibay, Galardi, recorded the story; but Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, who wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the first great historian to notice the popular narrative. "It is said," he writes,[3] "that a caravel on its passage from Spain to England was assailed by such fierce tempests that for many days it was driven westward as far as some of the West Indies. Here the sailors touched land and saw a naked population, as indeed the Indians are. The weather having become favorable, they took in water and wood and returned to Europe. The voyage had lasted four or five months or perhaps more, and had been very hard and dangerous. Fear and privations had reduced the crew, so that nearly all died, the captain only with three or four of his men ever reaching as far as Portugal, where they also died soon after their landing." It is added that the captain was an intimate friend of Christopher Columbus, that he had some idea of astronomy, had located the discovered land, and that he made to Columbus a confidential report of all the circumstances of his voyage. Columbus had received him as a guest and took care of him, but Alonso soon became sick and died, thus leaving his host the sole heir of his valuable experience. Oviedo had heard this account from many people, but not all agreed on the captain's nationality nor on the spot where he landed at his return. "This story is known by the common people all over the world," he says, "but no one knows whether it is true or false; as for myself, I do not believe it."

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[1] Precursores fabulosos de Colon. Alonso Sanchez de Huelva. La Ilustracion Española y Americana, Madrid, 30 de Marzo de 1892.

[2] Mainly from Cesareo Fernandez Duro, ap. Boletín, t. xxi. p. 33, *seq.*

[3] La Historia general de las Indias occidentales, lib. ii. cap. ii.

Oviedo's private opinion has been accepted by some authors ever since, and especially of late years by such writers as Washington Irving, Richard H. Clarke,[1] and by the author of Columbus's beautiful romance, Count Roselly de Lorgues; all of whom consider the admission of Sanchez's exploit as a criminal assault upon the great discoverer's fame. Yet the first disbeliever of Sanchez's western voyage clearly testifies that at his time all common people believed it. It is true, an historian can have no better sources than written authentic documents, but he should not readily overlook universal credence of oral traditions, which are often vitiated in their secondary particulars, but are usually based upon truthful facts, especially when the narratives are of such a recent origin as then was the relation of Sanchez's remarkable feat, recounted by people who had doubtless known him personally and spoken with him.

Oviedo affords no reason for his disbelief, and the first arguments for denial were set forth by Diego Columbus's lawyers, that were to protect his rights against the pretension of the attorneys of the Council of Indian

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[1] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xvii. p. 67.

Affairs, who claimed that his father, Christopher, had made no discovery whatsoever.

In spite of the pleadings, the historians of the time inserted in their learned works the history of Sanchez's exploit and of his communication with Columbus, even without calling into question its reality and truth, but rather expressing their own full assent. So did Francisco Lopez de Gomara and José de Acosta, although they did not mention the captain's name. The Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, who wrote at the end of the sixteenth century, is the first to record the name of Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, and to state the opinion that the western island where this mariner disembarked was the one then called "Santo Domingo." His further information corresponds with that of Oviedo, from whom he does not copy, however, while he alleges as authorities the conquistadores of his native country, who had, when he was yet a boy, given the information to his father and afterwards to himself. The account of Sanchez's discovery was also admitted by Bernardo de Alderete and Rodrigo Caro, while Juan de Solorzano,[1] Fernando Pizarro, and subsequent authors likewise relate it.

It is true, the name of the hero has been put in writing somewhat late to give universal satisfaction; but there is no reason for suspecting the good faith of Garcilasso when he says he heard that name pronounced by the contemporaries who related the whole story. Moreover, should there be any actual mistake, the fact is, that the name of Alonso Sanchez is long since accepted as a formula or expression of the discovery of the West Indies in the year 1484; so much so that, should ever the name of our New World be corrected, it is the opinion of P. Feijoo, Abad y Lasierra, Ferrer, Fernando de Montesinos, and of several other eminent critics, that "America" should be replaced, not with "Columbia," from Columbus, but with "Alonsia" or "Alfonsia," from Alonso or Alfonso Sanchez.

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[1] De Indiarum Jure, t. i. lib. i. cap. v.

The principal facts connected with this name seem to require no lengthy demonstration, when we see Columbus himself, more equitable than his admirers towards his fellow-discoverers, testify in writing to their reality. The great and truth-loving historian, Bartholomew de las Casas, assures us[1] that he inspected a memorandum-book written by Christopher Columbus, and found there, among numerous indications of the existence of land towards the West, the testimony of several sea-captains and mariners of Portugal and Spain. Among others, Columbus mentioned a sailor blind of one eye, whom he had met in Puerto de Santa Maria near Cadiz, and another in the province of Murcia, who both spoke to him of a voyage to Ireland, on which, having lost their course, they sailed so far to the Northwest that they came in sight of the land which they imagined to be Tartary,—*i.e.*, the northeastern portion of Asia. Columbus had also taken minutes of a conversation with a certain Pedro Velasco of Palos, who had told him in the monastery of La Rabida that, setting out from the Azore Island Fayal, he had sailed one hundred and fifty leagues to the West and discovered Flores on his return.[2]

The same historian affords other convincing proofs to the same effect, only more particular and precise. Every one knows that, when Columbus landed on the Lucayo or Bahama Islands, the natives took him and his crew for heavenly beings, touched their clothes and beards with worshipful respect, gave them the best of what they possessed, and received as treasures their most trifling presents; they mounted their canoes and threw themselves into the ocean to salute them at their departure. The great discoverer received the same marks of respect and adoration from the people of Cuba; but when he made the island of Hayti, the aborigines took to flight, and it required all the marks of friendship and kindness on the part of the Spaniards to allay their fear. What was the mysterious cause of this great difference of behavior among people of the same race and instinct? The only possible explanation is the remarkable statement of Las Casas, who can be believed for having been many years in those islands, little honorable as it may be for Alonso Sanchez or other similar adventurers. The bishop of Chiapa says, "The first who came to discover and settle Española have heard from the natives that, a few years before their arrival, other white and bearded people like them had landed there."[1]

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[1] Lib. i. cap. xiii., ap. t. lxiii. of Coleccion de Documentos.

[2] Navarrete, vol. i. p. 50; Boletín, t. xxi. p. 45.

If the Indians of Hayti had a correct idea of the Spaniards before the landing of Columbus, we may infer that in the district of Niebla, of which Huelva was the principal town, there should have existed some fair idea of the rich land of the West Indies and of the intervening seas, if it be true that Alonso Sanchez set foot on San Domingo and had the good fortune of returning to his native country. Our anticipations are not disappointed. Duro justly remarks,[2] "Whence the unwillingness of the common seafarers of Palos to sail west with Columbus, if not from the knowledge of the tragic fate of Alonso Sanchez's crew? Whence the friendly reception of Columbus himself at the monastery of la Rabida and the interested protection of the Pinzons, but from the great expectations of his undertaking to sail to regions known to be rich in natural resources and in nations to be converted? It is likely that Martin Pinzon had received information of the gold-mines of Española, when he encouraged Columbus's crews by telling them they would, beyond the ocean, sleep under roofs of gold. It is likely that Pedro Vasquez de la Frontera had heard Alonso Sanchez, if no other discoverers, before he assured the sailors of the year 1492 that they would cross a sea covered with green herbs without any danger, and could be sure of finding land. It would, indeed, suffice to know that Alonso Sanchez was a citizen of Huelva to understand why Columbus chose to equip his expedition in that neighborhood, and how, a perfect stranger, he could find there the men and means to carry out the audacious plans which at the courts of Europe were considered as dreams of a sickly brain."

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[1] Navarrete, vol. i. p. 51; Boletín, t. xxi. p. 39; Bastian, Bd. ii. S. 444, n. 2; Las Casas, lib. i. carta 13 y 14.

[2] Boletín, t. xxi. p. 33, *seq.*, *quod vide.*

A certain Thomas Cano, an illiterate ship-builder, born on the Canary Islands, wrote an essay on the "Art of building Ships," which was afterwards published in Seville; and, in the Introduction, he speaks of the casual discoveries of the distant ocean islands made before Columbus revealed them; and he says of them, "That thing is a most certain fact beyond all possibility of a doubt, well known to-day on the island Maderia and among the old sailors of Portugal, of Algarve, and of the county of Niebla. I know it to be so from some people who were acquainted with that time and belonged to it, and who told it so very plainly and publicly."

From what we reported already it is evident that Columbus was not the least-informed of the results of the long western voyages made, whether accidentally or intentionally, by the bold pilots of Portugal and Spain.

Nor was it from Portugal and Spain alone that sailors set out in search of land in and across the Atlantic Ocean shortly before the memorable voyage of Christopher Columbus.

John Cabot,[1] a naturalized Venetian, had established himself in the year 1477 as a mercantile agent at Bristol, in England. He was a seaman by nature and study. In A.D. 1481 he undertook to find the island of Brezill, famous on the European continent and in Ireland; without success, of course.[2] He continued, however, to study the geography and the material interests of the islands and territories lying to the Northwest of Great Britain, as appears from the fact that, in the year 1495, he was the representative of the Bristol merchants to make an agreement with the king of Denmark, by which the former were allowed to transact business with Iceland and the other Danish oceanic possessions. It can hardly be doubted that he had obtained a clear knowledge of Newfoundland in particular, when we notice that he confirmed this name to the island which was designated long before in the Icelandic sagas as "Nyja land," New land.[3]

On June 24, 1497, more than one year before Columbus, John Cabot and his son Sebastian discovered the American main-land,[4] which they called "Prima Vista," First Sight; and which was described in a second diploma, obtained on February 3, 1498, from Henry VII., king of England, as "the londe and isles late founde by the said John in oure name and by our commaundamente."

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[1] Giovanni Gaboto, or Cabotto.

[2] Amat, p. 103; Rafn, Mémoire, p. 35; supra, p. 5.

[3] Rafn, Mémoire, p. 36; supra, p. 248.

[4] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. v. p. 181.

The discovery of Labrador was not, it seems, the result of the first voyage made in the name of Henry VII., probably by Cabot, "the most learned seaman of England,"[1] for, on the 25th of July, 1498, Peter de Ayala, Spanish ambassador in London, wrote to his government that "since seven years, the men of Bristol have every year fitted out two, three, and four caravels to go and find the islands of Brezill and of the Seven Cities, in consequence of the ideas of that Genoese,"—John Cabot.[2]

Raimund di Soncino, ambassador of Ludovico il Moro at the court of England, wrote to the same effect on August 24, 1497: "A few years ago His Majesty has sent out a Venetian, a distinguished mariner, who has a special aptitude to discover new islands. He has returned hale and hearty, after having found again the Seven Cities."[3]

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[1] Magister navis scientificus marinarius totius Angliæ. (Eden, a contemporary writer.)

[2] Amat, p. 104; Payne, p. 235; Ruge, Festschrift, S. 60.

[3] Gaffarel, t. ii. p. 288.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

The result of the annual English explorations of the Atlantic Ocean is not recorded, but we know that the Spanish discoverers found the English flag flying in several places of the North American sea-coast.

It is generally stated that the discoveries of Cabot are owing to those of Columbus, yet the question might reasonably be raised, whether Columbus did not rather profit by the knowledge acquired on the Atlantic Ocean by his illustrious countryman.

Be this as it may, there is no sense in ascribing Columbus's admirable achievement merely to his enthusiasm or genius. Foolhardiness would in this case be the more correct expression. Divine revelation only, or scientific acquirements, could entitle him to predict with assurance, as he did, the success of his undertaking. Of revelation there was no need, after all the studies he had made and all the pains he had taken to become perfectly acquainted with the feasibility of reaching "the East by way of the West," and with the routes to follow in the execution of his plans. Toscanelli had told him that he would meet with islands in the ocean,[1] and Alonso Sanchez had revealed to him their approximate location. Ferdinand Columbus not only testifies that his glorious father's conviction was based in a third part on reports of other navigators,[2] but also that, when he set sail, he gravely announced to his companions that they would find land at a distance of seven hundred and fifty leagues west of the Canary group.[1] The absolute certainty he professed to have of discovering land in the West could not have rested on theory alone; it must have been based upon information of facts also. When his crew mutinied on the ocean, he showed his confidence in this knowledge of facts by promising to them that, if he did not discover land within three days, he would abandon the voyage. Land was in sight in half the time he had bespoken. Would he have risked his all upon a conjecture and made a promise which would have been an act of insanity but for the knowledge he possessed?[2]

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[1] "Che estan situadas en este viage." (Von Humboldt, Examen, t. i. p. 228.)

[2] Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 307.

Leaving Palos on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus decidedly took a southwestern course for the Canary Islands; he knew his way to the lands seen by former pilots, says van Speybrouck pointedly;[3] he knew the assistance to be derived in a westward voyage from the equatorial current and from the trade-winds. Columbus knew more than this. It was to be expected that, on his return, he would retrace the route found to be safe during the outward voyage. But no; scarcely had he finished exploring and locating the coast of Hispaniola, when he steered his prow to the North, thus describing, in his very first expedition through seas which we are too much inclined yet to call the dark mysterious ocean, the routes of both the outward and the homeward West-Indian voyages, which, if not the only practicable, have never since been corrected or improved. This fact is more remarkable still, when we see not only Columbus, but Pinzon also, Antonio Torres, Pedro Alonso Niño, Ojeda, and every pioneer on the middle Atlantic Ocean follow the southern track in going and the northern in returning, the only safe, not to say the only possible, courses in either direction. We may well ask whether divine Providence traced beforehand these guiding lines on Columbus's charts? His panegyrists give an affirmative answer, but satisfactory proofs of miraculous intervention are wanting in the present case; and it is our opinion that it was Columbus's science, acquired from the sad experience of others, that led him not only to find the New World, but also to return to the Old, there to proclaim a feat that should be considered as simply supernatural, had it not been prepared and taught by previous though less famous discoveries.

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[1] Von Humboldt, Examen, t. i. p. 251, n.

[2] Clarke, in the Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. pp. 236, 237; cf. Clarke, ibid., vol. xvii. p. 67.

[3] Bl. 77.

It is not our intention to "shorten the hand of the Lord," but it looks certainly more rational and even more theological to give a probable explanation by what little we know of Alonso Sanchez's and of other mariners' exploits than to apply to Almighty God for a reasonable understanding of Columbus's admirable deed and of its circumstances still more wonderful. Is it not highly presumable that the storms which must have driven Alonso Sanchez to the West Indies were simply the very habitual and natural trade-winds? Is it not likely that this pilot, afraid of entering more unknown waters, had tried for months to retrace his former course, yet in vain, as we readily understand; that after much labor and time and deaths of his crew, he may accidentally have gotten out of the forbidding currents and winds, and by a more northern route have succeeded at last in bringing the news of his achievements to Christopher Columbus and other captains of that time? As for myself, I prefer to consider as natural facts and events such as are naturally possible and probable, rather than to accept them without sufficient proofs as supernatural and miraculous.

Once or twice already we have insinuated that Columbus may have received useful and effective information from Spanish or Portuguese seafarers different from Sanchez de Huelva. Nor are good reasons wanting for such an intimation, when Columbus himself has taken care to record some of his interviews with sailors of the distant western seas. The Portuguese archives still contain the official copies of several diplomas issued by kings Alfonsus V. and John II. in the years 1473, 1475, and especially in 1484, by which license is granted to set out to discover and to take possession of unknown isles and lands in the Atlantic Ocean. Already Herrera relates an instance of these curious transactions, when he says[1] that an inhabitant of Madeira, in the year 1484, requested the king of Portugal to give him permission to sail to a land which, he asserted under oath, he had for several years uniformly descried in a western direction. So also did the Flemish Ferdinand Dulmo, at Santarem, in the beginning of March, 1486, pray King John II. for leave to go to take possession of the large island, islets, or continental tracts which had the name of Seven Cities, and which he should discover or have others to discover at his own expense.[2] Not a few of the royal documents speak of other exploring vessels that had left Portugal, never to return. The homeward course from the West Indies lay in such a peculiar direction that its knowledge was obtained only at the price of suffering and death. At the court and in the city of the Portuguese kings more than anywhere else were carefully gathered and learnedly discussed at the time every indication and every information that might lead to the discovery of new territories in the Dark Ocean, now freed of its ancient mythical terrors. Clarke gives a picture of the social condition of Lisbon at the end of the fifteenth century, so striking and accurate that we cannot resist the temptation of placing it before the eyes of our readers.

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[1] Dec. i. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 5.

[2] Moosmüller, S. 173.

"The constant reports," he says,[1] "of the discovery of new kingdoms on the African coast and of new islands in the Atlantic on the African route to Asia fired the imaginations, stimulated the adventures, nerved the energies, and inflamed the fancies of the varied, commingling, diversified, and scientific groups of aspiring people, attracted together in Lisbon from every quarter of Europe. Commotion and excitement constituted the staple resources of this strange city. Delusions, seeking mythical islands, cities, and empires, and the imaginations of overwrought adventurers filled the Atlantic with phantom islands and countries. The Egyptian narrative of the once powerful and vast Atlantis, submerged by direst cataclysm, was now revived. Aristotle's Antilla was again called up from the abyss to the possible horizon of the ocean. The tradition of the island of the Seven Cities, where many an adventurous Portuguese pilot was alleged to have visited and to be detained, for fear that he might communicate to Spain the existence of the island, was now again repeated with every assurance of its verity. The famous Island of St. Brendan came forth to view, and its mountains and forests had been often and distinctly seen by the inhabitants of the Canaries, and so vividly presented to Prince Henry the Navigator, that several expeditions were sent out to discover and locate it; and the failure of each did not deter others from following the same delusive method, a method not based upon scientific data, as were the subsequent triumphant voyages of Christopher Columbus. But in the Portuguese rage for maritime expeditions and new territorial discoveries there was much that was practical blended with the chimerical, much that resulted in extending the known area of the earth and increasing the domains of that kingdom."

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[1] Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xvii. p. 65.

The writer very correctly adds: "The atmosphere of naval and maritime energy and prowess which Columbus breathed during his residence at Lisbon had a vast influence on his intelligent and enthusiastic character and mind, and constituted a part of the schooling which he received towards his illustrious deed."

The English did not remain free from the southern enthusiasm. After former attempts a ship sailed from Bristol again in the year 1491 to explore the legendary islands; and the great discoveries of the Cabots were prompted as much by English national initiative spirit as by imitation of the Spanish success.

It is quite remarkable and not sufficiently known that Columbus found during his second voyage on the coast of the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe, as we see in his own log-book, portions of the stern of a European ship and an iron kettle which could never have been made by the natives. Both, evidently, were memorials of late Spanish or, more probably, Portuguese sailors, who had proudly been conscious of their discoveries, but, while anxious to publish their achievement, had perished, either through adverse winds or at the hands of the fierce cannibals who were in possession of these testimonials of their misfortune.[1]

It is the place here to touch upon the oft-debated question, whether Columbus had obtained any information towards his grand discovery, on the occasion of his visit to Frisland or the Faroe group and to Iceland. The contradictory answers are generally in keeping with either the northern or the southern nationality of the disputants. Pietro Amat blames[1] Maltebrun and others[2] for their affirmative opinion, and American writers are equally divided on the subject.

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[1] Cf. Southall, p. 573.

The fact is that, in the year 1477, Christopher Columbus sailed to Flanders, England, the Faroe Islands, and Iceland, and one hundred leagues farther; and, consequently, may have descried the outlines of Greenland.[3] It is said that he landed in the bay of Hvalfiardareyri, when Magnus, bishop of Skalholt, was visiting the churches of that peninsula,[4] and that he conversed in Latin with him. It is not likely that the great discoverer, who was so anxious to gather all possible intelligence regarding western countries and seas, would have learned nothing of the Scandinavian voyages and settlements in Greenland and Vinland, while in a country and with learned persons so well acquainted with them.[5] The contrary is possible, however, and the information which he received in Iceland has left no trace in any word or act of his subsequent career, nor is it set forth as an objection to the claims of his son Diego.[6]

The probability is, that Columbus heard in several places of the exploits and colonies of the Northmen in the northeastern parts of America, but, as did the geographers of his time, considered those countries as portions of northeastern Asia, as "promontories of Tartary;"[1] and that, for this very reason, he never spent any deep or serious thought upon them, since it is universally known that Columbus never conceived the idea of discovering a new world, but simply intended to find a new route to the rich islands of pearls and spices in the East Indies, which he well knew to be situated in warm latitudes and not in the frozen seas of the North. If he did discover the continent, part of which the Northmen had visited and settled long before, this happened far beyond all his intentions, his expectations, and consciousness. His sole project was,—and in this he was, after Toscanelli, who advised the king of Portugal to make the undertaking, probably the first of all men,—namely, to reach the "Levante por el Poniente," the East by way of the West. Heedless, therefore, of what he had learned in Iceland, he steered his prow southward, not northward, when setting out on his immortal voyage. Such is also the opinion of Washington Irving and von Humboldt.[2]

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[1] P. 84.

[2] Mémoires des Antiq., 1836–39, notices.

[3] His Treatise on the Five Habitable Zones, his Life by his son Ferdinand, ap. von Humboldt, Examen, t. i. p. 271; t. ii. p. 105; Roselly de Lorgues, Cristoforo Colombo, t. i. p. 103.

[4] Moosmüller, S. 229, ref. to Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. xxiv, n. 1.

[5] Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 237; Kunstmann, S. 74; Rasmus Anderson, p. 86.

[6] Von Humboldt, Kosmos, S. 276; Farnum, p. 8.

Columbus, as we have just noticed, had gathered elsewhere experimental knowledge, more useful to the grand undertaking than was his own. His audacious schemes were based, moreover, on his intelligent conclusions from natural sciences, such as astronomy and geography, and on the statements of ancient learned writers, not to speak of his bold arguments drawn from the Bible and the Holy Fathers. The canonical Chapter of Seville preserves still a copy of the "Imago Mundi," the World's Image, of the Cardinal of Cambray, Peter d'Ailly, enriched with marginal annotations from the hand of Columbus. Here he had read: "The earth is round and the western ocean is relatively small, . . . Aristoteles affirms the sea to be narrow betwixt the western coast of Spain and the borders of India and the East, . . . Seneca assures us that with favorable winds we might cross the sea in a few days, . . . Pliny says that ships could in a short time sail from the Arabian Gulf to Cadiz in Spain." Here he had learned the nautical route around the world.

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[1] The Roman Ptolemy of the year 1508 notices "Gruenland," together with the North American countries formerly visited by the Scandinavians. About the latitude of Rhode Island, he continues the American coast line in a west-northwesterly direction as far as northeastern Asia, where he sets down the countries of "Gog" and of "Magog," corresponding to the present Kamtchatka, or the Russian Amour province. So also does Juan de la Cosa, in A.D. 1500, do away with the North American continent and extend northeastern Asia to the island Verde or Newfoundland. (Von Humboldt, Examen, vol. vi. cartes 3 and 4.)

[2] Examen, t. ii. p. 117.

The Ligurian scientist did not suppose or presume the possibility of sailing in a straight line from Europe to Malaysia, whose spices he was enjoying every day. He knew it. His only mistake, the occasion of all his glory, was, that he never dreamt of the existence of our troublesome isthmus of Panama with the two continents attached to it.

He was convinced, but it took him many years to persuade any of the European kings and princes whose material assistance he needed to carry out his gigantic designs.

Ramusio, Columbus's contemporary, and, shortly after, Benzoni and the royal historian Herrera,[1] testify that the great discoverer first offered to his native country, to Genoa, the anticipated riches of the West Indies. But Genoa was no longer the rich republic of former days; it was mortgaged to France and Milan at that time. It had, moreover, two centuries before, learned a costly lesson by defraying the expenses of the explorers Theodosio Doria and Ugolino dei Vivaldi, who were never heard of afterwards; neither had it ever reaped any profit from the discoveries of its other sons, Nicolò di Recco, who, in the year 1341, discovered the Canary Islands, and Antonio di Noli, who first saw the African capes Blanco and Verd and the islands adjoining to the latter headland. Columbus was, therefore, honorably dismissed by his countrymen.[1]

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[1] Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 14.

According to a document written in A.D. 1520, Columbus must have been accidentally met in Genoa by the priest Pedro de Arenas, of the noble Spanish family of Villatobas, who, understanding his scientific conceptions and religious aims, invited him to his own territories and country, and remained his useful friend ever since.[2]

It is often said that Columbus, rebuked in Genoa, made offers to the more powerful republic of Venice; but no documents sustain this opinion.

From the general history of the time, and from that of Columbus in particular, it appears more likely that the great man first applied for assistance to John II., king of Portugal. He was received well at his court, the most learned of all Europe; but the conditions which he stipulated appeared exorbitant to the counsellors of the interested monarch. After the future discoverer had exposed to them his arguments, his plans and designs, they decided to test his truthfulness for themselves, and secretly sent out an exploring expedition. The captain, as might well be expected, was no Columbus. After many days' sailing according to general directions and suffering from adverse winds on his return, he ridiculed very pleasantly the schemes of the Genoese foreigner; and the enthusiastic originator was politely neglected.[1]

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[1] Van Speybrouck, bl. 51.

[2] It is pretended by some authors that this Pedro de Arenas was the first priest, after Columbus's discovery, to say Holy Mass in the New World.

When the deluded victim became aware of the felony, he left Portugal in disgust. He went to Spain in the year 1484, and sent his brother Bartholomew to Henry VII. of England to plead his cause and offer his services. England would not buy anything but what was in sight, and Bartholomew could accomplish nothing.

Christopher himself was not any more fortunate in his efforts at the castles of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and of Medina Celi.

Then he wrote to the king of France and intended to rejoin his brother in England.[2] Charles VIII. did not answer. It had become evident that nothing could be expected from kings and princes.

Help, if any could be looked for, was to come through the poor and the lowly. Tales, more romantic than historical, are told of Columbus and his little son Diego begging bread and water at the door of the Franciscan monastery of La Rabida;[3] yet it is certain that, in his disappointment in Portugal, he went to the home of the most experienced mariners of Spain, to the county of Niebla, and there made the acquaintance of his most trusty friend, Fray Juan Perez de Marchena, who had formerly been Queen Isabella's confessor and was now the prior of La Rabida.

It is not sufficiently proved that Perez was a learned astronomer and cosmographer, but he was intelligent enough to understand the arguments of Columbus, and he shared, as a matter of course, in his pious intentions. To promote the lofty project, the prior gave his worthy friend a letter to the successor in his former ministry, the prior of the Hieronymite monastery of Our Lady del Prado, Fernando de Talavera, whom he requested to introduce the bearer to the kings of Spain.[1]

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[1] Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 14; Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xvii. p. 312.

[2] Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 16; alii; cf. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 310.

[3] Boletín, t. xx. p. 30.

This step was, however, unsuccessfully taken. Talavera well knew that his royal penitent was just then busily engaged in war with the Mohammedans; from principle he objected to interference with temporal affairs, and, moreover, he was more of an old-school theologian than of a scientist. Columbus was coldly dismissed. This happened in the year 1486 at Cordova, where the royal court was then held.

The trial was severe, but Columbus stood it manfully. He succeeded in making more useful acquaintances in Cordova. An Italian, he sought the protection of Italians, and succeeded in getting to be favorably known to a Roman ecclesiastic, Alessandro Geraldini, who was at the time the papal nuncio at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, afterwards the tutor of the first wife of Henry VIII., and in 1516 was appointed bishop of San Domingo in Hispaniola.[2] Geraldini procured him an interview with the famous chancellor of Castile, the Cardinal Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoza, who was a man, by nature and education, able to value great undertakings. This "third king of Spain" had no difficulty in obtaining an audience for Columbus from Ferdinand and Isabella. The queen, the fittest of all women that ever governed men, was struck by the arguments of the eloquent Genoese and deeply touched by his religious motives; but the sly and calculating Ferdinand was of the opinion that no certain expenses should be made for uncertain results; and it was decided that a council of the learned, of the scientists of that day, should be convened to decide upon the merits of the proposed enterprise.

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[1] Aa. passim.

[2] Amat, p. 86; Boletín, t. xx. p. 610; cf. Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xvii. p. 315; Mizzi, p. 30; Van Speybrouck, bl. 67; Verkinderen, bl. 36. We do not decide the question whether a brother of Alessandro Geraldini, Antonio, was also a protector of Columbus.

This decision was very pleasing to Columbus, and procured him the highest consideration of educated people in Spain. He became the honored guest of the generous and enlightened friars of St. Stephen's Dominican monastery in the city of Salamanca, where his ordeal was to take place. But it was his misfortune that the man who had repelled him already without giving a proper hearing should be appointed to name his judges and to preside over them. Fernando de Talavera was to speak the final word. With the exception of the Dominican Fathers, who listened attentively to all he had to say, the members of the learned council seemed from the beginning to be prejudiced against his cause and against his person, declaring him a visionary adventurer. The most ridiculous objections were made by some of his judges, who had not the slightest idea of geography and cosmography, even as these branches of science were taught in Italy long before. Some of them seemed to know nothing of the statements in regard to the sphericity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes, as they were made already during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries by such men as St. Thomas, Brunetto, Látini, Dante, Pietro d'Abano, Cecco d'Ascoli, Fazio degli Uberti, Petrarca, and as they were sustained during the fifteenth.[1] The Noble Diego Deza, afterwards archbishop of Toledo, and a few other learned Dominicans were, however, timely protectors of the foreign pleader;

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[1] Amat, p. 87. Degli Uberti says:
"L'altra meta che c'è di sotto poi
Nota non è, nè qual v'abita gente,
Ma pure il ciel vi gira i raggi suoi."

and, when the majority were prepared to loudly condemn Columbus's plans, they prudently obtained that no report should officially be made to the Sovereigns.[1]

Yet Columbus had practically lost his suit and become the object of the courtiers' scorn. He would have left Spain at once had it not been for encouragement received from a few ecclesiastics, like Diego Deza and his friend Geraldini, of Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the Castilian finances, and of the influential Luis Santangel.

It would make a long story to tell how Columbus spent his time about the Spanish court in trying to set forth his projects in more comprehensible and more convincing terms, and how all his efforts proved useless. He finally returned, in the year 1491, to his friend at the monastery of La Rabida, with the intention of leaving Spain to try his better fortune at the court of France.

The poor friar Juan Perez, convinced that Columbus's departure meant the loss of great honor and glory for his own country, tried to persuade him to stay until one more effort should be made at the court of Isabella, promising to write to the queen himself. This he did, and ere long an answer came requesting the friar's presence at Santa Fé, where the kings were superintending the siege of Granada. Perez went and explained to the pious queen, with all the eloquence of conviction and faith, the immense advantages that were to accrue from a practicable undertaking to both her kingdom and the Church; he insisted particularly upon Columbus's lofty intentions, the consequent conversion of thousands of pagans and the deliverance of Christ's holy sepulchre. Isabella was from this moment won over to the great discoverer's cause. She invited him to come to her court again, and sent him, through Diego Prieto, a citizen of Palos, twenty thousand maravedis, wherewith to defray the expenses of his journey and make a respectable appearance before her.[1]

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[1] Clarke, in Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xvii. p. 318.

She summoned her counsellors to reconsider the great project; but, for Columbus's misfortune, Fernando de Talavera was present there also. The possibility of future success was hardly called into question any more, but the conditions which the foreigner placed upon entering the service of Castile were found to be exorbitant and were rejected.[2]

The justice of Columbus's demands, intimately connected with his final intentions, has often been the subject of debate. We shall here only relate the award of Pope Leo XIII., who says,[3] "Columbus was moved by the praiseworthy desire of knowledge, he wished to earn the gratitude of humanity, he did not despise honors and glory, whose craving is usually strongest in stout hearts, nor did he altogether neglect his personal interests; but stronger than all these human motives were for him the considerations of his ancestral religion, which, beyond any doubt, prompted his intelligence and will, and often, in the greatest difficulties, sustained his courage and filled him with consolation. His principal scope and intention was, indeed, to open a path for the Gospel into new lands across the unknown seas."

It is the knowledge of these religious aims which, more than all else, moved the pious Queen Isabella to finally make possible the illustrious undertaking by accepting Columbus's terms. For, after all, what they had been unable to obtain in the presence of her other advisers, Perez, Quintanilla, and the Cardinal Mendoza succeeded in getting from her, by rehearsing the Christian arguments and promises which Columbus had set forth so often in vain.

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[1] Wadding, t. xv. p. 1; Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 311; Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 16.

[2] Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 16.

[3] Encyclical Letter, "Quarto abeunte sæculo," July 16, 1892.

Isabella, at first, wanted some time for her treasury to be replenished, after the heavy expenses undergone in the war of Granada; but, "if it seems good that the expedition should take place at once," she added, "then let the necessary money be borrowed on the security of my jewels."[1] She yielded all, while Ferdinand of Aragon, urged by his queen and by his courtiers, gave a formal consent, which was limited to countersigning the Articles of Agreement. This important event took place on April 17, 1492.

Every difficulty was not yet overcome, and the poor friar Juan Perez rendered many an important service still,[2] until at last the great Genoese sailed from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492. On Friday, October 12, Columbus set foot on the island of "Gavanii"[3] or "Guanahani,"[4] which at present bears the name of Watling Island;[5] and on Friday, March 15, 1493, he re-entered the port of Palos, to make to the civilized world a report of the glorious achievement of his learning, courage, and piety.

The grand demonstrations and festivities which followed in Spain are universally known, but the reader may be less acquainted with the effect produced in Rome by the latest discovery of our continent.

One of the first cares of Christopher Columbus on returning to Spain was to request the court to acquaint the Apostolic See with the result of his voyage. A courier was despatched at once to carry to the great and good pontiff, Alexander VI., a copy of a letter dated February 15, 1493, which the then "Grand Admiral" had finished at the Canary Islands for the treasurer of Spain, Raphael Sanchez, detailing the observations made during his first eventful voyage of discovery.[1] Alexander VI. saw at a glance all the importance of the great event, prescribed acts of thanksgiving to Almighty God, and encouraged manifestations of rejoicing among the people of his States in honor of Columbus and of his glorious feat. In truth, the late solemnities of the World's Fair were but the centenary renewal of Alexander's Roman celebration.[2]

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[1] Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii.; Aa. passim.

[2] See Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xvii. p. 328, *seq.*

[3] Bibliotheca Vittoria Emanuele, Roma, MSS. Sessoriani, Cod. 413, fo. 144.

[4] Balan, v. 284; Navarrete, i. 171.

[5] Boletín, t. xix. p. 362; t. xxi. p. 247.

Tradition tells us that Alexander VI. was greatly stimulated to celebrate the event of America's discovery by Columbus's material testimonies of respect towards the Roman See. Several authors state that the first gold ever taken from the West Indies was utilized in gilding the celings of the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, towards which Alexander VI. always showed a decided partiality; and we ourselves were led into this belief by the "cicerone" who showed us the magnificent edifice. Yet we must acknowledge that we never found any document to confirm the ancient tradition.

The report of Columbus's discoveries forwarded to Alexander VI. soon attracted so much attention at the court of Rome, that it was immediately translated into

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[1] Torquemada, t. iii. lib. xviii. cap. iii. p. 288.

[2] It cannot be ignored that Alexander VI.'s successor, Leo XIII., was the man who afforded to the "World's Fair" its most striking historical features, by exhibiting the phototyped records of the most interesting documents of all American history. See Document LXXVI., *a*, *b*, *c*.

Italian and given to the press. Leander Cosco was the translator, and Eucharius Silber or Argenteus the printer. But for this publication the important document would be lost to-day.

Various bulls of Alexander VI. testify to the lively interest which he took in this giant stride of progress in science and common welfare; but, zealous pontiff as we have already learned him to be, he soon provided the means to profit by the discoveries for the glory of the Christian religion and for the civilization and eternal welfare of numberless peoples fallen to the lowest degree of barbarism and idolatry. On the 25th of June, 1493, he issued the famous letters appointing Father Bernard Boil the first Vicar Apostolic of the newly discovered lands, with the faculty of naming other priests, either secular or regular, to go with him on Columbus's second voyage and assist him in the charitable and pious work of conversion and civilization.[1]

A few years later the Sovereign Pontiff received a letter from the great discoverer himself requesting more priests and missionaries for the ever-widening fields for apostolic zeal in our Western Continent.[2] "I beg you, Holy Father," Columbus wrote, "that you may deign to give me, for my consolation and for other reasons that bear on this enterprise so noble and holy, the assistance of a few priests and friars whom I know to be well fitted for the work."

We would like to give the whole of this letter, as interesting as little known, but we are trespassing already on the limits set to our present work; and, as it is our intention to publish, at some future time, quite an amount of both printed and manuscript material regarding the "Beginnings of Christianity in America after the Discovery of Columbus," we trust to find then a more suitable place for this and other important documents which further attest the laudable and Christian aspirations of both the great sailor and the great pontiff, and witness the wonderful and almost miraculous spread of our Holy Religion over the vast regions of our hemisphere within a short space of time.

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[1] Raynaldi was the first to publish that document. (Annales Ecclesiastici, tom. xi. p. 216.) The original record can be found in the Vatican Secret Archives, Regestum 777, fo. 122.

[2] Encyclical letter of Leo XIII.: "Quarto abeunte sæculo," July 16, 1892.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

DOCUMENT XVIII.

ST. CORMAC'S DISTANT NORTHERN VOYAGE.[1]

"Cum idem Cormacus tertia in oceano mari fatigaretur vice, prope usque ad mortem periclitari cæpit. Nam cum ejus navis a terris, per quatuordecim æstæi temporis dies totidemque noctes, plenis velis, Austro flante vento, ad septentrionalis plagam cæli, directo excurreret cursu; ejusmodi navigatio ultra humani excursus modum et irremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit, ut post decimam ejusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam pene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores. Quippe quædam, usque in id tempus invisæ mare obtegentes occurrerunt terræ;[2] et infestæ nimis bestiolæ, quæ horribili impetu, carinam et latera puppimque et proram ita forti feriebant percussura, ut pelliceum tectum navis putarentur penetrare posse. Qui, ut hi qui inerant ibidem, postea narrarunt, prope magnitudinem ranarum, aculeis permolestæ, non tamen volatiles sed natatiles erant. Sed et remorum infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis, inter cetera monstra, quæ non hujus est temporis narrare, Cormacus cum nautis comitibus, Deum precantur."

DOCUMENT XIX.

ICELAND OR THULE KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS.[3]

We have noticed before that the islands of the Cronian Sea, the groups north of Britain, were not unknown to the ancient Greeks.[4] Pytheas, the famous Marsilian explorer of the fourth century before Christ, either was in Iceland or received correct information in regard to this isle during his visit on the English coast. He speaks of its short nights, and locates it at six days' sailing to the North of Britain.[1] Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, of the second century before our era, admit the statements of Pytheas.[2] Virgil sang of the "ultima Thule" forty years before Christ.[3] The great geographer Strabo, who was a contemporary of Our Lord, in speaking of Pytheas's voyages, calculates that Thule must occupy the place which our modern geographers assign to Iceland, on the sixty-sixth degree of northern latitude.[4] Pomponius Mela, half a century after Christ, mentions all the islands north of Scotland, and speaks of Iceland's long days and nights in unmistakable terms.[5] Pliny, another well-known author of the first century of our era, states that, at his time, were mentioned among other northern islands: Scandia, Dumna, Bergos, and, the largest of them all, Nerigos, Norreg or Norway; from which point they embark for Thule, which lies, he says, six days' sailing north of Britain.[6] Statius, a poet of that same time, wrote: "Should I wander off to the lasting cold of the North and cross the setting sun into Thule's dark valleys."[7] The grave historian Tacitus, of the end of the first century, assures us that Agricola discovered and subjugated the Orkneys, and descried Thule covered with snow.[8] Solinus, a writer of the third century, speaks of Thule like his predecessors, in regard to its alternate long days and nights; and Claudian, a poet, tells, in the year 390, that the emperor, Theodosius, had frightened the far distant island with the sound of his Getish war.[9] There can be no doubt that Iceland and Thule are one and the same island, as was admitted already by Adam of Bremen and Casaubonus, and as is clearly proved by Letronne.[1]

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[1] Acta SS. Bolland., ad diem 9 Junii: S. Columba, p. 224, ¶ 77. (Ref. to p. 29.)

[2] We are not now in a position to collate our copy over again with the text of the Acta SS.; but find that the version rendered by Mr. Fowler—Adamnani, Vita S. Columbæ, p. 117, materially differs in this place, through the change of one letter; while he reads "tetræ" instead of "terrae." Should "tetræ" not unreasonably be preferred, the other circumstances of Cormac's voyage "qui nunc humanæ discursionis limitem, immoderate navigando, excessit" (ibid., p. 118) would sufficiently sustain our conclusions.

[3] Ref. to p. 30.

[4] Supra, vol. i. pp. 121, 124.

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[1] Hornius, De Originibus Americanis, p. 156; Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands, p. xiv, *seq.;* xxi, ref. to Pliny, lib. ii. cap. lxxv. ¶ 77.

[2] Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique, p. xxxv, ref. to Pliny, lib. iv. cap. xv.; Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, S. 16.

[3] Georgica, lib. i. v. 30.

[4] Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique, p. xxii, ref. to Géographie de Strabon, Paris Impr. Imp., t. ii. p. 84, n. 2; Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika, S. 16.

[5] Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique, p. xx, n. 3; Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, S. 17.

[6] Vivier de Saint-Martin, Histoire de la Géographie, p. 230; Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands, p. xx; Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika, S. 17.

[7] Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika, S. 18, ref. to Statius, iii. 5, 20; iv. 4, 62.

[8] Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika, S. 18, ref. to Vita Agric., cap. x.

[9] Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands, p. xxi, n. 1; Moosmüller, Europäer in Amerika vor Columbus, S. 18, quot. Claudianus, de III. Consul. Honor. 53.

DOCUMENT XX.

IRISH "PAPAS" IN ICELAND BEFORE THE SCANDINAVIANS.[2]

"En ádhr Ísland bygdhist af Noregi, voru thar their menn er Nordhmenn kalla Papa; their voru menn Kristnir, ok hyggja menn at their muni verit hafa Vestan um haf, thví at fundust eptir theim baekr írskar, bjoellur ok baglar, ok enn fleiri lutir, their er that mátti skilja at their voru Vestmenn, that fannst í Papey austr ok í Papýli, er ok thess getit á bókum enskum, at í thann tíma var farit milli landanna."

"Tha voru hèr menn cristnir, their er Northmenn calla Papa, en their fóru síthan á braut, af thví at their vildu eigi vesa hèr vith heithna menn, ok lèto eptir baekr írscar ok bjoellor ok bagla; af thví mátti scilja at their voru menn írscir."[3]

A literal translation of which is:

And ere Iceland was settled from Norway, were there the men whom the Northmen called Papa; they were men Christians, and men think that they landed from the West across the sea, for that were found after them books Irish, bells and staffs, and some other goods, so it is easily known that they were Westmen, that were found in Papa Island eastwards and in Papa Estate; and it is told in books English, that in that time there was faring between the lands.

There were here men Christians, them the Northmen call Papa, and they fared afterwards abroad, for that they would not be here with heathen men, and left behind books Irish and bells and staffs; from that we easily know that they were men Irish.

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[1] Recherches Géographiques et Critiques sur le livre, of Dicuil: De Mensura Orbis Terræ, p. 137.

[2] Islands Landnámabók, Prologus; from Storm, Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ, p. 8, and an art. of P. A. Munch, in the Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1845–49, p. 218; Rafn. Antiq. Amer., pp. 204, 205. (Ref. to pp. 32, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43.)

[3] Are Frode, Islendíngabók, cap. i.; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 204.

DOCUMENT XXI.

SOLINUS AND DICUIL KNEW ICELAND TO LIE ABOUT THE ARCTIC CIRCLE.[1]

"Julius Solinus . . . ita scripsit: 'Multæ et aliæ circa Britanniam insulæ, e quibus Thule ultima, in qua, æstivo solstitio, sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum, nox nulla: brumali solstitio, perinde nullus dies.'

"Trigesimus nunc annus est a quo nuntiaverunt mihi clerici, qui, a Kalendis februarii usque Kalendas Augusti, in illa insula manserunt, quod, non solum in æstivo solstitio, sed in diebus circa illud, in vespertina hora, occidens sol abscondit se quasi trans parvulum tumulum: ita ut nihil tenebrarum in minimo spatio ipso fiat; sed quicquid homo operari voluerit, vel pediculos de camisia abstrahere, tanquam in præsentia solis, potest: et, si in altitudine montium ejus fuissent, forsitan nunquam sol absconderetur ab illis. In medio illius minimi temporis, medium noctis fit in medio orbis terræ; et sic, puto, e contrario, in hiemali solstitio, et in paucis diebus circa illud, auroram in minimo spatio in Thule apparere, quando in medio meridies fit orbis terræ. Idcirco mentientes falluntur, qui circum eam concretum fore mare scripserunt, et qui a vernali æquinoctio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte, atque ab autumnali, versa vice, usque ad vernale æquinoctium assiduam quidem noctem; dum illi navigantes in naturali tempore magni frigoris eam intrabant, ac manentes in ipsa, dies noctesque semper, præter solstitii tempus, alternatim habebant: sed, navigatione unius diei ex illa ad boream, congelatum mare invenerunt."

DOCUMENT XXII.

DIPLOMA OF LEWIS THE PIOUS ERECTING HAMBURG INTO AN ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEE, WITH ST. ANSGAR AS FIRST METROPOLITAN OF ALL THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES,—OF GREENLAND.[2]

"In nomine Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Ludovicus divino favore, et propitiante clementia, Imperator Augustus.

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[1] Latronne, Recherches Géographiques et Critiques sur le livre: "De Mensura Orbis Terræ," of Dicuil, cap. vii. ¶ 2, p. 38. (Ref. to pp. 35, 36.)

[2] Petri lambecii Origines Hamburgenses, i. pp. 35, 36; Mabillon, Acta SS., O. S. B., sæc. iv. parte ii. p. 121; alibi; cf. S. Remberti Vita S. Anscharii ap. Baronium, ad an. 832, ¶ vii., Annot. Pagii. (Ref. to p. 45.)

Si specialibus cujusque fidelium nostrum necessitatibus prospective subveniendum esse temporalis authoritas monstrat; quanto magis ad debitam generalitatis providentiam æquum dignumque pertinet, ut et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ atque Apostolicæ, quam Christus suo pretioso sanguine redemit, eamque nobis regendam tuendamque commisit, piam et solicitam in cunctis oportet gerere curam, et ut in ejus profectu vel exaltatione congruam exhibeamus diligentiam, novis ad ejus necessitatem vel utilitatem atque dignitatem pertinentibus rebus, nova, imo necessaria et utilia provideamus instituta. Idcirco Sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ filiis præsentibus scilicet et futuris certum esse volumus, qualiter divina ordinante gratia, nostris in diebus, aquilonaribus in partibus, scilicet in gentibus Danorum, Sueonum, Norvagorum, Farriæ, Grœnlandorum, Helsinglandorum, Islandorum, Scrifindorum,[1] et omnium septentrionalium et orientalium nationum, magnum cælestis gratia prædicationis sive acquisitionis patefecit ostium; ita ut multitudo hinc inde ad fidem Christi conversa, mysteria cælestia ecclesiasticaque subsidia desiderabiliter expeteret. Unde domino Deo nostro laudes immensas persolventes extollimus, qui nostris temporibus et studiis, sanctam Ecclesiam, sponsam videlicet suam, in locis ignotis sinit dilatari atque profiteri. Quamobrem, una cum sacerdotibus cæterisque nostri imperii fidelibus, hanc Deo dignam cernentes causam, valde necessarium atque futuræ Ecclesiæ dignitati profecturum dignum duximus, ut locum aptum nostris in finibus evidentius eligeremus, ubi sedem Archiepiscopalem per hoc nostræ authoritatis præceptum statueremus, unde omnes illæ barbaræ nationes æternæ vitæ pabulum facilius uberiusque capere valerent, et sitientes salutis gratiam præ manibus vel oculis haberent; insuper et magnorum progenitorum nostrorum sacra lucrandi studia, nostris in diebus, nunquam deficerent. Progenitor enim noster gloriosæ memoriæ Carolus omnem Saxoniam ecclesiasticæ religioni subdidit, jugumque Christi, ad usque terminos Danorum atque Slavorum, corda ferocia ferro perdomans, docuit; ubi inter has utrasque gentes Danorum sive Vinnetorum ultimam Saxoniæ partem sitam in diversis periculis temporalibus videlicet et spiritualibus interjacentem perspiciens, Pontificalem ibidem sedem fieri decrevit. Transalbiam unde, postquam terram Transalbinorum, laxata captivitate, quam ob multam perfidiam ipsis Christianitatis initiis patratam, per septennium passa est, ne locus ille a barbaris invaderetur, Ereberto comiti restituere præceperat, non jam vicinis Episcopis committere voluit; sed ne quisquam eorum hanc sibi deinceps parochiam vendicaret, et e remotis Galliæ partibus quendam episcopum Anscharium nomine direxit, qui primitivam ecclesiam ibidem consecraret; sed et eidem ecclesiæ sacras reliquias ac plura ecclesiastica munera pia largitate specialiter destinare curavit. Postmodum vero captivis optatam ad parochiam undique confluentibus, eandem parochiam cuidam presbytero Herodach nomine specialiter commendavit, quem universæ Transalbinorum Ecclesiæ ne ad ritum relaberentur gentilium, vel quia lucrandis adhuc gentilibus locus ille videbatur aptissimus, disposuerat consecrari Episcopum, ut ipsa occasione vel authoritate summa in ipsis terminis gentium sedulitate prædicandi, sancta multiplicaretur Ecclesia; dum vicinorum ipsius novitatis Episcoporum multa latitudinis cura non sufficiebat discurrere per omnia. Delegavit etiam eidem presbytero quandam ecclesiam Kodnach vocatam, quatenus eidem loco periculis circumdato fieret supplementum. Sed quia consecrationem jam dicti viri velox ex hac luce transitus pii genitoris nostri fieri prohibuit, Ego autem, quem divina clementia in sedem regni ipsius asciverat, cum in multis regni negotiis insisterem, hoc quoque prædictum patris mei studium, velut regni in finibus, minus caute attenderem, prædictam parochiam vicinis Episcopis interim commendavi.

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[1] The copy printed in the "Diplomatarium Islandicum," p. 3, reads the names as follows: ". . . in gentibus videlicet Danorum, Suecorum, Norweon, Farriæ, Gronlandon, Hallingalandon, Islandon, Scredevindon. . . ."

"Nunc autem, tam propter supra dicta ecclesiastica lucra in gentibus demonstrata, quam et propter votum pii genitoris nostri, ne ejus studium infectum remaneat, Statuimus, una cum consensu ecclesiastico, præfata ultima in regione Saxonica trans Albiam, in loco nuncupato Hamenburch, cum universa Transalbinorum ecclesia proprii vigoris constituere sedem archiepiscopalem, cui ut primum præesse atque solemniter consecrari per manus Drogonis Metensis et summæ sanctæ Palatinæ præsulis Anscharium fecimus Archiepiscopum, adstantibus archiepiscopis Ebbone Remensi, Hattone Trevirensi, Ottigario Moguntiensi cum plurimis aliis, generali in conventu totius imperii nostri præsulibus congregatis, adsistentibus quoque specialiter ac consentientibus atque consecrantibus Helingando sive Villerico Episcopis; a quibus jam dictæ parochiæ partes a nobis et a patre nostro sibi olim commendatas recepimus. Cui videlicet Anschario, tam nostra quam sancta Romana authoritate, hanc Deo dignam præfatis gentibus commisimus legationem, ac proprii vigoris asscribere decrevimus.

"Et quia casus præteritorum cautos nos facit in futura, ne quisquam Episcoporum aliquam sibi Transalbiam vel alicubi in parochia vindicet potestatem, certo limite circumscriptam esse voluimus; videlicet ab Albio flumine deorsum usque ad mare oceanum sursum, per omnem Slavorum provinciam, usque ad mare quod Orientale vocant, et per omnes prædictas nationes Septentrionis, omnes quoque paludes infra sive juxta Albiam positas, cultas et incultas, infra terminos ejusdem parochiæ ponimus, ut trans Albiam se et sua ab incursu Paganorum, qui sæpe timendus est, in his locis occultare queant.

"Et ut hic nova constructio periculosis in locis cæpta subsistere valeat, quandam Cellam Turnholt vocatam tum huic novæ quam ejusdem Archiepiscopi successorumque suorum in gentibus legationi permittere servituram, ad nostram nostræque sobolis perpetuam mercedem, divinæ offerimus Majestati. Res itaque præfatæ sedis et jam dicti monasterii sub plenissima defensione et immunitatis tuitione volumus ut consistant, ut liceat venerabili Archiepiscopo prædicto suisque successoribus ac omni clero sub eorumdem regimine constituto, quiete in Dei servitio degere, et pro nobis proleque nostra atque statu totius imperii nostri divinam misericordiam exorare. Et ut hæc authoritas sui vigoris perpetuam obtineat firmitatem, manu propria subter eam firmavimus, et sigilli nostri impressione signari jussimus.

"Hirnimarus notarius ad vicem Theodori recognovit. Data Idus Maii Anno XXI. Imperii Romani."

DOCUMENT XXIII.

GREGORY IV. CONFIRMS THE ACT OF LEWIS THE PIOUS AND APPOINTS ST. ANSGAR HIS DELEGATE IN ALL THE NORTH,—IN GREENLAND.[1]

"Gregorius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Omnium fidelium dignoscentiæ certum esse volumus, qualiter beatæ memoriæ præcellentissimus Rex Karolus, tempore prædecessorum nostrorum, divino afflatus Spiritu, gentem Saxonum sacro cultui subdidit, jugumque Christi, quod suave ac leve est, ad usque terminos Danorum sive Slavorum, corda ferocia ferro perdomans, docuit; ultimamque regni ipsius partem, trans Albiam inter mortifera Paganorum pericula constitutam, videlicet ne ad ritum relaberetur gentilium, vel etiam quia lucrandis adhuc gentibus aptissima videbatur, proprio episcopali vigore fundare decreverat. Sed quia mors effectum prohibuerat, succedente ejus præcellentissimo filio, Hludewico Imperatore Augusto, pium studium sacri genitoris sui efficaciter implevit.

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[1] Joh. Gust. Liljegren, Diplomatarium Suecanum, Bd. i. S. 6, *seq.* Anno 835; alibi. (Ref. to p. 46,

"Quæ ratio Nobis per venerabiles Ratolphum sive Vernoldum Episcopos, necnon Geroldum comitem vel Missum venerabilem relata est confirmanda.

"Nos igitur omnem ibi Deo dignam statutam providentiam .cognoscentes, instructi etiam præsentia fratris filiique nostri Anscharii primi Nordalbingorum Archiepiscopi, per manus Drogonis Metensis Episcopi consecrati, sanctum studium magnorum imperatorum, tam præsenti auctoritate quam etiam pallii donatione, more prædecessorum nostorum roborare decrevimus; quatenus tanta auctoritate fundatus prædictus filius noster ejusque successores lucrandis fidelibus insistentes, adversus tentamenta diaboli validiores existant, ipsumque filium nostrum jam dictum Anscharium et successores ejus Legatos in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Danorum, Sueonum, Nortwehorum, Farriæ, Gronlandan, Halsingolandan, Islandan, Scridevindum, Slavorum, necnon omnium septentrionalium et orientalium nationum quocunque modo nominatarum, delegamus. Et posito capite et pectore super corpus et Confessionem Sancti Petri Apostoli, sibi suisque successoribus vicem nostram perpetuo retinendam, publicam evangelizandi tribuimus auctoritatem, ipsamque sedem Nordalbingorum, Hammaborch dictam, in honore Sancti Salvatoris ejusque intemeratæ Genitricis Mariæ consecratam, Archiepiscopalem esse decrevimus. Consecrationem vero succedentium sacerdotum donec consecrantium numerus ex gentilibus augeatur, sacræ palatinæ providentiæ interim committimus. Strenui vero prædicatoris persona tantoque officio apta in successione semper eligatur; omnia vero a venerabili principe ad hoc Deo dignum officium, deputata nostra etiam auctoritate, pia ejus vota firmamus, omnemque resistentem vel contradicentem atque piis nostris his studiis quolibet modo insidiantem, anathematis mucrone percutimus atque perpetua ultione reum diabolica sorte damnamus, ut culmen Apostolicum, more prædecessorum nostrorum, causam Dei pio affectu zelantes, ab adversis hinc inde partibus tutius muniamus.

"Et quia te, charissime fili, Anschari, divina clementia nova in sede primum disposuit esse Archiepiscopum, Nos pallium ad missarum solemnia celebranda tribuimus, quod tibi in diebus tuis, uti et Ecclesiæ tuæ perpetuo statu manentibus privilegiis, uti largimur. Sancta Trinitas vitam tuam conservare dignetur incolumen, atque post sæculi amaritudinem ad perpetuam perducat beatitudinem. Amen." (Datum 835.)

DOCUMENT XXIV.

ANASTASIUS III. CONFIRMS THE ARCHBISHOP OF HAMBURG IN HIS JURISDICTION OVER THE NORTH,—GREENLAND.[1]

"Anastasii, PP. III. Privilegium pro Ecclesia Hamburgensi, Anno 912.

"Anastasius etc. dilecto confratri Hogero, Venerabili Archiepiscopo Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ, salutem in perpetuum. . . . Igitur quia postulasti a Nobis quatenus archiepiscopatum Hammaburgensem totum in integrum tibi tuisque successoribus confirmaremus, sicut a prædecessoribus nostris, Gregorio, Nicolao, hujus apostolicæ sedis, decretum est; inclinati precibus tuis, et Nos apostolica auctoritate concedimus et confirmamus, cum omnibus generaliter atque specialiter ad eumdem præfatum archiepiscopatum pertinentibus. . . . Cum illis etiam qui hoc tempore ad Christi fidem conversi sunt, provocante et protegente gratia Dei, videlicet Episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum seu Danorum, Norwegorum, Island, Scridevinnum, Gronlandon et universarum septentrionalium nationum . . . ita ut sub tua tuorumque successorum Hamburgensis Ecclesiæ archiepiscoporum maneant potestate, vel quidquid a vobis, divina favente gratia, ab errore perfidiæ, sive hominum sive locorum ad religionem Christianam acquiri potest. Pallium quoque . . . Data per manum Adriani, scrinarii Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in mense Januario, Indictione 8."

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[1] Migne, Patrologia Latina, t. i. col. 1185, from Lappenberg, Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. i. S. 38. (Ref. to p. 53.)

DOCUMENT XXV.

JOHN X. CONFIRMS THE GRANTS OF GREGORY IV., ETC.[1]

"Johannes [X] Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, dilecto confratri Unni venerabili archiepiscopo Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ: tibi tuisque successoribus in perpetuum.

"Convenit Apostolico moderamini præ religione pollentibus [*for* pia religione petentibus] benevola compassione succurrere, et poscentium animis allacre devotione impertiri assensum; ex hoc enim lucri potissimum præmium apud Dominum procul dubio promeremur, dum venerabilia loca opportune ordinata ad meliorem fuerint per nos statum perducta. Igitur, quia postulasti a Nobis, quatenus pallium transmitteremus, et Archiepiscopatum Hammaburgensem totum in integrum tibi tuisque successoribus confirmaremus, sicut a beato Gregorio, Nicolao et aliis prædecessoribus nostris decretum est, in tuæ [*for* quæ tibi] et antecessoribus tuis data sunt et privilegiis confirmata, Nos, apostolica auctoritate, tibi concedimus et nostro privilegio confirmamus: Scilicet omnia quæ generaliter et specialiter ad eumdem præfatum Archiepiscopatum pertinent, quæque tui antecessores suis laboribus adquisiverunt, vel etiam quæ ob amorem æternæ patriæ ibi a Christi fidelibus largita sunt, vel adhuc largiuntur. Cum illis etiam qui hoc tempore ad Christi fidem conversi sunt, procurante et protegente gratia Dei, videlicet Episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum seu Danorum, Norvegiorum, Island, Scridevinnum, Gronlandon et universarum septentrionalium nationum; nec non etiam in illis partibus Slavorum que sunt a flumine Pene ad fluvium Egidone; ita ut sub tua tuorumque successorum Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ archiepiscoporum maneant potestate, vel quicquid a vobis divina favente gratia, ab errore perfidiæ, sive hominum sive locorum ad religionem Christianam acquiritur, tibi tuisque successoribus perpetualiter tenendum inviolabiliterque retinendum censemus. Et insuper decrevimus nullum archiepiscoporum vel Coloniensium vel alium quemlibet in tua diœcesi ullam sibi vindicare potestatem, etc. Caput quoque tuum mitra, quod est insigne Romanorum, permittimus insigniri. Quod si quis huic nostræ auctoritatis privilegio contraire præsumat, anathema sit; qui vero pie observaverit, gratiam et benedictionem consequatur a Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

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[1] Liljegren, Diplomatarium Suecanum, Bd. i. S. 21. (Ref. to pp. 53, 54.)

"Dat. IIII. kl. Novembris per manus Leonis Sanctæ Romanæ sedis cancellarii, Anno Domini Johannis Pape primo [*sic*] Indictione VIIII." (October 29, 920.)

DOCUMENT XXVI.

INNOCENT II. RESTORES TO HAMBURG THE PRE-EMINENCE GRANTED BY GREGORY IV., ETC., OVER THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES,—GREENLAND.[1]

"Innocentius II., Servus servorum Dei Venerabili Adalberoni Hammenburgensi archiepiscopo, ejusque successoribus Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

"Ad hoc in beati Petri cathedra, disponente Deo, constituti esse aspicimur, quatinus singulis ecclesiasticis personis suam conservemus justitiam, et qualiter, tam temporaliter quam spiritualiter, eorum status integer perseveret, salubriter providere curemus. Dignum etenim et rationabile est, ut sicut sacrosancta Dei Ecclesia unitatis ac fidei perpetua mater existit, ita nimirum privilegia custodiantur illæsa et nullis molestiis nullisque oppressionibus pravorum hominum fatigetur.

"Sæpe utique Venerabilis frater noster Adalbero Hammenburgensis Archiepiscopus in præsentia prædecessorum nostrorum felicis memoriæ Calixti et Honorii ac nostra questus est Acerum Lundensem et alios Daciæ tibi debitam, sicut Metropolitano suo, quemadmodum antiquis privilegiis Gregorii, Sergii, Leonis, Benedicti, Nicolai, Adriani, Romanorum Pontificum continetur, obedientiam derogare. Frequenter autem et a prædictis predecessoribus nostris Calixto et Honorio atque a nobis eis mandatum est, ut aut ad tuam et Hammenburgensis Ecclesiæ redirent obedientiam, aut si quam super hoc se confiderent justitiam habere, ad Sedem Apostolicam venirent præparati. Ipsi vero apostolicis contemnentes obedire mandatis, nec venerunt, nec responsales miserunt.

"Quia igitur lucrum nemo de sua contumacia debet obtinere, ex deliberato fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et cardinalium consilio, tam Lundensem quam alios episcopos Daciæ tibi restituimus. Ad formam igitur privilegiorum Gregorii, Sergii, Leonis, Nicolai, Benedicti et Adriani, Episcopatus Daciæ, Sueciæ, Norweigiæ, Farriæ, Gronlandiæ, Halsingaldiæ, Islandiæ, Scridivindiæ et Slavorum, carissimi filii nostri Lotharii regis precibus inclinati, tibi et per te Hammenburgensi Ecclesiæ, suæ videlicet Metropoli, præsentis scripti pagina confirmamus. Si quæ in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona hanc nostræ confirmationis paginam violare tentaverit, secundo tertiove commonita, si non satisfactione congrua emendaverit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, ream se divino judicio existere de perpetua iniquitate recognoscat, et a sanctissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris Nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtæ ultioni subjaceat; cunctis autem hæc statuta servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

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[1] Liljegren, Diplomatarium Suecanum, Bd. i. S. 46; Raynaldi, Annales Ecclesiastici, ad an. 1133, Pagius n. xx. (Ref. to pp. 54, 55.)

"Data Romæ apud montem Aventinum per manum Almerici Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconi, Cardinalis Cancellariæ, VI. Kalend. Junii, Indictione XI., Incarnationis Dominicæ, anno MCXXXIII., Pontificatus vero Domni. Innocentii Papæ II. anno quart."

DOCUMENT XXVII.

EMPEROR FREDERIC RATIFIES THE DIPLOMA OF LEWIS THE PIOUS.[1]

"Fridericus divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator Augustus. . . . Noverint igitur omnium Christi Imperiique nostri fidelium tam præsens ætas quam successura posteritas, qualiter dilectus noster Hartwicus Hammaburgensis Archiepiscopus obtulit majestati nostræ privilegium divi et augustissimi Imperatoris Hludewici primi fundatoris et constructoris Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ, supplicans nobis ut bona, possessiones, jura, immunitates, terminos, sicut præfatus gloriosissimus Imperator instruxit, nos æternæ stabilitatis vigore prædictæ Ecclesiæ confirmaremus. Nos itaque pia facta prædecessoris nostri clarius intuentes, et divinæ dexteræ opus per manum Christi sui completum debita affectione cordis amplectentes, quicquid in Hammaburgensi Ecclesia statuit, statuimus; quod donavit, donamus, et nostra imperiali auctoritate confirmamus. . . . Recolimus vero rem magna veneratione dignissimam: quod in eodem loco trans Albiam Hammaburch nuncupato, idem gloriosissimus Imperator Hludewicus proprii vigoris archiepiscopalem et super omnes Ecclesias Danorum, Sueonum, Norwegiorum, Farriæ, Gronlandonum, Hallingolandonum, Islandonum, Scredevindonum et omnium septentrionalium partium Metropolitanam sedem constituit. . . . Terminos itaque quos Imperator Hludewicus posuit . . . postmodum ex consilio Principum, præfatæ Ecclesiæ designavit, juxta temporum æquam considerationem immutatos conservamus, et nostra imperiali auctoritate confirmamus. . . .

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[1] Liljegren, Diplomatarium Suecanum, Bd. i. S. 59. (Ref. to pp. 55, 56.)

"Data Franckenwort XVII. Kalend. Aprilis Indictione VI., anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo Centesimo quinquagesimo octavo. . . ."

DOCUMENT XXVIII.

GREENLAND'S AND ICELAND'S CONVERSION CREDITED TO ST. ANSGAR.[1]

V. 2. "Leta leto psalle tono
Glorioso de patrono,
Triumphante summo throno,
Beato Anskario. . . .

V. 8. "Fide fulget gens Danorum,
Sweonumque, Norwehorum,
Granlandeum, Islandorum,
Sub Bremensi presule. . . ."

"Á 15dn öld segir Hinrik í Kroniku Brimabiskupa, adh Anskar hafi Kristnadh öll Nordhrlönd.

"Anscharius . . . convertit Danos, Sveones et Norwegenses, Islandiam, Gronlandiam et Scritofiniam, Slaviam, Stormariam et omnem generaliter Nordalbingiam; baptizavit et convertit reges multos in istis regnis.[2]

DOCUMENT XXIX.

GREENLAND CONVERTED, RAVAGED, TO BE RESTORED.[3]

"Poggius. — Nicolaus etc. Venerabilibus fratribus Schaolten. et Olen. Episcopis Salutem etc. Ex injuncto nobis desuper apostolice servitutis officio universarum ecclesiarum regimini presidentes sic auctore domino pro animarum salute precioso

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[1] Diplomatarium Islandicum, p. 15. (Ref. to p. 58.)

[2] Chronicon Archiepisc. Bremen., ap. Meibom, Rerum Germanicarum, t. ii.

[3] Archivium Vaticanum, Regestum 407: Nicol. V., De Curia, lib. ii. fo. 251 $^{\text{vo}}$. (Ref. to pp. 59, 196, 441.)

Salvatoris redemptas [*for* redemptarum] convertio [*for* commercio, the price] nostre solicitudinis curam impendimus ut illam [*for* illas] non solum impietatis et errorum procellis sepius fluctuantes sed et erumnis et persecutionum turbinibus involutas ad statum optime tranquillitatis reducere studeamus. Sane pro parte dilectorum filiorum indigenarum et universitatis habitatorum insule Grenolandie que in ultimis finibus occeani ad septentrionalem plagam Regni Norwegie in provincia Nidrosien. dicitur situata lacrimabilis querela nostrum turbavit auditum amaricavit et mentem quod in ipsam insulam cujus habitatores et incole ab annis fere sexcentis Christi fidem gloriosi sui preconis Beati Olavi Regis predicatione susceptam et intemeratam sub Sancte Romane Ecclesie et Sedis Apostolice institutis servarunt, ac quod tempore succedente in in [*sic*] dicta insula populis assidua devotione flagrantibus sanctorum edes quamplurime et insignis ecclesia Cathedralis erecte fuerint in quibus divinus cultus sedulo agebatur donec illo permictente qui imperscrutabili sapiencie et sciencie sue scrutinio persepe quos diligit temporaliter corrigit et ad meliorem emendam castigat. ex finitimis lictoribus paganorum ante annos triginta classe navali Barbari insurgentes cunctum habitatorum ibidem populum crudeli invasione aggressi et ipsam patriam edesque sacras igne et gladio devastantes solis insula [*for* insulæ] novem relictis ecclesiis parrochialibus que latissimis dicitur extendi terminis quas propter crepidines montium commode adire non poteirint [*for* potuerunt] miserandos utriusque sexus indigenas illos precipue quos ad subeundum perpetue onera servitutis aptos videbant et fortes tanquam ipsorum tyrannidi accommodatos ad propria vexerunt captivos. Verum quia sicut eadem querela subjugebat [*for* subjungebat] post temporis successum quamplurimi ex captivitate predicta redeuntes ad propria et refectis hincinde locorum ruinis divinum cultum possetenus ad instar dispositionis pristine ampliare et instaurare desiderent [*for* desiderant] et quia propter predictarum calamitatum pressuras fame et inedia laborantibus non suppeditabat hucusque facultas presbyteros nutriendi et presulem, toto illo Triginta annorum tempore Episcopi solatio et sacerdotum ministerio caruerunt, nisi quis per longissimam dierum et locorum distanciam divinorum desiderio officiorum ad illas se conferre voluisset ecclesias quas manus barbarica illesas pretermisit Nobis humiliter supplicari fecerunt quatenus eorum pio et salutari proposito paterna miseratione cucurrere [*for* succurrere] et ipsorum in spiritualibus supplere defectus nostrumque et apostolice sedis in premissis favorem impartiri benivolum dignaremur. Nos igitur dictorum indigenarum et universitatis habitatorum prefate insule Grenolandie justis et honestis precibus et desideriis inclinati, de premissis et eorum circumstanciis certam notitiam non habentes fraternitati vestre quos ex vicinioribus Episcopis insule prefate esse intelleximus per apostolica scripta commictimus et mandamus quatinus vos vel alter vestrum diligenti examine auditis et intellectis premissis si ea veritate fulciri compereritis ipsumque populum et indigenas numero et facultatibus adeo sufficienter esse resumptos quod id pro nunc expedire videbitis quod ipsi affectare videntur de sacerdotibus ydoneis et exemplari vita preditis ordinandi et providendi plebanos et rectores instituendi qui parrochias et ecclesias resarcitas gubernent sacramenta ministrent et si vobis sive alteri vestrum demum expedire videbitur et opportunum requisito ad hoc Metropolitani consilio si loci distancia pacietur personam utilem et ydoneam nostram et Sedis apostolice communionem habentem eis in Episcopum ordinare et instituere ac sibi munus consecrationis in forma ecclesie consueta nomine nostro impendere et administrationem spiritualium et temporalium concedere recepto ab eodem prius juramento nobis et Romane ecclesie debito et consueto valeatis vel alter vestrum valeat Super quibus omnibus vestram conscientiam oneramus plenam et liberam vobis vel alteri vestrum auctoritate apostolica concedimus tenore presentium facultatem Statutis et constitutionibus apostolicis et generalium Conciliorum ac aliis in contrarium editis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum Rome apud Sanctampotencianam Anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octavo duodecimo Kl. Octobris Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

"Gratis de mandato d. n. ppe
"Coll. S. Cousin Ja. de Rizonibus."

DOCUMENT XXX., *a*.

BENEDICT IX. CONFIRMS TO ADALBERT, ARCHBISHOP OF HAMBURG, HIS RIGHTS OVER THE NORTH.[1]

"Benedictus [IX] etc. reverentissimo et sanctissimo Adelberto, Sanctæ Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ Episcopo Apostolicam benedictionem. Si pastores ovium solem geluque pro gregis sui custodia die ac nocte ferre contenti sunt, et ut ne qua ex eis aut errando pereat, aut ferinis laniata morsibus rapiatur, oculis semper vigilantibus circumspectant; quanto sudore quantaque cura debemus esse pervigiles, nos qui pastores animarum dicimur? Attendamus et susceptum officium exhibere erga custodiam dominicarum ovium non cessemus, ne in die divini examinis pro nostra desidia ante summum pastorem negligentiæ reatus excruciet, unde modo honoris reverentia sublimioris inter cæteros judicamur. Legationem igitur et archiepiscopalem potestatem in omnia regna septentrionalia, regna Danorum scilicet, Suenorum, Norvenorum, Hislandicorum et omnium insularum his regnis adjacentium, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis perpetuo tenendam concedimus. Pallium quoque, etc. . . . Data per manus Leonis, cancellarii Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in mense Martio, indictione tertia."

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[1] Migne, Patrologia Latina, t. cxli. col. 1368; from Lappenberg, Hamb. Urkundenbuch, Bd. i. S. 71. (Ref. to pp. 52, 53, 61.)

DOCUMENT XXX., *b*.

ADALBERT SECURED BY LEO IX. IN HIS JURISDICTION OVER GREENLAND, ETC.[1]

"Leo episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto confratri nostro Adelberto, venerabili archiepiscopo Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ, tibi tuisque successoribus in perpetuum. . . . Apostolica auctoritate concedimus et confirmamus, cum omnibus generaliter atque specialiter ad eumdem præfatum archiepiscopatum vestrum pertinentibus, scilicet omnia quæ vestri antecessores suis laboribus adquisierunt, vel etiam amore æternæ patriæ ibi a Christicolarum fidelibus largita sunt vel largiuntur, cum illis etiam, qui hoc tempore ad Christi conversi sunt fidem, protegente Dei gratia videlicet episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum seu Danorum, Norvvechorum, Islant, Scridevinnum, Gronlant et universarum septentrionalium nationum nec non etiam in illis partibus Sclavorum, quæ sunt a flumine Pene usque ad fluvium Egidore, ita ut sub tua tuorumque successorum, Ammaburgensis ecclesiæ archiepiscoporum, maneant potestate, vel quicquid tuo tuorumque successorum certamine, divina favente gratia, ab errore perfidiæ sive hominum sive locorum ad religionem christianam adquiri potest, tibi tuisque successoribus perpetualiter tenendum inviolabiliterque tenere censemus. Igitur juxta supra-

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[1] Beauvois, Origines et Fondation du plus Ancien Evêché du Nouveau Monde, p. 28, n. 7; from Rydberg, Sverges Traktater, i. 56–58. (Ref. to p. 62.)

scriptum tenorem concedimus tibi et per te tuis successoribus in perpetuum licentiam ordinandi episcopos infra diocesim seu provinciam vestram vel certe per provincias gentium supradictarum, quascumque ad ovile Christi tam per vos quam per nuntios vestros adducere, proveniente et subsequente divina gratia, volueritis.

DOCUMENT XXXI.

ARI MARSON SAILS TO HVÍTRAMANNALAND OR IRELAND THE GREAT.[1]

"Theirra son var Ari; hann vardh saehafi til Hvítramannalands, that kalla sumir Írland edh mikla, that liggr vestr í haf naer Vínlandi enu gódha; that er kallat VI. daegra siglíng vestr frá Írlandi; thadhan nádhi Ari eigi á brutt at fara, ok var thar skírdhr. Thessa soegu sagdhi fyrst Hrafn Hlymreksfari, er lengi hafdhi verit í Hlymreki á Írlandi. Svâ kvadh Thorkell Gellison segja íslenzka menn, thá er heyrt hoefdhu frá segja Thorfinn i Orkneyjum, at Ari hefdhi kendr verit á Hvítramannalandi, ok nádhi eigi brutt at fara, en var thar vel virdhr. Ari átti Thorgerdhi, dóttur Álfs or Doelum; theirra son var Thorgils ok Gudhleifr ok Illugi; that er Reyknesínga aett."

DOCUMENT XXXII., *a*.

BJÖRN ASBRANDSON SAILS TO THE SOUTHWEST FROM ICELAND.[2]

"Bjoern fór annan dag eptir sudhr í Hraunhoefn, ok rèdh sik thar til utanferdhar thá thegar. Their urdhu allsídhbúnir. tóku út landnyrdhíng, ok vidhradhi heldr thráliga um haustit úti. Til thess skips spurdhist ekki sídhan lángan tíma."

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[1] Landnámabók, part ii. ch. xxii., in Islendinga Saegur, p. 129, ap. Beauvois, La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 3; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 210. (Ref. to p. 76.)

[2] Eyrbyggja Saga, cap. xlvii., ap. Beauvois, La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 10, *seq.*; cf. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 244. (Ref. to p. 80.)

DOCUMENT XXXII., *b*.

BJÖRN FOUND IN IRELAND THE GREAT BY GUDLEIF, WHO HAD SAILED THITHER FROM IRELAND.[1]

"Gudhleifr hèt madhr; hann var Gudhlaugsson ens audhga or Straumfirdhi, bródhir Thorfinns, er Sturlúngar eru fra komnir. Gudhleifr var farmadhr mikill. Hann átti knoer einn mikinn, en annan Thórólfr Eyra-Loptsson; thá er their boerdhust vidh Gyrdh, son Sigvalda jarls, thá lèt Gyrdhr auga sitt. That var ofarla á doegum Ólafs konúngs ens helga, er Gudhleifr hafdhi siglt kaupferdh til Dýflinnar, en er hann sigldi vestr, aetladhi hann at sigla til Íslands. Hann sigldi firir vestan Írland ok fèkk landnyrdhíng mikin, ok rak thá lángt vestr í haf ok í útsudhr, svâ at their vissu ekki til landa, en thá var mjoek á lidhit sumarit, ok hètu their moergu, at thá skyldi bera or hafinu, ok thá kom thar, at their urdhu vidh land varir. That var mikit land, en eigi vissu their, hvert land that var. That rádh tóku Gudhleifr, at their sigldu at landinu, tvíat theim leiddist at eiga lengr vidh hafsmegnit. Their fengu that hoefn gódha, ok er their hoefdhu thar litla stund vidh land verit, komu menn til fundar vidh thá. Their kendu thar engan mann, en helzt thótti theim, sem their maelti írsku. Brátt kom til theirra svâ mikit fjoelmenni, at that skipti moergum hundrodhum. Thessir menn veittu theim atgaungu, ok tóku thá alla hoendum ok faerdhu thá í boend, ok ráku thá á land upp. Tharr voru their á mót eitt faerdhir ok daemt um thá. That skildu their, at sumir vildu at their vaeri drepnir thegar, en sumir vildu, at theim vaeri skipt á vistir, ok vaeri their thjádhir. Ok er thetta var kaert, sá their, hvar reidh flokkr mikill, ok var thar borit merki í flokkinum. Thóttust their thá vita, at thar mundi vera hoefdhingi í flokki theim, en er flokkr thessi kom thángat at, sá their at undir merkinu reidh madhr mikill ok garpligr, ok var thá mjoek á efra aldri, ok hvítr firir haerum. Allir menn, their er thar voru firi, hneigdhu thessum manni, ok foegnudhu sem their kunnu; fundu their that, at thá var thángat skotidh oellum rádhum ok atkvaedhum um theirra mál, er hann var. Sídhan sendi hinn aldradhi madhr eptir theim Gudhleifi, ok er their komu firir thenna mann, maelti hann til theirra á norraenu, ok spurdhi, hvadhan their vaeri af loendum. Their soegdhu honum, at their vaeri flestir íslenzkir. Thessi madhr spurdhi, hverìr their vaeri, er íslenzkir voru. Gudhleifr sagdhi, at hann var íslenzkr; kvaddi hann thá thenna enn gamla mann, en hann tók thví vel, ok spurdhi, hvadhan af Íslandi hann vaeri, ok sagdhi Gudhleifr at hann var or hèradhi thví er heitir Borgarfjoerdhr. Thá spurdhi hann, hvadhan or Borgarfirdhi hann vaeri, en Gudhleifr sagdhi sem var. Eptir thetta spurdhi thessi madhr naer sèr hverjum enna staerri manna or Borgarfirdhi edha Breidhafirdhi. Ok er their toeludhu thetta, spurdhi hann vandliga eptir oellum hlutum, fyrst at Snorra godha ok at Thurídhi frá Fródha, systur hans, ok mest at Kjartani syni hennar er thá var thar bondi. Landsmenn koelludhu í oedhrum stadh, at noekkudh rádh skyldi gjoera firi skipsoegninni. Eptir that gekk thessi madhr enn mikli í braut frá theim, ok nefndi medh sèr XII menn af sínum moennum, ok sátu their lánga stund á tali. Eptir that gengu their till mannfundarins, ok thá maelti sá enn mikli madhr til theirra Gudhleifs: vèr landsmenn hoefum talazt vidh noekkudh um mál ydhvart, ok hafa landsmenn nú gefit mál ydhvart í vald mitt, en ek vil nú gefa ydhr fararleyfi thángat sem thèr vilìdh fara, en thótt ydhr thikki nú mjoek álidhit sumarit, thá vil ek that rádh gefa ydhr, at thèr leitidh í braut hèdhan snarliga, thví at hèr er fólk ótryggt ok íllt vidhreignar, en theim thikkja ádhr brotin loeg á sèr. Gudhleifr svarar: hvat skulu vèr tilsegja, ef oss verdhr audhit at koma til áttjardha vorra, hverr oss hafi gefit frelsi thetta? Hann svarar: thar man ek ydhr ekki af segja, thví at ek ann eigi thess fraendum mínum edha fóstbraedhrum at their hafi híngadh thvílíka ferdh, sem thèr myndut hafa, ef thèr nytidh eigi mín vidh, en nú er svâ komit aldri mínum, sagdhi hann, at thess er á aungri stundu oervaent, at ellin stígi yfir hoefudh mèr, en thótt ek lifa enn um stund, thá eru hèr á landi enn ríkari menn adhrir en ek, their er lítinn fridh munu gefa útlendum moennum, ef koma; thótt their sè eigi hèr nú nálaegir, sem thèr erudh at komnir. Sidhan lèt hann búa skipit medh theim, ok var thar vidh, til thess er byr kom, sá er theim var hagstaedhr út at taka. En ádhr their Gudhleifr skildu, tók thessi madhr gullhríng af hendi sèr, ok fèkk í hendr Gudhleifi, ok tharmedh gott sverdh. Sídhan maelti hann til Gudhleifs: ef thèr verdhr audhit at koma til Íslands, thá skaltu faera sverdh thetta Kjartani bónda at Fródhá, en hrínginn Thurídhi módhur hans. Gudhleifr sagdhi: hvat skal ek tilsegja, hverr theim sendi gripi thessa? Hann svarar: seg that sem satt er, at sá sendi er meiri vin var húsfreyunnar at Fródhá, en godhans at Helgafelli, bródhur hennar. En ef noekkur madhr thikkist vita hver thessa gripi hefir átta, thá seg thau min ordh, at ek banna hverjum manni at leita á minn fund, thví at that er en mesta úfaera, nema moennum takist than veg giptusamliga um landtoeku, sem thèr hefir tekizt, en hèr er land vítt ok íllt til hafna, en allstadhar rádhinn ófridhr útlendum moennum, nema svâ berist at, sem nú hefir ydhr ordhit. Eptir thetta lètu their Gudhleifr í haf, ok tóku Írland sídh um haustit, ok voru thar í Dýflinni um vetrinn. En um sumarit eptir sigldu their til Íslands. Faerdhi Gudhleifr thá af hoendum gripi thessa, ok hafa menn that firir satt, at thessi madhr hafi verit Bjoern Breidhvíkíngakappi, en engi sannindi oennr hafa menn til thess, en thessi, sem nú voru soegdh."

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[1] Eyrbyggja Saga, cap. lxiv., ap. Beauvois, La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 10, *seq.*; Rafn, Antiq. Americanæ, p. 246. (Ref. to p. 80, *seq.*)

DOCUMENT XXXIII.

INFORMATION FROM ESQUIMAUX ABOUT IRELAND THE GREAT.[1]

"Thá er their sigldu af Vínlandi, tóku their sudhroen vedhr, ok hittu thá Markland, ok funnu thar Skraelínga V., ok var einn skeggjadhr; konur voru II. ok boern tvoe; tóku their Karlsefni sveinana, en hinir komust undan, ok sukku their Skraelíngar í joerdh nidhr. Sveina thessa II. hafdhu their medh sèr. Their kendu theim mál, ok voru skírdhir. Their nefndu módhur sína Vethilldi ok foedhur Uvaege. Their soegdhu at konúngar stjórnadhu Skraelíngum, ok hèt annar theirra Avalldanía, en annar Valldidida. Their kvádhu thar engin hús, lágu menn thar í hellum edha holum. Their soegdhu thar liggja land oedhrum megin gagnvart sínu landi, er their menn bygdhi, er voru [gengu] í hvítum klaedhum, ok báru stángir fyri sèr, ok voru festar vidh flíkar, ok aeptu hátt; ok aetla menn, at that havi verit Hvítramannaland edha Írland edh mykla."

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[1] Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 161, 182; Groenlands Historiske Mindesmaerker, t. i. p. 438, ap. Beauvois, La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 61. (Ref. to p. 87.)

DOCUMENT XXXIV., *a*.

LOCATION OF HELLULAND, MARKLAND, VINLAND, AND IRELAND THE GREAT.[1]

"Frá Graenalandi í sudhr liggr Helluland, thá Markland; thadhan er eigi lángt til Vínlands, er sumir menn aetla at gángi af Affríca."

"Nú eru, sem sagt var, sudhr af Graenlandi, sem bygt er, öraefi, óbygdhir ok jöklar, thá Skraelíngjar, thá Markland, thá er Vínland hit gódha; tharnaest, ok nokkut til baka, liggr Albanía, that er Hvítramannaland; thángat var siglíng úr Írlandi fordhum; thar thektu ýrskir menn ok íslenzkir Ara Márs son ok Kötlu af Reykjanesi, er lengi ekki tilspurdhist, ok thar var thá til höfdhíngja tekinn af landsmönnum."[2]

DOCUMENT XXXIV., *b*.

LOCATION OF ATLANTIC OCEAN, VINLAND, MARKLAND, DESERTS, GREENLAND.[3]

"Fyrir vestan hit mikla haf frá Spania, es sumir kalla Ginnúngagap, that gengr landa ímilli, thá heitir til nordhrs fyrst Vínland hit gódha, tharnaest heitir Markland enn till nordhrs thá eru óbygdhir, er Skraelingjar byggja; thá eru enn óbygdhir til Graenlands."

DOCUMENT XXXIV., *c*.

EUROPEAN PEACE- AND WAR-SIGNALS IN ANCIENT AMERICA.[4]

"Ok einn morginn snemma, er their lítadhust um, sá their mykinn fjölda húdhkeipa, ok var veift trjom á skipunum, ok lèt thví líkast sem í hálmthúst, ok var veift sólarsinnis. Thá maelti Karlsefni: 'hvat mann thetta hafa at teikna?' Snorri

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[1] MS. No. 786 of the Arna-Magneana Collection; ap. Antiquitates Americanæ, pp. 214, 289; Groenlands Historiske Mindesm., t. iii. pp. 216–219; Beauvois, La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 44, n. 1. (Ref. to pp. 76, 89, 90.)

[2] Landnama Vetustissima, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 214, 215.

[3] MS. 770^c. of the Arna-Magneana Collection; Groenlands Hist. Mindesm., t. iii. p. 227, ap. Beauvois, La Découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais, p. 45. (Ref. to p. 90.)

[4] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 148, 149, 151. (Ref. to pp. 85, 86, 92.)

Thorbrandsson svarar honum: 'vera kann at thetta sè fridharmark, ok tökum skjöld hvítan, ok berum at móti;' ok svâ gerdhu their. Thá rèru their í mót, ok undradhust thá, sem fyri voru, ok gengu á land upp."

Rafn translates: "Mane cujusdam diei, cum circumspicerent, magnum numerum caraborum viderunt, perticasque in navibus vibrari, sonum edentes instar culmi vento stridentis, vibratione secundum solem facta. Tum Karlsefinius: 'quid hoc significare creditis?' Snorrius Thorbrandi filius respondet: 'fieri potest, ut hoc signum pacis sit; quare album clypeum sumamus et contra portemus.' Itaque fecerunt. Tum illi obviam remigarunt, miratique qui in terra essent, exscenderunt."

"En er sjá stund var lidhinn, sea their fara sunnan mykinn fjölda Skraelínga skipa, svâ sem straumar staedhi, var thá trjonum allum veift andsaelis; ok ýla upp allir mjök hátt. Thá tóku their Karlsefni raudhan skjöld, ok báru at móti. Skraelíngar lupu af skipum, ok sídhan gengu their saman."[1]

Rafn translates: "Hoc vero tempore elapso conspiciunt ab austro advehi magnum numerum Skraelingicarum navium, ferentis æstus modo incitatum; tum omnes perticæ adversus solem vibratæ, et illi omnes valde acutum ululabant. Tum Karlsefniani sumtum rubrum clypeum contra extulere. Skraelingi ab navibus decucurrere; deinde congressi prælium commiserunt."

DOCUMENT XXXIV., *d.*

LEIF ERICSSON DISCOVERS THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.[2]

"Laetr Leifr í haf, ok er lengi úti, ok hitti á loend, thau er hann vissi ádhr enga von til; voru thar hveitiakrar sjálfsánir ok vínvidhr vaxinn; thar voru thau trè er moesur hètu, ok hoefdhu their af thessu oellu nokkur merki, sum trè svâ mikil, at í hús voru loegdh. Leifr fann menn á skipflaki, ok flutti heim medh sèr."

"Á thví sama vâri sendi Ólafr konúngr Gizur ok Hjalta til Íslands, sem ádhr er ritat. Thá sendi konúngr ok Leif Eiriks-

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 151, 152.

[2] Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 118. (Ref. to pp. 214, 215, 216.)

son til Graenlands, at bodha thar kristni; fèkk konúngr honum prest ok noekkura adhra vígdha menn, at skíra thar fólk ok kenna theim trú rètta. Fór Leifr that sumar til Graenlands; hann tók í hafi skipshoefn theirra manna, er thá voru úfaerir ok lágu á skipsflaki albrotnu, ok í theirri soemu ferdh fann hann Vínland hit gódha."[1]

"Leifr hinn heppni fann fyrstr Vínland, ok thá fann hann kaupmenn í hafinu illa stadda, ok gaf theim líf medh gudhs miskunn."[2]

"Um vârit bjöggu their Hjallti ok Gizurr skip sitt til Íslands. . . . That sumar Ólafr konúngr sendi ok Leif Eiríksson til Graenalands, at bodha thar trú. Thá fann Leifr Vínland hit gódha; hann fann ok menn á skipflaki í hafi; thví var hann kalladhr Leifr hinn heppni."[3]

DOCUMENT XXXV.

FISHERIES IN GREENLAND.[4]

"Orientalis Gronlandiæ colonia subjacet promontorio Herjolfnesiæ, nuncupaturque Skagafiordus . . .; in ostio sinus pulvinus longus in transversum, ubi ingressus patet, protenditur, ita ut nullæ majores naves ingredi possint, nisi cum ingens ventus æstusque magnam aquarum molem infundunt; tunc quoque vis ingens cetorum sinum opplet. Nunquam ibi piscium captura deficit. . . . In eodem sinu vorago magna, quæ Hvalshola seu Hvalsgap, balenarum caverna, appellatur, quo æstuante mari omnes balenæ se infundunt. . . .

"Ei [Rumpeyarfiordo] proxime adjacet Einarsfiordus. Inter eos villa magna nomine Foss jacet. . . . Haud procul inde lacus piscosus, adeo ut post auctum imbribus vel æstibus stagnum, quum aquæ refluxerunt, acervi piscium in arena jaceant."

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[1] Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 193, 194.

[2] An Icelandic geographical fragment, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 291.

[3] Kristni Saga of Ari hinn Frode, ap. Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 292, 293.

[4] Torfæus, Gronl. Ant., cap. vii. pp. 42, 46. (Ref. to p. 160.)

DOCUMENT XXXVI.

NO CATTLE IN GREENLAND (!)[1]

"D'une bulle de Martin IV., de l'année 1282, il résulte que la dîme et le cens, dans le diocèse de Gardar [in Greenland], se payaient en marchandises et en produits naturels, à savoir, en peaux de bœufs et de phoques et en dents de baleine [*sic*]; tout cela était transporté en Norwège, et, là, échangé contre de l'argent. On sait qu'il n'y avait pas de bœufs dans le Groënland et que le peuple de cette contrée payait la dîme en produits de pêche. Les peaux de bœufs, que recueillaient les agents de la Chambre apostolique, étaient donc données par les fidèles d'une autre région du diocèse, c'est à dire du Vínland [New England States] et des contrées voisines. Et, de fait, dans les dîmes de l'année 1307, nous voyons figurer les produits du Vínland." (!)

"L'A. osserva, che nella Groenlandia non vi erano buoi, quindi deduce, che le pelli di questi animali dovevano esser mandate dall' America: la sua argomentazione è confermata dal fatto, che nel 1307, tra i paesi, che concorsero a pagar la decima, viene nominato appunto il Vinland." (!)[2]

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *a.*

NO TAXES, BUT ST. PETER'S PENCE FROM THE PROVINCE OF DRONTHEIM.[3]

In Archiepiscopatu Nidrosien.
In Epatu. Bergen.
In Epatu. Stanvengren.
In Epatu. Hamaren.
In Epatu. Assloen.
In Epatu. Horchaden.
In Epatu. Sudeirien.
alias Manen.
ecclesia sancti columbi de Insula Hy[4] II. Bisancios annuatim.

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[1] Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques, Paris, 1891, Cinquième section, p. 175. (Ref. to p. 161.)

[2] Rivista Storica Italiana, Anno IX., Torino 1892, p. 98.

[3] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Armarium XXXV., vol. xviii. fo. 5: "Incipit Liber Censuum Romane Ecclesie a Censio Camerario compositus secundum antiquorum patrum Regesta et memorabilia diversa. Anno incarnationis dominice MCXCII., Pontificatus Celestini, PP. iii, anno secundo," fo. 44. (Ref. to p. 383.)

[4] The "Island," κατ' ἐξοχήν, or the island Iona or Columbkill, and not "Hy[bernia]," nor "Ily," as in Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques, Paris, 1891, Cinquième sec., pp. 179, 180.

In Epatu. Scaloten. in Islandia.
In Epatu. Holen. in Islandia.
In Epatu. Pharen. in Grotlandia.
In Epatu. Garden. in Grotlandia."

The following remark is added:[1]

"Nota quod singule domus Norwagie singulos dant denarios monete ipsius terre."[2]

"De censu Novergiæ Regni solvendo Ecclæ Romanæ. Omnes et singulæ domus totius Regni Novergiæ solvere debent pro censu ecclesiæ Romanæ singulos denarios monetæ curribilis in illo Regno."[3]

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *b*.

INNOCENT III. ORDERS THE COLLECTION OF ST. PETER'S PENCE IN THE PROVINCE OF DRONTHEIM.[4]

"Nidrosiensi Archiepiscopo. . . .

"Onus volumus te subire super censu beati Petri per tuam provinciam colligendo, ut apostolica sedes te fidelem experiatur in opere, quem pontificali decoravit honore. Ideoque fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus in collectione census ipsius diligens et fidelis existas; eos qui tibi super hoc presumpserint contraire, auctoritate nostra suffultus, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, compescens. Nos autem sententiam, quam in detentores census illius rationabiliter promulgaveris, ratam faciemus haberi. Datum ut supra." (III. Idus februarii, Anno M°. CC°. V°., Pontificatus vero domini Innocentii pape III. Anno octavo—February 11, 1205.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Armarium XXXV., vol. xviii. fo. 44 ^{vo}. (Ref. to p. 173.)

[2] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Armarium XXXV., vol. xviii. fo. 44 ^{vo}.; Sweden was also taxed one penny a hearth.

[3] "Bibliotheca Corsiniana, Rome, Cod. 244 or Col. 36, D. 2: "Varia ad Dominium, S. R. E., ejusque jura præcipue spectantia," fo. 434.

[4] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Regestum 7, fo. 67 ^{ro}.; Innocentii III., Epist. 217. (Ref. to p. 383.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *c.*

ONE-TWENTIETH OF CHURCH REVENUES GRANTED TO DUKE SKULO, FOR TRANSPORTING CRUSADERS.[1]

"Honorius Eps. etc. Nicolao archidiacono Ihatlandensi. Cum dilectus filius nobilis vir (Skulo) dux Norwagie divinitus inspiratus ardenter aspirans ad subsidium Terre sancte, ad id magnifice se accingat, daturus omnibus qui secum transfretare voluerint navigium sine naulo, sicut tam ipse quam venerabiles fratres nostri [Petrus de Husastadis] Nidrosiensis archiepiscopus et . . . ejus suffraganei suis nobis litteris intimarunt; nos congruo volentes eum auxilio in tam pio proposito adjuvare, vicesimam ecclesiasticorum proventuum per predictorum archiepiscopi et suffraganeorum dioceses, Terre sancte subsidio, secundum statuta generalis concilii [Lateranensis IV.] deputatam eidem duci duximus concedendam. Quocirca mandamus quatinus vicesimam ipsam colligens diligenter predicto nobili fideliter assignes eamden. Contradictores etc. Datum Laterani III. Non. Novembris Anno XI." (November 3, 1226.)[2]

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *d.*

JOHN XXI. DIRECTS THE APPOINTMENT OF SUB-COLLECTORS FOR GREENLAND.[3]

"Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi.

"Tua nobis fraternitas intimavit quod cum tibi collectio decime terre sancte in Regno Norwagie per litteras apostolicas sit commissum [*for* commissa] et in litteris ipsis contineatur expresse ut omnes partes ejusdem Regni debeas propter hoc personaliter visitare idque quodammodo impossibile videatur, cum Garden. diocesis que de tua provincia et Regno existit eadem a metropolitana adeo sit remota quod de ipsa ecclesia illuc propter maris impedimenta vix infra quinquennium ire quis valeat et redire ad ecclesiam supradictam; ac ideo dubites quod adhuc infra temporis spatium ad solutionem ipsius decime constitute apostolicum sive tuum ad partes illas non valeat pervenire mandatum, postulasti super hoc per apostolice sedis providentiam remedium adhiberi. Cupientes igitur ut collectioni ejusdem decime sollicitis studiis intendatur volumus et fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, si premissa veritas comitetur, aliquas personas ydoneas et fideles, super quibus tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare, ad partes illas destinare procures, que ad executionem collectionis ejusdem diligenter invigilent et intendant, aliasque super hoc providere studeas, prout utilitati ejusdem decime videris expedire, nichilominus ad collectionem hujusmodi per te ipsum operose sollicitudinis studium impensurus, ita quod proinde tibi a domino premium compares et sedis apostolice gratiam uberius merearis. Datum Viterbii II. non. Decembr. Anno primo." (December 4, 1276.)

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[1] Lange-Unger og Huitfeldt, Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vol. i. p. 8, no. 9. (Efter Afskr. af original-Regesten, Hon. III., Anno XI., Epistola 368 i Vatikanets Arkiv.) (Ref. to p. 385.)

[2] Ibid., no. 10. On the following day His Holiness wrote to the archbishop of Drontheim, enjoining upon him to preach the Holy Crusade in all his province, granting faculty to absolve persons excommunicated because of "Violenta injectio manuum," that would join the expedition.

[3] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Regestum 38, Joannis XXI., Bullarium An. I., t. i. fo. 23, Epist. 93 (and 225); cf. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. ii. p. 1714, no. 21192. (Ref. to p. 402.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *e*.

SUB-COLLECTORS FOR THE OTHER DIOCESES OF THE NORTH.[1]

"Eidem [Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi].

"Tua nobis etc. [ut supra], usque personaliter visitare; ac plures dioceses in Regno ipso tuaque provincia constitute per maris spatia adeo sint disperse ac intra suos limites dilatate, quod fere infra sex annos et absque gravissimo ecclesie tue dispendio, partes omnes predictarum personaliter visitare diocesium difficile tibi foret, cum nonnunquam per dietas quinque ac plures etiam te per talia loca procedere oporteret, in quibus ob domorum defectum, tecum deferre tentoria cogereris, concedi tibi ut per easdem dioceses super collectione ipsius decime certos nuntios tuos ydoneos et discretos, mandato apostolico contrario non obstante, deputare valeas, postulasti. Nos itaque tua et ecclesie tue dispendia evitantes, tibi ut si, premissis veris existentibus, expedire videris, super quo tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare, nuntios hujusmodi per easdem dioceses super ipsius decime collectione deputare valeas, tenore presentium duximus concedendum, volentes nichilominus ut tu illas ex predictis diocesibus personaliter visites, quas absque magno incommodo poteris visitare, sollicitum studium adhibens circa collectionem decime supradicte, Ita quod exinde premium expectes a domino cujus negotium agitur et favorem apostolicum uberius merearis. Datum ut supra." (December 4, 1276.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Regestum 38, Joannis XXI., Bullarium An. I., t. i. fo. 23, Epist. 94 (and 256); cf. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. ii. p. 1714, no. 21193. (Ref. to p. 402.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *f.*

ST. PETER'S PENCE PAID IN WHITE MEATS AND FISH IN PARTS OF NORWAY DEVOID OF MONEY.[1]

"Eidem [Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi].

"Intimasti nobis quod in Regno Norwagie in quo tibi decime terre sancte collectio est commissa, usque adeo vilis esse moneta dinoscitur usualis quod extra ipsius Regni limites in pretio non habetur, quodque in quibusdam partibus dicti Regni monete usus aliquis non existit, nec crescunt segestes nec frugum alia genera producuntur, sed lacticiniis et piscibus fere dumtaxat vita inibi sustentatur humana. Quare significari tibi a nobis humiliter petivisti quod de decima que de lacticiniis et piscibus et moneta predictis colligitur debeas ordinare. Nos igitur ad ea que sunt utiliora negotio intendentes, expedire videmus ut, premissis veris existentibus, in aurum vel argentum prout commodius fieri poterit, hujusmodi moneta et decima convertantur. De monialibus autem et personis aliis regularibus dicti Regni quorum proventus et redditus ecclesiastici adeo sunt tenues et exiles quod ex illis sustentari non possunt, sed pro habenda vite sue sustentatione necesse habeant publice mendicare et helemosinas petere, servare poteris quod in declarationibus super ipsius decione editis plenius continetur. Dat. ut supra." (December 4, 1276.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *g.*

DISTANCES CAUSE TITHES TO BE POSTPONED.[2]

"Eidem [Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi].

"Habet tue fraternitatis assertio quod dudum de civitate Lugdunen., concilio inibi celebrato, recedens, propter maris aliaque plura que supervenerunt impedimenta vix infra semestre tempus ad tuam potuisti ecclesiam pervenire, ideoque ob instantis tunc asperitatem hyemis ejusdem statuta concilii infra tunc currentis anni spatium clero Regni Norwagie intimare minime potuisti, propter quod in proximo tunc sequenti anno illi ad quos tuum potuit pervenire mandatum, decimam solvere inchoarunt. Unde tibi significari petebas utrum de beneplacito apostolice sedis procedat ut decime primi anni dictis clericis remittantur, an ut completo anno post idem concilium sex anni decimales incipiant numerari. Nos igitur ad promotionem negotii terre sancte sollicite intendentes nec volentes subsidium predicte terre diminui sed augeri, fraterninati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus predictos sex decimales annos ab exitu primi anni post concilium supradictum incipias numerare, ut predicta terra concesso sibi subsidio in aliquo minime defraudetur. Dat. ut supra." (December 4, 1276.)

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[1] Archivium Secr. Apostol. Vatic., Regest. 38, Joannis XXI., Bullar. An. I., t. i. fo. 23 ro, Epist. 96 (and 258). Ref. to p. 169.)

[2] Ibid., Epistola 98 (and 260). (Ref. to p. 404.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *h*.

THE CLERGY OF GARDAR AND NEIGHBORING ISLANDS UNABLE TO PAY THE TITHES IN DUE TIME.[1]

"Nicolaus [III.] Epus. etc. Venerabili fratri [Johanni] archiepo. Nidrosiensi.

"Ex transmissa nobis nuper collegimus serie litterarum, quod insula, in qua civitas Gardensis[2] consistit, propter malitiam maris Oceani infra quod ipsa consistit, raro navigio visitatur.[3] Unde cum nuper quidam naute ad ejusdem insule visitationem tenderent vela in altum, tu hujusmodi opportunitate captata quendam discretum virum, colligendi decimam commisso sibi officio, cum dictis nautis ad civitatem transmisisti eandem, et sub spe nostre ratificationis concessisti eidem, ut clericos ab excommunicationis sententia, quam pro eo quod hujusmodi decimam in statutis super hoc terminis non solverunt, incurrerant, absolveret, et cum eis dispensaret super irregularitate, si quam proinde forsitan contraxerunt. Quare a nobis humiliter postulasti ut ratificare benignius dignaremur. Cum itaque hujusmodi postulationi, utpote que rationis viribus juvatur,[1] non acquiescere favorabiliter nequeamus, ac propter hoc cupientes hujusmodi tuis desideriis annuere et animarum periculis per consequens occurrere provisionis remedio salutaris, presentium tibi auctoritate committimus, ut absolvendi clericos tam in predicta quam aliis insulis maris ejusdem constitutos a predicta sententia juxta formam ecclesie, et dispensandi cum eis super irregularitate hujusmodi libere committere valeas officium iis, quos propter collectionis ministerium ad predictas insulas destinasti vel forsitan in posterum destinabis. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, II. Kal. Febr. Anno secundo." (January 31, 1279.)

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[1] Lange-Unger og Huitfeldt, Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vol. i. p. 59, no. 66: Efter Marinis Afskr. af Orig. Regesten í Vatikanets Arkiv: Nicolai III., An. II., Ep. 39; cf. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. ii. p. 1739. (Ref. to p. 402.)

[2] In the Vatican record: "Carderensis."

[3] In the Regest, through clerical mistake: "visitantur."

DOCUMENT XXXVII., *i.*

TITHES OF GREENLAND PAID IN NATURE TO BE SOLD FOR GOLD OR SILVER.[2]

"Martinus [IV.] Epus. etc. Venerabili fratri [Johanni] archiepo. Nidros.

"Tua nobis fraternitas intimavit, quod decima, que in Islandie et Feroyum insulis in regno Norwegie constitutis, in diversis rebus persolvitur, que de facili permutari vel pecunialiter vendi non possunt, propter quod decima eadem nequit at Terram Sanctam vel ad sedem apostolicam commode destinari. Subjunxisti quoque, quod Gronlandie decima non percipitur nisi in bovinis et focarum coriis ac dentibus et funibus balenarum que sicut asseris vix ad competens pretium vendi possunt; unde quod super premissis a te agendum existat, petiisti te per apostolice sedis oraculum edoceri. Nos itaque tue sollicitudinis studium commendantes, consultationi tue taliter respondemus quod tam insularum quam Gronlandie decimas predictarum in argentum vel aurum, prout melius et utilius fieri poterit, convertere studeas, illud unacum illa alia decima in ipso regno collecta pro ipsius Terre subsidio ad apostolicam sedem quam cito poteris transmissurus, quid et quantum destinaveris fideliter intimando. Ceterum carissimo in Christo filio nostro (Eirico) regi Norwegie illustri nostras rogatorias litteras destinavimus, ut non impediat nec impediri permittat quin decima ipsa de regno suo libere extrahatur in predicte terre subsidium, secundum apostolice sedis arbitrium disponenda, quodque prohibitionem contra ejusdem clericos regni factam, ne quivis laicus ipsius regni sterlingos vel argentum aliud vendere quoquomodo presumat, studeat difficultate submota qualibet revocare. Datum apud Urbem Veterem IIII. Non. Martii anno primo." (March 4, 1282.)

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[1] The reading: "utpote que rationis viribus *non* iuvatur, acquiescere favorabiliter nequeamus," is evidently a copyist's error, as appears from the context.

[2] Lange-Unger og Huitfeldt, Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vol. i. p. 63, no. 71: Efter Marinis Afskr. af Orig. Regesten í Vatikanets Arkiv: Martini IV., Ann. I., Ep. 119; cf. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. ii. p. 1767. (Ref. to p. 403.)

DOCUMENT XXXVIII., *a*.

PONTIFICAL COLLECTORS APPOINTED FOR SCANDINAVIA.[1]

"Dilectis filiis Johanni de Serone priori conventus fratrum ordinis Predicatorum de figiaco Caturcensis, et Bernardo de Ortolis rectori ecclesie de Novalibus Electen. diocesium apostolice sedis nunciis. Olim felicis recordationis Clemens papa V. predecessor noster ad terram sanctam pie gerens compassionis affectum, decimam omnium reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum ubicunque consistentium, in dicte terre subsidium, et alias contra rebelles et inimicos catholice fidei, convertendam in concilio Viennensi, eodem approbante concilio, per sex annos sub certis modis et formis imposuit auctoritate apostolica colligendum. Cum autem decima ipsa, in Norweie et Gocie Regnis per prelatos ecclesiarum in Regnis consistentes eisdem vel ecclesiarum ipsarum capitula, seu collectores aut subcollectores ibidem auctoritate deputatos predicta, pro magna parte collecta et etiam colligenda, juxta dispositionem sedis apostolice dispensanda, fideliter conservetur; ac de vestre circumspectionis industria plenam in domino fiduciam obtinentes, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta commictimus et mandamus quantinus ab omnibus prelatis et ecclesiarum cathedralium dictorum Regnorum capitulis aliisque predicte decime collectoribus et subcollectoribus deputatis, in Regnis predictis, necnon et ipsius decime residua, si qua forsan ibidem colligenda restarent, per vos vel alium seu alios petere exigere colligere ac recipere nostro et ecclesie Romane nomine cum integritate curetis; prelatos, capitula, collectores et subcollectores hujusmodi et quosvis alios, ad quos dicta pecunia quomodolibet pervenisset, ad illam vobis assignandam, necnon prelatos ipsos et quascumque personas ecclesiasticas ad dicta residua integraliter persolvenda, prout ipsos ad hoc teneri noveritis, auctoritate nostra, appellatione postposita, compellendo. Nonobstante si eis vel eorum aliquibus communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdici. . . . Nos enim vobis et vestrum cuilibet in solidum premissa omnia faciendi et plenarie exequendi, necnon ab eisdem prelatis, capitulis, collectoribus et subcollectoribus rationes super collectione decime supradicte audiendi eosque quitandi et absolvendi de hiis que receperitis ab eisdem, ita tamen quod super singulis assignationibus duo fieri faciatis consimilia publica instrumenta, quorum altero penes ipsos assignantes dimisso, reliqum ad nostram cameram transmittatis, plenam et liberam auctoritate presentium concedimus facultatem. Volumus autem quod de predicta pecunia faciatis et ordinetis prout in aliis nostris vobis directis super hoc litteris continetur. Datum Avinione Idus Augusti Anno Decimo." (August 13, 1326.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Regesta Joannis XXII., Epistola 2191. (Ref. to p. 407.)

DOCUMENT XXXVIII., *b.*

ONE-HALF OF THE NORWEGIAN TITHES TO BE GIVEN TO KING MAGNUS.[1]

"Eisdem.

"De vestra circumspectionis industria plenam in domino fiduciam obtinentes, petendi, colligendi, exigendi et recipiendi pecuniam decime sexennalis olim imposite per fel. recordationis Clementem papam V. predecessorem nostrum in concilio Viennensi pro subsidio terre sancte et alias contra rebelles et inimicos catholice fidei convertende, a prelatis et capitulis ecclesiarum cathedralium Norweye, Swecie ac Gocie Regnorum, necnon et ab ipsis ac quibusvis aliis personis ecclesiasticis residua dicte decime si qua restarent ibidem forsitan colligenda, per alias nostras certi tenoris litteras vobis et vestrum cuilibet in solidum concessimus facultatem. Sane dudum ex insinuatione carissimi in christo filii nostri Magni Regis Norweye illustris, non absque magna mentis compassione percepimus quod infideles pagani, Carelli videlicet et Rutheni Regnis suis Norweye, Swecie et Gocie propinqui adeo Regna ipsa, presertim Norweye predictum sibi vicinius et degentes christicolas in eodem per rapinas, incendia, strages, varias captiones, incarcerationes, depopulationes et tam locorum sacrorum quam aliorum dirutiones et alios incursus hostiles multiplices hactenes, maxime post clare memorie Hayquini Regis Norweye avi sui obitum, crudeliter et inumaniter afflixerunt et molestare continuis vexationibus non desistunt, quod iidem christicole sic ex premissis afflicti multipliciter et consumpti, adversus hostium crucis predictorum seviciam et superbiam sevientem stare non poterunt diutius, nisi oportunis subsidiis fulciantur, quodque Regis ejusdem ad hoc necnon et infideles eosdem ad divini nominis laudem et gloriam ac fidei exaltationem catholice liberationemque christiani populi impugnandos non sufficiunt, ut habet prefati Regis petitionis series, nobis per dilectos filios nobiles viros Bertrandum de Sueiolis et Raymundum de Leviena nuncios et ambaxiatores suos exhibite facultates. Nos autem eidem Regi et suis subditis christicolis super oppressionibus, calamitatibus et miseriis hujusmodi paterno compatientes affectu eisque volentes de illo quod commode presentialiter possumus subsidio providere, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta commictimus et mandamus quatinus, si de predictis necessitatibus nobis ignotis merito vobis dum in illis partibus fuertis constiterit evidenter, prefato Regi medietatem pecunie dicte decime sexennalis collecte in eisdem Regnis ac etiam colligende in subsidium et necessitates predicta, secundum ordinationem venerabilis fratris nostri (Elafi) archiepiscopi Nidrosiensis et duorum ex suis suffraganeis, quorum oneramus in hac parte conscientias, dispensande, nostro nomine concedatis et etiam assignetis, inde confici facientes duo consimilia publica instrumenta quorum altero penes eumdem archiepiscopum remanente, reliqum ad nostram cameram transmittatis vel etiam deferatis, residuam vero medietatem pecunie dicte decime, quam pro subsidio terre sancte predicte et alias contra rebelles et inimicos fidei orthodoxe in aliis partibus prout nobis et apostolice sedi expedire videbitur dispensandam expressius retinemus, ad eandem cameram mittere seu deferre sicut melius et securius poteritis, studeatis. Si vero prefatus Rex vel ejus gentes aut subditi vobis super hujusmodi medietate prefate decime per vos, ut premittitur, retenta, prestarent impedimentum seu obstaculum interponerent quoquomodo, quod absit, quominus pecuniam dicte medietatis de dictis Regnis extrahere libere ac ad prefatam cameram deferre vel mittere intergraliter valeatis, Nos quamcumque concessionem donationem et assignationem, quam de medietate alia pecunie dicte decime Regi fecissetis predicto, ex nunc prout ex tunc volumus et decernimus esse nullas dictumque

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[1] Archivium Secretum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Regesta Joannis XXII., Epist. 2192. (Ref. to p. 407.)

Regem ad restitutionem illius quod inde recepisset teneri et remanere nobis et prefate Romane ecclesie obligatum. Datum Avinione Idus. Augusti, Anno X°." (August 13, 1326.)

DOCUMENT XXXVIII., *c.*

OTHER DUES TO BE COLLECTED IN THE PROVINCE OF DRONTHEIM.[1]

"Eisdem Nunciis:

"Dudum volentes nostris et ecclesie Romane necessitatibus utique grandibus providere, fructus, redditus et proventus primi anni beneficiorum omnium et singulorum ecclesiasticorum cum cura vel sine cura, diginitatum etiam, personatuum et officiorum, monasteriorum, prioratuum et aliorum locorum ecclesiasticorum, tam secularium quam regularium exemptorum et non exemptorum, que in Regnis Norweye, Swecie et Gocie tunc vacabant et que ad triennium qualitercumque et ubicumque, etiam si apud sedem apostolicam ea vacare contingeret, certis ecclesiis, monasteriis, dignitatibus et beneficiis tamen exceptis, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, per nostras certi tenoris litteras reservandos duximus et nostre camere deputandos, certis collectoribus per nostras alias litteras super hoc deputatis, qui licet ad partes illas personaliter accedentes, circa collectionem et exactionem fructuum, reddituum et proventuum eorundem solicite laborarint, tamen adhuc de dictis fructibus, redditibus et proventibus restare dicuntur nonnulla residua colligenda. Nos itaque de vestre circumspectionis industria plenam in domino fiduciam obtinentes vobis et vestrum cuilibet in solidum, petendi, exigendi et recipiendi per vos vel per alium seu alios, nostro et ejusdem ecclesie Romane nomine residua supradicta, necnon contradictores, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendi, invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii secularis, plenam presentium tenore concedimus facultatem. Non obstante si personis ecclesiasticis hujusmodi beneficia obtinentibus vel eorum aliquibus communiter vel divisim a predicta sit sede indultum quod interdici, etc. . . . Volumus autem quod eos a quibus receperitis residua supradicta, de hiis que vos recipere contingerit ab eisdem, quitetis et etiam absolvatis, necnon et eis a quibusvis spiritualibus sententiis quas pro eo incurrissent quod hujusmodi fructus, redditus et proventus vel residua in statutis ad hoc terminis non solvissent, absolutionis beneficium impendatis, cum eis super irregularitate quam excommunicationis hujusmodi ligati sententiis celebrando divina vel immiscendo se illis forsitan contraxissent misericorditer dispensando. Datum ut supra proxime." (August 13, 1326.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norwegiæ, Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1326, fo. 1vo; Regesta Joannis XXII., Epist. 2195. (Ref. to p. 408.).

DOCUMENT XXXVIII., *d*.

ST. PETER'S PENCE ORDERED TO BE COLLECTED.[1]

"Johes. [XXII.] Eps. servus servorum Dei Dilectis filiis Johanni de Serone priori conventus fratrum ordinis Predicatorum de figiaco Caturcen. Et Bernardo de Ortolis Rectori ecce. de novalibus Electen. Dioc. apostolice sedis nunciis salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum annuus qui denarius beati petri vocatur et alius etiam census in Norweg. Swec. ac Gocie regnis nobis et romane ecce. debeantur, Nos volentes nostris et ecce. predicte juribus prospicere ac de vestre circumspectionis industria plenam in dno. fiduciam obtinentes, petendi, colligendi, exigendi et recipiendi, per vos vel alium seu alios census predictos a personis ecclesiasticis et secularibus regnorum predictorum, cujuscumque sint preminentie, ordinis, conditionis et status, etiam si pontificali vel quavis alia premineant dignitate, tam pro tempore quo soluti non sunt quam etiam in posterum usque ad beneplacitum apostolice sedis, informandi quoque vos super premissis simpliciter et de plano sine strepitu et figura judicii si videritis expedire, necnon contradictores et rebelles ac impedientes quoscumque per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendi, Non obstantibus si eis vel eorum aliquibus communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem, et quibusvis privilegiis, indulgentiis et literis apostolicis generalibus et specialibus quibuscumque concessis, per que commisse vobis potestatis ececcutio impediri posset quomodolibet vel differri, quitandi quoque et absolvendi eos a quibus census receperitis supradictos de eo quod ab ipsis recipere vos contigerit, plenam vobis et vestrum cuilibet in solidum concedimus tenore presentium facultatem. Datum Avinione Id. Augusti Pontificatus nostri anno decimo." (August 13, 1326.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norwegiæ, Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1326, fo. i; Regesta Joannis XXII., Epist. 2196. (Ref. to p. 408.)

DOCUMENT XXXVIII., *e*.

JOHN XXII.'S APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE FROM GREENLAND.[1]

"Venerabili fratri [Elafo] Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi et dilectis filiis universis abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, prepositis, capitulis, collegiis, conventibus et aliis personis ecclesiasticis tam secularibus quam regularibus, exemptis et non exemptis ordinum quorumcumque, necnon domorum hospitalis sancti Johannis Ierosolimitani, sancte Marie Theutonicorum et Calatravensi magistris, prioribus, preceptoribus in civitate et diocesi Nidrosiensibus constitutis. Si uni membro patienti compatiantur alia, profecto patienti capiti est a membris compatiendum fortius et eidem subsidium promptius ministrandum. Sane vestram credimus prudentiam non latere quam dure quamque inhumaniter ab hereticis infidelibus plurimis sacrosancta Romana ecclesia mater vestra, que aliarum ecclesiarum caput esse dinoscitur, in diversis Italie partibus molestetur, ideoque nos attentius cogitantes quod res vestra, dum sua tractatur, agitur, necessitates ipsius ad quas supportandas per se non sufficit, vobis fiducialiter providimus exponendas, sperantes indubie quod velut devoti et grati filii, eidem matri compassionis ac pietatis aperietis viscera et ad tante superbie et infidelitatis cornua, quanta prefati heretici et infideles contra ipsam erigunt, conterenda, ipsi ecclesie de oportuno subsidio maturabitis subvenire, presertim quia, sicut nostis, toto tempore nostro vitavimus in postulandis subsidiis, cum hoc primum esse credamus quod a vobis per nos postulatum extiterit, vos gravare. Quocirca universitatem vestram monemus, rogamus et hortamur attentius, quatinus premissis in scrutinio recte considerationis adductis, et insuper diligenter attento quod hereticorum et infidelium predictorum invalescente malitia, ubique in illis partibus pullulant hereses, divinus cultus minuitur, fides catholica premitur, libertates et jura ecclesiastica conculcantur, prelati quoque et alii clericali militia insigniti plerumque capiunter et ignominiose tractantur, spoliantur sacra et pia loca tam religiosa quam alia possessionibus et aliis bonis suis, et quamquam sint divino dicata cultui, ad usus tamen deputantur illicitos et profanos, potestas ecclesiastice censure contempnitur, incenduntur et destruuntur urbes et castra cum ecclesiis que sunt ibi constructe, infringitur stratorum securitas, spoliantur viatores nec parcitur ordini, sexui vel etati, defenduntur heretici adeo quod in eis partibus inquisitores heretice pravitatis raro audent accedere ad loca de quibus esset expediens pro suo officio contra dictos hereticos exercendo. Ad reprimendum tam presumptuosos ausus tamque periculosos hereticales excessus et supportandum gravium sarcinam onerum incumbentium ex premissis, vos et vestrum singuli sic prompte velitis manus extendere liberaliter adjutrices quod, auxiliante domino vestroque mediante auxilio, tanta reprimatur temeritas, fides in partibus illis quibus jam periclitari noscitur solidetur catholica et, hereticorum prostrata malitia, votiva suscipiat fidelium incrementa, vosque nostram et apostolice sedis gratiam valeatis uberius promereri. Super predictis autem dilectis filiis Johanni de Serone priori fratrum ordinis predicatorum de Figiaco et Bernardo de Ortolis rectori ecclesie de Novalibus Caturcensis et Electensis diocesum, apostolice sedis nunciis et eorum cuilibet in solidum, quos ad vos mittimus propter hoc, velitis intendere et fidem indubiam adhibere. Datum Avinione IIII. Kalendas Septembris Anno decimo." (August 29, 1326.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Regesta Joannis XXII., Epist. 2199; cf. Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques à Paris, 1891, cinquième sec., p. 176, n. 2. (Ref. to p. 410.)

"Scriptum in eundem modum . . . Episcopo. . . .

"Scriptum item in eundem modum . . . [Arnio] Episcopo Grenelandensi. . . ."

DOCUMENT XXXVIII., *f*.

FACULTIES TO APPOINT SUB-COLLECTORS GIVEN TO THE PAPAL ENVOYS IN NORWAY, JOHN DE SERONE AND BERNARD DE ORTOLIS.[1]

"Nos [John XXII.] attendentes quod propter locorum distancias ac viarum pericula et aliorum negociorum occupationes non possetis forcitan ad loca et personas singula de quibus convenit pro predictis [various collections in the kingdoms of Norway] expediendis personaliter vos conferre, ut quando et ubi ac quociens cognoveritis expedire, prelatis vel aliis personis ecclesiasticis de quibus vobis videbitur, valeatis super hiis committere vices vestras, vobis et vestrum cuilibet plenam et liberam concedimus tenore presencium facultatem. Datum avinione decimo kll. Octobris, Pontificatus Anno XI°." (September 22, 1326.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norwegiæ, Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1326, fo. 1 vº. (Ref. to p. 408.)

DOCUMENT XXXIX.

AMOUNTS OF TITHES IN THE PROVINCE OF DRONTHEIM,—GREENLAND.[1]

"Ascendit decima sexennalis Episcopatus Osloen. in universo de sex annis ad V^{c} II. marcas cum dimidia et dimidia unciæ parve monete norican. ad pondus noricanum. . . . Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et XXVII. die mensis februarii recepimus. . . ."

Fo. 3: "Decima sexennalis episcopatus Amaren . . . cujus decime summa de sex annis ascendit MV^{c} LIII. marcas parve monete norican.

"Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et XVIII. die mensis marcii recepimus. . . ."

Fo. 3vo: "Decima civitatis et diocesis Nidrosien. ascendit pro quolibet anno VII^{c} I. marc. III. unc. parve monete norican. Ascendit dicta decima in universo de sex annis IIII^{m} II^{c} VIII. marc. II unc. dicte parve monete ponderatas ad pondus noricanum. . . .

"Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et prima die mensis Martii Recepi ego B. de Ortolis a dno. Elawo archiepiscopo Nidrosien. . . .

"Item XXIIII^{m} dentes de roardo computati pro XII marc. cum dimidia parve pecunie, qui dentes fuerunt venditi pro XII. marcis parve pecunie noricane."

Fo. 4: "Decima episcopatus Bergen. assendit pro quolibet anno IIII^{c} L marc. parve monete noricane, que assendit in universo de sex annis II^{m} VII^{c} marc. dicte parve monete norican. . . .

"Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et III. die mensis junii recepi ega B. de Ortol. . . ."

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norvegiæ Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1326, foliis 2vo, 3, 3vo, 4, 4vo, 5vo. (Ref. to pp. 341, 407, 408, 409.)

Fo. 4vo: "Decima episcopatus Stavangren. assendit pro quolibet anno II^{c} XLIX. marc. parve monete noricau., assendit de sex annis MCCCC^{c} XCIIII. marc. dicte parve pecunie . . . anno dni. millo. CCCXXVII° et V. die mensis aug. Recepi. . . ."

Fo. 5vo: "*Grevellenden.*

"Decima Episcopatus Grevellenden. Recepta fuit per me Bernardum de Ortolis in dentibus de roardo, quam decimam recepi Berg. a dno. archiepiscopo nidrosien. Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et XI. die mensis augusti—videlicet CXXVII. lisponsos ad pondus Norwegie.

"Postque anno quo supra et VI. die mensis septembris vendidi dictos dentes de consilio dominorum archiepiscopi nidrosien. et Epi. Bergen. johanni Dipre mercatori de flandria precio XII. libr. et XIIII. s. tur. argenti . . . de quibus XII. libr. et XIIII. s. tur. argenti habuit dns. rex Norweg. medietatem. Reliquam vero medietatem retinui ego dictus B. de ortolis pro caméra dni. ppe., que medietas fuit videlicet VI. libre et VII. solid. tur. argenti et uno sterlengo, Assendunt dicte sex libre et VII. s. CXIIII. flor. auri et IIII. [denar.][1] tur. argenti, quam pecuniam habui ego B. a dicto mercatore videlicet pro parte camere dni. ppe . . . . . . CXIIII. flor. auri—IIII. [denar.][1] tur. argenti."

Fo. 5vo: "Decima episcopatus Orcaden. assendit de sex annis II^{c} LVI. marc. sterling.

"Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et VII die mensis septembris recepimus. . . ."

DOCUMENT XL.

AMOUNTS OF ST. PETER'S PENCE IN THE PROVINCE OF DRONTHEIM,—GREENLAND.[2]

"Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et XI^{a} die mensis februarii recepimus nos ambo predicti a magro. paulo canonico osloen. de denario Sci. Petri pro uno anno proxime preterito episcopatus osloen.

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[1] And not "solidos," as is interpreted in Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques à Paris, 1891, cinquième sec. p. 181. Four sols tournois would have made three more florens, with a balance of eight pennies tournois; and even though sterling only, they would have given one more floren and eight pennies sterling: "computatis singulis flor. auri pro III. sol. et IIII. d. sterlingorum." See Document XLI.

[2] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norvegiæ, Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1316, foliis 7vo, 8. (Ref. to pp. 173, 409.)

"1. marc. parve pecunie norican.

"XI. s. cum V. denar. sterling.

"Anno quo supra et XVIII. die mensis marcii Recepimus nos frater Johannes de Serone et B. de Ortolis de denario bi. Petri episcopatus Amaren. pro tribus annis proxime transactis . . . XXX. marc. parve monete norican.

"Anno dni. millo. CCC° XXVII° et XXVIII^a^ die mensis aprilis Recepi ego B. de Ortolis solus a dno. elawo archiepo. Nidrosien. de denario Sci. petri. videlicet pro episcopatu nidrosien. de duobus annis iiiii marc. parve pecunie. Item pro episcopatu scalothen. in Yslandia de octo annis xl. marc. parve monete. Item pro episcopatu faren. de VIII. annis IX. marc. parve monete. Item pro episcopatu stavangren. de tribus annis XXXII. marc. parve monete. Summa assendit de omnibus episcopatibus supra dictis . . . ad II^c^ XXV. marc. parve monete norican."

Fo. 8: "Anno quo supra et XI. die mensis augusti Recepi ego B. de Ortolis a Dno. archiepo. Nidrosien. pro denario sci. petri episcopatus grevellenden. iii lisponsos dentium de roardo. Postque anno quo supra et VI. die mensis septembris vendidi dictos dentes Johanni Dipre mercatori de flandria, habui pro quolibet lispon. II. s. tur. argenti. assendant dicti tres lispon. . . . Sex solidos tur. argenti.

"Anno quo supra et XX^a^ die mensis septembris Recepimus nos frater Johannes de Serone et Bernardus de Ortolis simul de denario bi. petri de episcopatu orcaden. de duobus annis a Dno. Epo. orcaden. . . . VI. libr. et quinque solidi sterling."

DOCUMENT XLI.

EXCHANGES OF NORWEGIAN MONEY FOR SOUTH-EUROPEAN.[1]

"Sequuntur cambia per nos facta de monetis predictis. Primo de parva moneta noricana.

"Primo—de II^c^ lxx marc. i unc. parve monete noricane emimus xl. libr. x. sol. V. d. sterlingorum—singulis marcis dicte parve pecunie pro III. sol. sterlingorum computatis.

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Rationes Collectoriæ Svetiæ, Norvegiæ, Gotiæ et Angliæ, 1306, 1313, 1326, foliis 22 vo, 23, 27, 27 vo. (Ref. to p. 410 and Document XL.)

"Item—de lxxxii. marc. parve monete noricane emimus IIII. libr. II. sol. turon. grossorum argenti—computatis singulis marcis pro XII. d. tur. argenti.

"Item—de CXXIX. marc. III. unc. dicte parve pecunie noricane emimus CXV. flor. auri—singulis florenis pro I. marca et I. uncia dicte pecunie computatis."

Fo. 23: ". . . Computata marca qualibet argenti ad pondus noricanum pro IIII. marcis parve pecunie noricane. Et valet marca noricana VII. uncias et VIII. denar. ad pondus avinionen."

Fo. 27: "Item deposuimus 350 marc. parve monete noricane, pro quibus debuerunt solvere Pro qualibet marc. III. sol. sterl. vel I. marc. argenti ad pondus noricanum pro IIII^{or} marc. parve monete.

". . . Computatis singulis marc. dicte pecunie pro III. sol. sterlingorum et computatis singulis flor. auri pro III. sol. et IIII. d. sterlingorum argenti."

Fo. 27vo: "II^{c} marc. parve pec. nor. = 30 libr. Sterl.
20 marc. parve pec. nor. = 60 sol. Sterl.

DOCUMENT XLII.

GREGORY XI. IMPOSES ONE YEAR'S TITHE,—ALSO ON THE DIOCESE OF GARDAR.[1]

"Gregorius etc. Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi eiusque suffraganeis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Inter curas multiplicium solicitudinum nimia ponderositate gravancium mentem nostram, illa nos indesignanter[2] anxieque solicitat, ut statum sancte Romane ecclesie, a qua, post Deum, status aliarum ecclesiarum noscitur dependere, a sevis hostibus crebre impugnare conantibus, sic cum dei auxilio et nostre vigilancie studio tueatur, quod ecclesia ipsa, contritis adversancium [armis?], quietis et pacis pulcritudine perfruens, securiori altissimo serviat libertate. Sed cum facultates apostolice camere in recuperacione et conservacione terrarum ejusdem ecclesie de manu tirannica ereptarum et subditorum ipsius et longis guerris et precedentium tirannorum jugibus oppressionibus afflictorum et depauperatorum nimium solerti indagine perscrutamur, et persequtorum et hostium que superesse noscuntur vires et conatus advertimus, nos ad tuicionem hujusmodi et ipsorum hostium repressionem efficacem, ex qua securitas ecclesie predicte, deo dante, proveniet, et ad alia inevitabilia nostrarum onera expensarum ferenda minus potentes, sine grandi aliorum subsidio receperimus [*i.e.*, comperimus]. Propter quod fratrum et filiorum nostrorum Archiepiscoporum videlicet et Episcoporum aliarumque personarum ecclesiasticarum subventionis subsidio indigemus. Eapropter, licet personas ecclesiasticas quas relevare cupimus, gravemus inviti, considerantes tamen dignum esse ut in necessitatis articulo membrum [*for* membra] subveniant Capiti indigenti, Decimam omnium fructuum reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum unius anni a data presencium computando, a vobis ceterisque personis ecclesiasticis quibuscumque exemptis et non exemptis vestrarum et nonnullarum aliarum civitatum et diocesum ac provinciarum et parcium diversarum, quantacunque prefulgeant dignitate seu cujuscumque sint preeminencie, condicionis aut status, religionis vel ordinis, quibus vel eorum alicui nulla privilegia vel indulgencias sub quacumque verborum forma vel expressione concessa nolumus suffragari, preterquam a venerabilibus fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus, quecumque qualiacunque et quotcunque monasteria, prioratus, dignitates, personatus, officia, canonicatus et prebendas et alia beneficia ecclesiastica in eisdem civitatibus et diocesibus ac provinciis obtinentibus et imposterum obtenturis, qui nobiscum assidue indefesseque laboribus onera universalis ecclesie sorciuntur, et a dilectis filiis magistris et fratribus hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolymitani et domus sancte Marie Theotonicorum: quos cardinales et magistros ac fratres, super dicta decima ex certis causis vigore presencium nolumus molestari, exigendam et colligendam per vos et singulos vestrum vel alios quos ad hoc deputaveritis in singulis vestris civitatibus et diocesibus, necnon per alios Archiepiscopos, Episcopos et eorum singulos vel alios quos ad hoc deputaverint in singulis civitatibus et diocesibus eorundem, de omnibus fructibus, redditibus et proventibus ecclesiasticis vestris et eorundem aliorum Archiepiscoporum et episcoporum ac personarum ecclesiasticarum exemptorum et non exemptorum, in duobus terminis videlicet medietatem in celebritate omnium sanctorum proxime futura et relinquam medietatem in festo ressurrexionis dominice extunc proxime sequturo, pro hujusmodi oneribus et necessitatibus supportandis, auctoritate apostolica duximus imponendam. Quocirca fraternitatem vestram monemus, rogamus et hortamur attente, vobis et singulis vestrum per apostolica scripta districte precipiendo, mandantes quatinus vos et singuli vestrum in singulis vestris civitatibus et diocesibus, per vos vel alium seu alios, a quibuslibet personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus et regularibus personis, exemptis et non exemptis vestrarum civitatum et diocesum predictarum, de universis fructibus, redditibus et proventibus ecclesiasticis monasteriorum et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, que habent et obtinent in eisdem civitatibus et diocesibus vestris, levetis et etiam exigatis in terminis prefatis decimam supradictam; ad solucionem ipsius quoscumque exemptos et non exemptos ejusdem decime debitores per censuram ecclesiasticam et etiam, si expedire videritis, per sequestracionem hujusmodi fructuum, reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum suorum consistencium in eisdem vestris civitatibus et diocesibus, appellatione postposita, compellendo, ita tamen quod ad fructus, redditus et proventus ecclesiasticos alios eorumdem extra easdem civitates et dioceses consistentes hujusmodi compulsionis officium nullatenus extendatis, nec ad exactionem hujusmodi faciendam in aliquo casu per vos vel alium seu alios invocetis auxilium brachii secularis, nisi predictorum non solvencium contumacia exigente. Et ne de moneta in qua decime predicte solutio fiet et fieri debebit valeat eficari,[1] et ut vitentur gravamina que propter hoc viri ecclesiastici pati possent, per vos et singulos vestrum ac succollectores vestros ipsa decima ad monetam currentem communiter levetur ac eciam exigatur iuxta constitutionem super hoc editam in consilio Viennensi, ita quod pretextu alicujus cambii debitores et solutores dicte decime non graventur, huiusmodi vero decimam exigetis et exigi facietis secundum taxacionem in eisdem vestris civitatibus et diocesibus hactenus consuetam, vel ubi nulla hujusmodi certa taxatio fuerit, solvatur legaliter decima pars fructuum, reddituum et proventuum predictorum, attentius provisuri ut vos et singuli vestrum per vos et alios exactionem et collectionem huiusmodi faciatis in singulis vestris civitatibus et diocesibus absque aliquo onere expensarum eorum a quibus hujusmodi decima exigeter, nisi forte eis defficientibus in solucione dicte decime in terminis supradictis ob huiusmodi eorum deffectum expensas fieri oporteret, ad quarum restitucionem [eos] teneri volumus et astringi; quodque circa hoc constitucionem eiusdem Viennensis consilii observantes, calices, libros et alia ornamenta ecclesiarum divinis officiis deputata, ex causa pignoris vel distractionis, capere, recipere seu quomodolibet occupare per vos vel alium seu alios nullatenus presumatis. Nos enim vobis et singulis vestrum contradictores et rebelles, si qui fuerint, qui ecclesiasticam contempnendo censuram in solucione dicte decime fuerint contumaces citandi, si vobis videbitur, ex parte nostra personaliter ad Romanam curiam, et certum eis peremptorium terminum prefigendi, quo personaliter se apostolico conspectui representent, super hiis pro meritis recepturi, ac diem citacionis huiusmodi et prefixionis termini supradicti per nostros nuncios et litteras referendi plenam vobis et cuilibet vestrum per presentes concedimus facultatem. Non obstante si predictis personis ecclesiasticis et aliis comuniter vel divisim a dicta sit sede indultum quod ad solucionem alicujus decime minime teneantur et ad id compelli, interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas que de indulto hujusmodi ac toto ejus tenore de verbo ad verbum ac eorum ordinibus et locorum seu personarum nominibus propriis plenam et expressam non fecerint mencionem, et quibuslibet privilegiis, indulgenciis, exempcionibus et litteris apostolicis, quibuscumque dignitatibus seu ordinibus ac locis eorundem et specialiter Cisterciensi, Cluniacensi, Catursiensi, Grandimontensi vel eorum universitatibus aut personis singularibus generaliter vel specialiter, sub quacunque forma vel expressione verborum a memorata sede concessis, de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum in nostris litteris specialis, plena et expressa mentio sit habenda. Volumus insuper quod vos et singuli vestrum hujusmodi decimam omnium fructuum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum vestrorum, prout continetur superius, fideliter et integre persolvatis, ita quod nullus vestrum sibi super hoc indulgeat, sed in hac parte agat bona fide ac si tali officio in extraneos fungeretur; quodque unusquisque vestrum in scriptis redigi faciat quicquid pro dicta decima de proventibus suis ecclesiasticis solverit pro se ipso. Ceterum volumus et mandamus quod monetam quam recipietis vel recipi facietis et solvetis pro dicta decima, dilecto filio Helie de Vodronio cantori ecclesie Xantonensis clerico camere nostre apostolice sedis nuncio, seu alii vel aliis quos ipse ad hoc deputabit, in locis et terminis que ipse nuncius ad id assignabit, per cambium vel alium tutum modum fideliter assignare seu destinare curetis. Alioquin in personas illorum ex vobis et aliorum quorumcumque qui de mandato nostro ad collectionem et exactionem huiusmodi fuerint deputati, quique defecerint in solucione dicte decime in terminis supradictis vel in collectione, exactione, assignatione aut destinatione hujusmodi fraudem forsitan vel malitiam comiserint excommunicacionis sentenciam auctoritate presencium promulgamus. Ad hec volumus vobisque eadem auctoritate concedimus quod vos et singuli vestrum quos ex deffectu non facte solucionis huiusmodi prefatas sententias incurrisse contigerit, ab iisdem sententiis post satisfactionem debitam per aliquem ex vicinioribus Episcopis, excommunicationis sententia non ligatum et alias gratiam et communionem predicte sedis habentem, facta sibi fide de satisfactione huiusmodi, absolucionis beneficium et super irregularitate, si quam forsan, si ligati, non tamen in contentum clavium celebrando divina aut immiscendo vos illis, contraxeritis, super ea dispensacionis gratiam obtinere, aliisque qui easdem sententias ex deffectu solucionis huiusmodi incurrisse contingerit, post satisfactionem debitam, facta vobis primum similiter fide de illa, similia ab eisdem sententiis absolutionis beneficium et super irregularitate inde contracta dispensationis gratiam impendere valeatis. Verum quia presentes littere nequirent forte propter viarum discrimina vel alia impedimenta legictima, manu cuilibet presentari, velimus quod per te, frater archiepiscope, dictarum literarum transumptum manu publica scriptum, comunitum sigillo notorie [*for* notarii], predictis suffraganeis transmitatur, cui adhiberi per vos volumus velut originalibus plenam fidem. Datum Avenione Idus Januarii Pontificatus nostri anno tertio." (January 13, 1373.)

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[1] Archivium Secretum Pontificale Vaticanum, Regestum 276: Gregorii XI. Bull. Camer., Anno III., t. iii. fo. 11vo. (Ref. to p. 420.)

[2] "Indesinenter" was meant.

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[1] For "argui, objici." Ducange, Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis, gives no satisfactory interpretation for this passage.

DOCUMENT XLIII., *a*.

PONTIFICAL COLLECTORS APPOINTED FOR DRONTHEIM . . . AND GARDAR.[1]

"Bonifacius, etc. Venerabili fratri Augustino Ep° Osloien. fructuum et proventuum Camere Apostolice in Regno Norwegie debitorum collectori salt. et apostolicam ben. Ex fideli et solicita ac diligenti prudencia providencia quoque et probitate circumspecta aliisque virtutibus, etc., in Regno Norwegie generalem collectorem et receptorem fructuum. . . . Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum IIII. Kl. Martii Pontificatus nri. anno sexto." (February 26, 1395.)

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium 33, t. xii. : Urb. VI., Bonif. IX., Innoc. VII., Greg. XII. Litteræ Decimarum et Collectoriar., fo. 153. (Ref. to p. 430.)

DOCUMENT XLIII., *b*.[1]

"Collectoria in civitatibus Nidrosiensi, Bergensi, Stavangrensi, Pharensi, Scarensi et Gradensi civitatibus.

"Bonifacius etc. Venerabili fratri Jacobo Ep° Bergen. in Nidrosien. Bergen. Stavangren. Pharen. Scaren. et Graden. civitatibus et dioc. fructuum et proventuum camere apostolice debitorum collectori salt. etc. Ex fideli solicita et diligenti prudentia, providentia quoque et probitate circumspecta et aliis virtutibus quibus fulgere dinosceris presumimus evidenter quod ea que tibi commiserimus diligenti studio fideliter exequeris. Hinc est quod nos te, de cujus circumspectione plurimum confidimus, in civitatibus et dioc. Bergen. Nidrosien. Stavangren. Pharen. Scaren. et Graden. generalem collectorem ac receptatorem fructuum, reddituum, proventuum, censuum et decimarum camere apostolice in predictis civitatibus et dioc. debitorum, usque ad nostrum beneplacitum, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium facimus, constituimus et etiam deputamus etc. ut in folio lxxxxix in collectoria Flandriæ de verbo ad verbum.[2] Datum Rome apud scm. petrum sextodecimo Kl. octobris Anno terciodecimo. (September 16, 1402.)

"De Curia. Erasmus."

DOCUMENT XLIV.[3]

HYMN OF A PIONEER GREENLANDER.

"Allir hlýdhi ossu fulli
Amra fjalla dvalins hallar.

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium 33, t. xii.: Urb. VI., Bonif. IX., Innoc. VII., Greg. XII. Litteræ Decimarum et Collectoriar., fo. 194. (Ref. to p. 431.)

[2] On folios 99 and 100 are described at length the powers and faculties of general collectors, which are almost the same as those conferred in Document XLII.

[3] Landnámabók, Part v. ch. xiv.; Part ii. ch. xiv.; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 19, 188. (Ref. to p. 177.)

Mínar bidhr ek múnka reyni
Meinalausan fara beina;
Heidhis haldi hattar foldar
Hallar drottinn yfir mèr stalli!"

DOCUMENT XLV.

LEIF ERICSSON SENT TO CONVERT GREENLAND.[1]

"That sumar fór Ólafr konúngr or landi sudhr til Vindlands; thá sendi hann ok Leifr Eirikssun til Grónalands, at bodha thar trú; thá fann Leifr Vínland hit gódha, hann fann ok menn á skipsflaki í hafi, thví var hann kalladhr Leifr hinn happni."

DOCUMENT XLVI.

LEIF ERICSSON SENT TO CONVERT GREENLAND.[2]

"Thenna sama vetr var Leifr, son Eiríks hin raudha, medh Ólafi konúngi vel metinn, ok tók vidh kristni. En thetta sumar, er Gizur fór til Íslands, sendi Ólafr konúngr Leif til Graenlands, at bodha thar kristni; fór han that sumar til Graenlands; hann fann í hafi menn á skipsflaki, ok hjálpadhi theim; thá fann hann ok Vínland hit gódha, ok kom of haustit til Graenlands; hann hafdhi thannig prest ok adhra kennimenn, ok fór til vistar í Brattahlidh til Eiríks, födhur síns; menn kölludhu hann sídhan Leif hinn hepna; en Eiríkr, fadhir hans, sagdhi svâ: at that var samskulda, er Leifr hafdhi borgit skipshöfn manna í hafi, ok that er hann hafdhi flutt skaemanninn till Graenlands; that var prestrinn."

DOCUMENT XLVII.

CONVERTED NORTHMEN RELAPSING INTO FORMER VICES.[3]

"Joannes [IX., an. 901] etc., reverentissimo confratri nostro Heriveo Rhemorum Archiepiscopo . . . Extitimus . . . gaudentes, siquidem de ipsa gente Northmannorum, quæ ad fidem,

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[1] Kristni Saga, ap. Reeves, The Finding of Wineland the Good, p. 12. (Ref. to p. 180.)

[2] Heimskringla, ap. Reeves, The Finding of Wineland the Good, p. 14; Rafn, Antiq. Amer., pp. 191, 193. (Ref. to pp. 181, 182.)

[3] Migne, Patrologia Latina, t. cxxxi. col. 27; Rohrbacher, Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique, t. xii. p. 480. (Ref. to p. 189.)

divina inspirante clementia, conversa, olim humano sanguine grassata lætabatur, nunc vero vestris exhortationibus, Domino cooperante, ambrosio Christi sanguine se gaudet fore redemptam atque potatam. . . . Quod de his vestra Nobis innotuit fraternitas, quid agendum sit: quod fuerint baptizati et rebaptizati, et post baptismum gentiliter vixerint, atque paganorum more Christianos interfecerint, sacerdotes trucidaverint, atque simulacris immolantes idolothyta comederint: Equidem, si tirones ad fidem non forent, canonica experirentur judicia. Unde quia ad fidem rudes sunt, vestro utique libramini vestræque censuræ committimus experiendos, qui illam gentem vestris confiniis vicinam habentes, studiose advertere . . . præ ceteris valeatis. Quod enim mitius agendum sit cum eis quam sacri censeant canones vestra satis cognoscit industria; ne forte insueta onera portantes, importabilia illis fore, quod absit, videantur; et ad prioris vitæ veterem quem expoliaverunt hominem, antiquo insidiante adversario, relabantur. . . ."

DOCUMENT XLVIII.

AN INSTANCE OF LASTING NORTHMAN SUPERSTITION.[1]

"1161, Jul. 6. Alexander [III.] etc. . . . Denique quiddam audivimus quod magno nobis fuit horrori: quod quidam inter vos sunt, qui dyabolica fraude decepti, hominem quendam in potacione et ebrietate occisum, quasi sanctum, more infidelium, venerantur, cum vix etiam pro talibus in suis ebrietatibus interemptis orare permittat ecclesia. Dicit enim Apostolus quoniam ebriosi regnum Dei non possidebunt. Unde a potacionibus et ebrietatibus, si regnum Dei habere desideratis, vos continere oportet; et hominem illum de cetero colere, in periculum animarum vestrarum, nullatenus presumatis. Cum etiam si signa et miracula per eum plurima fierent, non liceret vobis pro sancto, absque auctoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ, eum publice venerari."

DOCUMENT XLIX.

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.[2]

St. Olaf returning from England, "secum habuit multos episcopos et presbyteros ab Anglia, quorum monitu et doctrina ipse

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[1] Liljegren, Diplomatarium Svecanum, t. i. p. 63. (Ref. to p. 190.)

[2] Pertz, Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, t. vii. cap. xciv. p. 326. (Ref. to p. 195.)

cor suum Deo præparavit, subjectumque populum illis ad regendum commisit. Quorum clari doctrina et virtutibus erant Sigafrid, Grimkil, Rudolf et Bernard. Hi etiam jussu regis ad Suediam et Gothiam et omnes insulas quæ trans Nortmanniam sunt, accesserunt evangelizantes barbaris verbum Dei et regnum Jesu Christi. Misit etiam nuntios ad archiepiscopum nostrum cum muneribus, petens ut eos episcopos benigne reciperet, suosque ad eum mitteret, qui rudem Nortmannorum populum in Christianitate confortarent."

DOCUMENT L.

LIST OF DIOCESES IN THE PROVINCE OF DRONTHEIM.[1]

"In Regno Norvegie
Archiepus. Nidrosien. hos habet suffraganeos:
Bergen.
Stavangren.
Hameren.
Asloen.
Hortaden.
Pharen.
Sodren.
Greveladien.
Faensem
Scaloren.
Olensen.
Granden [*for* Garden.]."
Nellanden.

The "Greneladiensis" diocese is, however, dropped from the tax-roll farther on, while the "Graden. provæ. Nidrosien." is set down for "flor. CCL."

From Döllinger, Beitrage zur Politischen, Kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der Sechs letzten Jahrhunderte, Bd. ii. S. vii., from a MS. of *circa* 1460 in the City Library of Bologna, p. 293:

"In regno Norvegiæ:
Archiepiscopus Nidrosiensis (Drontheim) hos habet suffraganeos:
Bergensem (Bergen).
Stavangrensem (Stavanger).
Hamerensem (Hammer).
Asloensem (Opsloe, jetzt Christiania).
Hortadensem (Orkney-Inseln).
Pharensem (Faroe Islands).
Sodrensem (Icolmkill und Mann).
Greveladiensem (Grönland).
Faensenum.
Scalorensem (Skalholt).

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[1] Bibliotheca Vaticana, Pars Ottoboniana, no. 65: A list of Dioceses (fifteenth cent. parchment), etc., ut infra. (Ref. to p. 199.)

Olensenum (Hola).
Grandensem (Gaard) [or Gardar].
Neblandensem (Nordlande, Alstahong?)."

From an ancient MS. of some Roman library; but of which I lost the signature:

"In Regno Novergie, Archiepiscopus Nidrosien. hos habet suffr.: Bergen., Stavangren., Hameren., Asloen., Horcaden., Sodren., *Grenoladien*, facusen., Scaloren., Olen., Pharen., *Granden.*, Neblanden."

From the Bibliotheca Corsini (Rome), Cod. 776 or Col. 39, G. 2, fo. 103: The so-called "Chronica Fr. Joannis de Capistrano," copied in A.D. 1586 from a MS. of the thirteenth century:

"Archiepiscopus Nidrosiensis hos habet suffraganeos Episcopos Bergensem, Stavangn., Phanenum, Nœmænum, Hasiocenum, Borcadenum, Sedronenum, Insulanum, Nuchodinum, *Graden.*, *Grgelalan.*, *gaden*, et Scalen. Olen vel Oloren."—A curious confusion!

From the Bibliotheca Vaticana, Pars Ottoboniana, no. 3057 (MS. of the thirteenth century), a copy of "Incipiunt Historie Pauperis Scholaris Albini," divided into eleven books: lib. x. fo. 140:

"In regno Norweie.

"Metropolitanus Trundunensis hos episcopos suffraganeos habet. Bergensem. Strangensem. Hamarchopensem. Halsflonensem. Habet quoque in regione Granellandia episcopum Horchadensem. Et in insula Hyslandia episcopum Phare. Sunt igitur numero VII." (!)

DOCUMENT LI.

RIGHT OF ST. ANSGAR TO APPOINT BISHOPS.[1]

"Sergius [II.] etc. Anschario, Sanctæ Hamaburgensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo gratiam Dei in perpetuum. Quoniam apostolicæ dignitatis est non solum ecclesias fundare, sed et ab aliis ecclesiarum spiritualibus architectis fundatas sublimare, dignum duximus, frater charissime, pro petitionis tuæ voto aures debitæ benignitatis nostræ inclinare. Concedimus igitur tibi, sicut a prædecessore nostro, beato Gregorio, concessum est; scilicet ut

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[1] Migne, Patrologia Latina, t. cxxix. col. 997; from Lappenberg, Hamb. Urkundenbuch, Anno 846. (Ref. to p. 205.)

gentes Wimodiorum, Norblingorum, Danorum, Norvenorum, Suenorum vel quascumque septentrionalium nationum jugo fidei prædicatione tua subdideris, ad Sedem Hamaburgensem spirituali dominatione possideas, et omnibus successoribus tuis, ad eamdem sedem perpetuo possidendas relinquas. Decernimus quoque tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis . . . usum pallii habendum. . . . Age ergo, frater beatissime, opus bonum quod incœpisti, nec desistas donec proficias [*for* perficias]; funda in locis opportunis ecclesias, consecra presbyteros et per distermінatos terminos ordina episcopos, quorum tu omnium archiepiscopus existas. . . . Data per manas Leonis cancellarii Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in mense Aprili, indictione nona."

DOCUMENT LII.

FACULTY GRANTED TO ADALBERT OF HAMBURG TO APPOINT BISHOPS IN ALL THE NORTH,—GREENLAND.[1]

"Leo [IX.] episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto confratri nostro Adelberto, venerabili archiepiscopo Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ, tibi tuisque successoribus in perpetuum. . . . Apostolica auctoritate concedimus et confirmamus, cum omnibus generaliter atque specialiter ad eumdem prefatum archiepiscopatum vestrum pertinentibus, scilicet omnia quæ vestri antecessores suis laboribus adquisierunt, vel etiam amore æternæ patriæ ibi a Christicolarum fidelibus largita sunt vel largiuntur, cum illis etiam qui hoc tempore ad Christi conversi sunt fidem, protegente Dei gratia, videlicet episcopos in omnibus gentibus Sueonum seu Danorum, Norwechorum, Islant, Scridevinnum, Gronlant et universarum septentrionalium nationum, nec non etiam in illis partibus Sclavorum, quæ sunt a flumine Pene usque ad fluvium Egidore, ita ut sub tua potestate, vel quicquid tuo tuorumque successorum certamine, divina favente gratia, ab errore perfidiæ sive hominum sive locorum ad religionem christianam adquiri potest, tibi tuisque successoribus perpetualiter tenendum inviolabiliterque tenere censemus. Igitur juxta suprascriptum tenorem concedimus tibi, et per te tuis successoribus in perpetuum licentiam ordinandi episcopos infra diocesim seu provinciam vestram vel certe per provincias gentium supradictarum, quascumque ad ovile Christi, tam per vos quam per nuntios vestros adducere, preveniente et subsequente divina gratia volueritis" (*or* potueritis). (8. Idus. Jan., Indictione VI., anno Pontificatus IV.)

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[1] Beauvois, Origines et Fondation du plus Ancien Evêché du Nouveau Monde, p. 28, n. 7; Rydberg, Sverges Traktater, Bd. i. S. 56, *seq.* (Ref. to p. 206.)

DOCUMENT LIII.

BISHOP ERIC GNUPSON SAILS FOR VINLAND.[1]

Annales Islandorum Regii and Annales Flateyenses:

"1121. Eiríkr biskup af Graenlandi fór at leita Vínlands.—Eirikus episcopus ex Grœnlandia Vinlandiam quæsitum profectus est."

Annales Reseniani:

"Eiríkr biskup leitadhi Vínlands.—Eirikus episcopus quæsivit Vinlandiam."

Lögmanns Annáll or Annales Prætoritii:

"Eiríkr biskup uppse leitadhi Vínlands.—Episcopus Eirikus Upsius quæsivit Vinlandiam."

Codex Arna-Magnæanus, n. 417:

"Eiríkr biskup upsi af Graenlandi fór at leita Vínlands.—Episcopus Eirikus Upsius de Grœnlandia Vinlandiam quæsitum profectus est."

Annales Holenses:

"Eiríkr Graenlendínga biskup leitadhi Vínlands.—Eirikus, episcopus Grœnlandorum, quæsivit Vinlandiam."

Annales Grœnlandici:

"Eiríkr Graenlandínga biskup fór at leita Vínlands.—Eirikus, Grœnlandiæ episcopus, Vinlandiam quæsitum profectus est."

DOCUMENT LIV.

ZENO RELATION OF NORTHERN VOYAGES.[2]

(*a*) ". . . M. Nicolò [Zeno] il Caviliere, come huom di alto spirito, doppo la suddetta guerra Genovese di Chioggia, che diede tanto da far ai nostri maggiori, entrò in grandissimo desiderio

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[1] Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 261, *seq.* (Ref. to p. 275.)

[2] Ramusio, Delle navigationi e Viaggi, Dello Scoprimento dell' isola Frislanda, Estlanda . . . t. ii., in Venetia, 1606, fo. 230ro.; Pietro Amat di S. Filippo, Gli Illustri Viaggiatori Italiani, p. 43, *seq.*

di veder il mondo, e peregrinare, e farsi capace di varj costumi e di lingue de gli huomini, acciò che con le occasioni poi potesse meglio far servigio alla sua patria ed à se acquistar fama e honore. La onde fatta ed armata una nave delle sue proprie richezze che amplissime haveva, uscì fuori de i nostri mari, e passato lo stretto di Gibilterra navigò alcuni dì per l'oceano, sempre tenendosi verso la Tramontana con animo di veder l'Inghilterra e la Fiandra. Dove assaltato in quel mare da una gran fortuna molti dì andò transportato dalle onde e dai venti, senza sapere dove si fosse, quando finalmente scoprendo terra, ne potendo più reggersi contra quella fierissima burrasca, ruppe nell'Isola Frislanda, salvandosi gli uomini e gran parte delle robbe, che erano su la nave; e questo fu l'anno mille e trecento ed ottanta.[1]

(*b*) "Quì concorrendo gli isolani armati in gran numero assaltarono M. Nicolò ed i suoi, che tutti travagliati per la fortuna passata, non sapevano in che mondo si fossero, e per conseguente non erano atti a fare un picciolo insulto, non che a difendersi gagliardamente, come il pericolo il portava, contra tai nimici; ed in ogni modo sarebbero stati mal menati, se la buona ventura non faceva che casualmente si fosse trovato ivi vicino un Principe con gente armata, il quale inteso che s'era rotta pur all' hora una gran nave nell' Isola, corse al rumore ed alle grida che si facevano contra i nostri poveri marinai, e cacciati via quelli del paese, parlò in Latino, e dimandò che genti erano, e di dove venivano; e saputo che venivano d'Italia, e che erano huomini del medesimo paese, fu preso di grandissima allegrezza. Onde, promettendo à ciascuno, che non riceverebbeno alcun dispiacere, e che erano venuti in luogo nel quale sarebbeno benissimo trattati e meglio veduti, li tolse tutti sopra la sua fede. Era costui gran Signore, e possedeva alcune isole dette Porlanda, vicine à Frislanda da mezzo giorno, le più ricche e popolate di tutte quelle parti; e si chiamava Zichmni; ed allora le dette picciole isole signoreggiava fra terra la Duchea di Sorano,[2] posta dalla banda verso Scotia.

"Di queste parti di Tramontana m' è paruto di trarne una copia dalla carta da navigare, che ancora mi trovo havere tra le antiche nostre cose di casa; la quale con tutto che sia marcia ed vecchia di molti anni, m' è riuscita assai bene; e posta davanti gli occhi di chi si diletta di queste cose, servirà quasi per un lume à dargli intelligentia di quel che senz' essa non si potrebbe cosi ben sapere.

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[1] Amat remarks here: "Leggi 1390;" and Cardinal Zurla, in Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani, 1809, pp. 6–94, proves that Nicolò sailed from Venice in the year 1388 or 1390, ap. Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands, p. 187, n. 1.

[2] Sodurö?

(*c*) "Con tanto stato che s' è detto, Zichmni era bellicoso ed valente e sopratutto famosissimo delle cose di mare, e per haver havuto vittoria l'anno avanti del Re di Norvegia, che signoreggiava l'Isola, com'huom, che desiderava con l'arme di farsi molto più illustre che non era, con le sue genti era disceso per far l'impresa ed acquistarsi il paese di Frislanda, che è isola assai maggiore che Irlanda; onde, vedendo che M. Nicolò era persona sensata, e nelle cose marinaresche e della guerra grandemente pratico, gli commise che andasse sù l'armata con tutti i suoi, imponendo al Capitano che l'honorasse, ed in tutte le cose si valesse del suo consiglio, come di quel che conosceva e sapeva da se molto, per lungo uso di navigare e dell' arme. Questa armata di Zichmni era di tredici legni, due solamente da remo, il resto navigli ed una nave, con la quale navigarono verso Ponente, e s' insignorirono con poca fatica di Ledovo, et di Ilofe, e di alcune altre isolette, volgendosi in un golfo, chiamato Sudero, dove, nel porto della terra detta Sanestol, presero alcuni navigli carichi di pesce salato; e, trovato qui Zichmni, che con l'esercito di terra era venuto acquistando tutto il paese, poco vi si fermarono, perchè fatto vela pur per ponente pervennero fin all' altro capo del golfo, e girandosi di nuovo, trovarono alcune isole e terre, che furono tutte da lor ridotte in poter di Zichmni. Questo mare da lor navigato era in maniera pieno di seccagne e di scogli, che se non fosse stato M. Nicolò il suo Piloto, ed i marinai Venetiani, tutta quell' armata, per giudicio di quanti v'erano sù, si sarebbe perduta, per la poca pratica, che havevano quelli di Zichmni a comparatione de i nostri, che nell' arte erano, si può dir, nati, cresciuti, ed invecchiati.

"Or havendo l'armata fatte quelle cose che si sono dette, il Capitano, col consiglio di M. Nicolò, volle che si facesse scala à una terra chiamata Bondendon, per intender i succesi della guerra di Zichmni; dove intese con suo multo piacere, che egli haveva fatta una gran battaglia, e haveva rotto l'esercito nimico, per laqual sua vittoria tutta l'isola gli mandava ambasciadori à fargli deditione, levando le sue insegne per tutte le terre e castella; per il che gli parve di soprastar in quel luogo fino alla sua venuta, dicendosi per fermo ch'egli tosto v'haveva da essere. Al suo arrivare si fecero grandi dimostrationi di allegrezza, così per la vittoria di terra, come per quella di mare, per laquale erano tanto honorati e celebrati da tutti i Venetiani, che non si sentiva d'altro parlare, che di loro, e del valore di M. Nicolò.

(*d*) "Onde il Prencipe che era da se amantissimo de' valenti huomini, e di quelli specialmente che si portavano bene nelle cose marinaresche, si fece venir M. Nicolò, et dopo haverlo con molte honorate parole comendato et lodato la sua grande industria e l'ingegno, dalle quali due cose diceva che riconosceva un molto grande e rilevato beneficio, come era quel di havergli salvata l' armata, ed acquistato senza alcuna sua fatica tanti luoghi, lo fece cavaliere; e, onorati e donati di richissimi presenti tutti i suoi, partì di quel luogo, ed à guisa di trionfanti per la vittoria havuta, andò alla volta di Frislanda, città principale dell' isola, posta dalla banda di Levante verso ostro, dentro un golfo, che molti ne fà quell' isola, nel quale si prende pesce in tanta copia, che se ne caricano molte navi, e se ne fornisce la Fiandra, la Bretagna, l'Inghilterra, la Scotia, la Norvegia e Danimarcha, e di quel ne cavano grandissime richezze. Fin qui scrive M. Nicolò in una sua lettera à M. Antonio suo fratello questi avisi, pregandolo, che con qualche nave lo volesse andar à trovare. Perchè egli, che non men era desideroso che si fosse il fratello di veder il mondo e praticar varie genti, e perciò farsi illustre e grand'huomo, comprò una nave, e dirizzatosi à quel camino, doppo un lungo viaggio ed varij pericoli scorsi, giunse finalmente sano e salvo à M. Nicolò, che lo ricevette con grandissima allegrezza, e perchè gli era fratello, e perchè era fratello di valore.

(*e*) "Fermossi M. Antonio in Frislanda, e ci habitò quattordici anni, quattro con M. Nicolò, e dieci solo; dove pervenuti in tanta gratia e favor di quel Principe, che per gratificarnelo, ma più, perchè da se egli pur troppo il valeva, fece Capitan della sua armata M. Nicolò, e con grande apparato di guerra si mossero all' impresa di Estlanda, che è sopra la costa tra Frislanda e Norvegia, dove fecero molti danni; ma inteso che il Re di Norvegia, con una grossa armata di navi, veniva lor contra per distorli da quella guerra, si levarono con una burasca sí terribile, che cacciati in certe seccagini, ruppero gran parte delle lor navi, salvandosi il rimanente in 'Grislanda' isola grande, ma dishabitata.

(*f*) "L'armata del Re di Norvegia, anch' ella assaltata dalla medesima fortuna, si ruppe et perdè tutta per quei pelaghi. Di che havuto aviso Zichmni da un naviglio di nimici scorso per fortuna in Grislanda, havendo già racconcia la sua armata, ed vedendosi per la Tramontana vicino alle Islande, si deliberò di assaltar Islanda, che medesimamente con l'altre era sotto il Ri di Norvegia; ma trovò il paese così ben munito e guarnito di difesa, che ne fu ributtato, per haver poca armata, e quella poca anco malissimo in ordine di arme e di genti. Per la qual cosa si partì da quella impresa, senza havervi fatto nulla, ed assaltò negli stessi canali l'altre isole, dette Islande, che sono sette, cioè 'Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, e Bres;' e messo tutto in preda, edificò una fortezza in Bres, nella quale lasciò M. Nicolò con alcuni navigli, e genti, ed altre munitioni, ed egli parendogli allhora di aver fatto assai con quella poca armata, che gli era rimasta, ritornò à salvamonto in Frislanda.

(*g*) "M. Nicolò rimaso in Bres, si deliberò à tempo nuovo di uscir fuori, e scoprir terra; onde armati tre navigli non molto grandi, del mese di Luglio fece vela verso Tramontana, e giunse in Engroneland; dove trovò un monistero di frati dell' ordine de' Predicatori, ed una chiesa dedicata à San Tomaso appresso un monte che butta fuoco come Vesuvio ed Etna, et c' è una fontana di acqua affocata, con laquale nella chiesa del monistero, et nelle camere de' frati si fà l'habitatione calda, essendo nella cucina così bollente che, senz' altro fuoco farvi, si servono al bisogno di quella, mettendo nelle pignatte di rame il pane senz' acqua, che si cuoce come in un forno ben riscaldato. Et ci sono giardinetti coperti di verno, li quali inafiati di quell' acqua, si defendeno contra la neve et il freddo, che in quelle parti, per essere grandemente situate soto il Polo, v' è asprissimo; onde ne nascono fiori et frutti et herbe di varie sorti, non altrimente che si facciano ne' paesi temperati alle loro stagioni. Per lequali cose le genti rozze et salvatiche di quei luoghi, vedendo effeti sopra natura, tengono quelli frati per Dei, et portano a lor polli, carne et altre cose; et come Signori li hanno tutti in grandissima riverenza et rispetto. Nel modo, adunque, che s' è detto, fanno questi frati, quando v' è maggior il ghiaccio et la neve, la lor habitatione temperata; et possono in un'attimo riscaldar et raffreddar una stanza, con far crescer à certi termini più l'acqua, et con aprir le finestre, et lasciarvi entrar la freddura della stagione.

(*h*) "Nelle fabbriche del monistero non si serveno di altra materia che di quella stessa, che porta lor il fuoco; perchè tolgono le pietre ardenti, che a similitudine di favelle escono dalla bocca dell' arsura del monte, allhora che sono più infiammate, et buttano lor sopra dell' acqua, per la quale si apreno, et fanno bitumo ò calcina bianchissima et molto tenace, che posta in conserva non si guasta mai. Et le faville medesime, estinte che sono, serveno in luogo di pietre à far i muri et i volti, perchè, come si raffredano non si possono più disfare rompere, o se per aventura non sono spezzate dal ferro; et i volti fatti di quelle sono in maniera leggieri, che non hanno bisogno di altro sostentacolo, et durano sempre belli et in concio. Per queste tante comodità v'han fatto quei buon padri tante abitationi et muraglie, che è un stupore à vederle. Il più de' coperti che vi sono, si fanno in questo modo, che tirato il muro fin alla sua altezza, lo vanno à poco à poco avanzando sopra il volto, tanto che nel mezzo forma un giusto piover. Ma di pioggie non ci si teme troppo in quelle parti, perche per essere il Polo, come s' è detto, freddissimo, caduta la prima neve non si disfà più, se non passati i nove mesi dell' anno, che tanto tra lor dura il verno.

(*i*) "Vivono di salvaticine e di pesci, percioche, dove entra l'acqua tiepida nel mare, v' è il porto assai capace e grande, che per l'acqua che bolle, di verno non si congela mai. Là onde c' è tanto concorso di ucelli marini e di pesci, che ne prendeno un numero quasi infinito; col quale fanno le spese à un gran popolo ivi vicino, che tengono in continua opera, così nel tirar sù le fabbriche, come nel prender gli ucelli ed il pesce, e nel far mille altre cose, che bisognano al monistero. Le case di costoro sono intorno al monte, tutte rotonde, e larghe venticinque piedi; e nell' alto si vanno stringendo in maniera, che vi lasciano di sopra una piccola apritura, per dove entra l'aere, che dà lume al luogo; e la terra v'è così calda di sotto, che dentro non si sente alcun freddo.

"Quì, di state, vengono molti navigli dall' isole convicine e dal capo di sopra Norvegia, e dal Treadon, e portano ai frati tutte le cose che si possono desiderare, e le cambiano con lor per ossi del pesce, che seccano all' aere ed all freddo, et pelli di diverse sorti di animali. Onde s' acquistano legna d'abbruciare, e legnami eccellentemente lavorati, e grano, et panno da vestire. Conciosia che per il cambio delle due cose dette, quasi tutti i convicini desiderano di smaltir le mercantie loro, ed essi senza fatica e dispendio hanno ciò che vogliono.

"Ci concorrono in questo monistero frati di Norvegia, di Suetia, e di altri paesi, ma la maggior parte sono delle Islande. Et sempre in quel posto ci sono molti navigli, che non possono partire per essere il mare aggiacciato; ed aspettano il nuovo tempo che lo disgele.

(*j*) "Le barche de' pescatori si fanno come le navicelle che usano le tessitore nel far la tela; e tolte le pelle de' pesci, le formano con alcuni ossi de' medesimi pesci, che le formano; et cucite insieme, et poste in più doppij, riescono sì buone e sicure, ch'è cosa certo miracolosa à sentire. Nelle fortune vi si serrano dentro, et lasciano portarsi dalle onde, et dai venti per il mare senza alcun timore di affogarsi; e se danno in terra, stanno salde a molte percosse. Et hanno una manica nel fondo, che tengono legata nel mezzo, et quando entra acqua nel naviglio, la prendono nella altra mità, e con due legni chiusi serrando di sopra, ed aprendo la legatura di sotto, cacciano l'acqua fuori; et quante volte occorre lor di far questo, lo fanno senza disconcio o pericolo alcuno.

(*k*) "L'acqua poi nel monistero per esser di zolfo, si conduce nelle camere de' maggiori per certi vasi di rame, di stagno, o di pietra, così calda, che come una stufa, riscalda benissimo la stanza, senza che v' introduchi puzza, o altro cattivo odore. Oltra di questo, menano un' altra acqua viva con un muro sotto terra, acciò che non si aggiacci, fin nel mezzo della corte, dove cade in un gran vaso di rame, il quale sta in mezzo di un fonte bollente, et così riscaldando l'acqua per il bere, ed adacquar i giardini. Hanno dal monte tutte le commodità, che si possono desiderar maggiori. Ne pongono in altro più cura quei buò padri, che nel coltivar bene i giardini, e nel far belle fabriche, et sopra tutto comode. Ne mancano lor in questo boni ingegni, e huomini industriosi, perchè pagano e donano largamente; ed verso quelli che portano frutti e semenze, sono senza fine liberali e larghi nello spendere. Per il che v' è un grandissimo concorso di ovre e di maestramenti per esserci in quel luogo così buon guadagno e miglior vivere.

"Usano il più d'essi la lingua latina, e specialmente i superiori ed i grandi del monistero.

(*l*) "Questo tanto si sà di Engroneland, della quale M. Nicolò descrive tutte le cose dette, e particolarmente la riviera da lui discoperta, come nel disegno per me fatto si può vedere; ed infine, non essendo egli uso à quelli freddi aspri, infermò, e poco da poi ritornato in Frislanda, morì. Et M. Antonio succese nelle sue richezze, ed all' honore; ne, con tutto che tentasse molte vie, e pregasse e supplicasse assai, gli venne mai fatto di ritornarsene a casa sua, perche Zichmni, come huom di spirito e di valore, si haveva al tutto messo in cuore di farsi padron del mare.

(*m*) "Onde valendosi di M. Antonio, volle che con alcuni navigli navigasse verso Ponente, per essere state discoperte da quel lato, da certi suoi pescatori, isole richissime e popolatissime. La qual discoperta narra M. Antonio in una sua lettera scritta a M. Carlo suo fratello così puntalmente, mutate però alcune voci antiche, e lo stile, e lasciata star nel suo essere la materia. Si partirono ventisei anni fa quattro navigli di piscatori, i quali, assaltati da una gran fortuna molti giorni andarono, come per perduti per il mare, quando, finalmente raddolcitosi il tempo, scoprirono una isola detta Estotilanda, posta in ponente, lontano da Frislanda più di mille miglia, nella quale si ruppe un de' navigli; e sei huomini, che v'erano sù, furono presi dagli isolani, e condotti à una città bellissima e molto popolata, dove il Re, che la signoreggiava, fatti venir molti interpreti, non ne trovò mai alcuno che sapesse la lingua di quei pescatori, se non un Latino nella stessa isola per fortuna medesimamente capitato; il quale dimandando lor, da parte del Re, chi erano e di dove venivano, raccolse il tutto, e lo riferì al Re. Il quale intese tutte queste cose, volle che si fermassero nel paese; perche essi facendo il suo comandamento, per non si poter altro fare, stettero cinque anni nell' isola ed appresero la lingua; et un di loro particolarmente fu in diverse parti dell' isola, e narra che è richissima ed abbondantissima di tutti li beni del mondo, e che è poco minore di Islanda, ma più fertile, havendo nel mezzo un monte altissimo, dal quale nascono quattro fiumi che la irrigano. Quelli che l'habitano sono ingegnosi, e hanno tutte le arti come noi; e credesi che in altri tempi havessero commercio con i nostri, perche dice di haver veduti libri Latini nella libreria del Re, che non vengono hora da lor intesi. Hanno lingua e lettera separate, e cavano metallo di ogni sorte, e sopra tutto abondano di oro, e le lor pratiche sono in Engroneland, di dove tragono pellereccie e zolfo e pegola. Et verso ostro, narra, che v' è un gran paese molto ricco d'oro e popolato; seminano grano, e fanno la cervosa, che è una sorte di bevanda, che usano i popoli settentrionali, come noi il vino. Hanno boschi d' immensa grandezza, e fabbricano à muraglia; e ci sono molte città e castella. Fanno navigli e navigano, ma non hanno la calamita, ne intendono col bossolo la tramontana.

(*n*) "Per il che questi pescatori furono in gran pregio, sì che il Re li spedì con dodici navigli verso ostro, nel paese che essi chiamano Drogio. Ma nel viaggio hebbero così gran fortuna, che si tenevano per perduti. Tuttavia fuggita una morte crudele, diedero di petto in una crudelissima; perciò che presi nel paese, furono la più parte da quelli feroci popoli mangiati; cibandosi essi di carne humana, che tengono per molto saporita vivanda. Ma, mostrando lor quel pescatore co' compagni il modo di prender il pesce colle reti, scampò la vita; e pescando ogni dì in mare, e nelle acque dolci, prendeva assai pesce, e lo donava à i principali. Onde se ne acquistò perciò tanta gratia, che era tenuto caro, ed amato, e molto honorato di ciascuno. Sparsasi la fama di costui ne' convicini popoli, entrò in tanto desiderio un signor vicino di haverlo appresso di se, ed veder com' egli usava quella sua mirabil arte di prender il pesce, che mosse guerra à quell' altro signore, appresso il quale egli si riparava, e, prevalendo infine, per essere più potente ed armigero, gli fu mandato insieme con gli altri; et in tredeci anni che stette continuamente in quelle parti, dice che fù mandato in quel modo à più de venticinque signori, movendo sempre questo à quel guerra, e quel à quell' altro, solamente per haverlo appresso di se; e così errando andò senza haver mai ferma habitatione in un luogo lungo tempo, sì che conobbe et practicò quasi tutte quelle parti.

"Et dice el paese essere grandissimo, e quasi un Nuovo Mondo, ma gente roza e priva di ogni bene, perchè vanno nudi tutti, che patiscono freddi crudeli, ne sanno coprirsi delle pelli degli animali, che prendono in caccia. Non hanno metallo di sorte alcuna, viveno di cacciagioni, e portano lancie di legno, nella punta aguzze, ed archi, le corde de i quali sono di pelle di animali. Sono popoli di gran ferocità, combatteno insieme mortalmente, e si mangiano l' un l' altro. Hanno superiori, e certe leggi molto differenti tra di loro. Ma più che si và verso garbino, vi si trova più civiltà per l'aere temperato che v' è; di maniera, che ci sono città, tempij agli Idoli, ed vi sacrificano gli huomini e se li mangiano poi; havendo in questa parte qualche intelligenza ed uso dell' oro e dell' argento.

"Or, sendo stato tanti anni questo pescadore in questi paesi, si deliberò di ritornar, se poteva, alla patria; ma i suoi compagni disperatisi di poterla più rivedere, lo lasciarono partir à buon viaggio, ed essi si rimasero là. Ond' egli, detto a lor a Dio, fuggi via per i boschi verso Drogio, e fu benissimo veduto e accarezzato dal signor vicino, che lo conosceva, e teneva grande nimistà con l' altro; e così andando di una in un'altra mano di quelli medesimi per li quali era passato, doppo molto tempo ed assai travagli e fatiche, pervenne finalmente in Drogio, nel quale habitò tre anni continui, quando per sua buona ventura intese da' paesani che erano giunti alla marina alcuni navigli, ond'egli entrato in buona speranza di far bene i fatti suoi, venne al mare, e dimandato di che paese erano, intese con suo gran piacere che erano di Estotilanda. Perche, havendo egli pregato di essere levato, fu volentieri ricevuto per haver la lingua del paese; ne essendo altri che la sapesse, lo usarono per lor interprete. Là onde egli frequentò poi con lor quel viaggio, sì che divenne molto ricco; e fatto ed armato un naviglio del suo, se ne è ritornato in Frislanda, portando à questo Signor la nuova dello scoprimento di quel paese richissimo; ed a tutto se gli dà fede per i marinai, e molte cose nuove che approvano essere vero, quanto egli ha rapportato.

(*o*) "Per laqual cosa questo Signore, s' è rissoluto di mandarmi con un'armata verso quelle parti, e tanti sonno quelli che vi vogliono sù venire, per la novità della cosa, che senza dispendio pubblico, penso che saremo potentissimi.

"Questo si contiene nella lettera per me di sopra allegata, e ho posto il suo tenor qui, à causa che s' intenda un' altro viaggio che fece M. Antonio, il quale partì con molte gente e navigli, non essendo però stato fatto capitano, come da prima haveva pensato, perche Zichmni in persona vi si volle trovare; e ho una lettera sopra questa impresa, che dice in questo modo:

(*p*) "L'apparato nostro grande per andar in Estotilanda fu incominciato con mal augurio, perche tre dì à punto avanti la nostra partita, morì il pescatore, che haveva da essere nostra guida. Tuttavia, non restò questo Signore di seguitar avanti il preso viaggio, prendendo per guide in cambio del nostro pescatore alcuni marinai, che erano tornati da quel' isola con lui, et così ci ponemmo a navigar verso ponente, et scoprimmo alcune isole soggette à Frislanda, et passate certe seccagne, si fermammo à Ledovo, dove per sette dì fummo per cagione di riposo e di fornir l'armata delle cose necessarie. Partiti di qui, arriviammo il primo di luglio all' isola di Ilofe, et perche il vento faceva per noi, senza punto fermarsi, passammo avanti, ed ingolfatisi nel più cupo pelago, non doppo molto ci assaltò una fortuna così fiera, che per otto giorni continui ci tenne in travaglio, e balestrò senza saper dove ci fossemo, perdendosi gran parte de' navigli. In fine tranquillatosi il tempo, si ragunarono insieme i legni, che si erano smarriti da gli altri, e navigando con buon vento, scoprimmo da ponente terra: perchè dirizzate le vele à quella volta, arrivammo in un porto quieto e sicuro; e vedemmo un popolo quasi infinito, posto in arme ed in atto di ferire, essere corso al lito, per difesa dell' isola. Laonde Zichmni, facendo dar ai suoi segno di pace, gli isolani mandarono dieci huomini che sapevano parlar in dieci linguaggi, ne fu inteso alcun di loro fuor ch'un d'Islanda. Costui, sendo stato condotto davanti il nostro Principe, e dimandato da lui come si chiamava quell' isola, et quai genti l'habitavano, e chi la signoreggiava, disse che l'isola si chiamava Icaria, e che tutti i Re, che havevano regnato in quella, si chiamarono Icari, dal primo Re, che vi fu, che dicono essere stato figliuolo di Dedalo, Re di Scotia; il quale, sendosi insignorito di quell' isola, vi lasciò per Re il figliuolo, con le leggi che ancora gli isolani usano; e doppo fatte queste cose, volendo più avanti navigare, per una gran fortuna, che si levò, si sommerse; onde per la sua morte ancora chiamano quel mare Icareo, ed i Re dell' isola Icari. E perche si appagavano di quello stato che havea lor dato Dio, ne volevano punto inovar costumi, non ricevevano alcun forestiero, e che perciò pregavano il nostro Prencipe che non volesse romper quelle leggi che havevano havuto dalla felice memoria di quel Re, ed osservate fin hallora; perche non lo potrebbe fare se non con manifesta sua rovina, essendo essi tutti apparecchiati di lasciar anzi la vita, che di perder in alcun conto l'uso di quelle. Nondimeno, accioche non paresse, che in tutto rifiutassero il comercio de gli altri huomini, gli dicevano per conchiusione, che volentieri haverebbero ricevuto un de' nostri, e l'haverebbeno tra loro fatto de' primi; e questo sol per apprender la lingua mia, e haver relatione de' nostri costumi, così come havevano già ricevuto quegli altri dieci d'altri diversi dieci paesi, che all' isola erano venuti.

"A queste cose non rispose altro il nostro Prencipe, se non che fatto ricercar dove ci era buon porto, fece vista di levarsi, e circondando l'isola si cacciò à piene veile con tutta l'armata in un porto mostratogli dalla banda di levante, ne quale fatto scala, discesero i marinai à far legna et acqua, con quella prestezza che poterono maggiore, dubitando tutavia di non essere assaltati da gli isolani. Nè fu vanno il timore, perche quelli, che habitavano al d'intorno, facendo segno a gli altri con fuoco e con fummo, si misero tosto in arme, et sopravenendo gli altri, in tanto numero discescero al lito sopra di noi con arme e saette, che molti restarono morti e feriti. Nè valeva, che si facesse segno di pace, chè quasi che combattessero della somma di tutte le cose, s' incrudelivano ogn' hor più. Per laqual cosa ci fu forza a levare, e dalla lunga andar con un gran circuito girando intorno l'isola, essendo sempre accompagnati per i monti e per le marine, da una moltitudine infinita di huomini armati. Et così voltando il capo dell' isola verso tramontana trovarono grandissime seccagne, nelle quali per dieci dì continui furono in molto pericolo di non perder l'armata; ma per buona nostra sorte fu sempre bellissimo tempo. Passando adunque avanti fin al capo di levante, sempre vedevamo gl' isolani nelle sommità de' monti, e per i liti venir con noi, et con grida et con saettarci dalla lunga, dimostrar verso di noi ogn' hor più un medesimo animo nimico. Perchè si deliberammo di fermarsi in un porto sicuro, e veder di parlar un'altra volta con l'Islando; ma non ci riuscì il disegno, perciochè quel popolo, poco men che bestiale in questo, stette continuamente in arme con animo deliberato di combatterci, se havessimo tentato la discesa.

(*q*) "Là onde Zichmni, vedendo de non poter far cosa alcuna, e che s' egli fosse stato più ostinato nel suo proposito, la vettovaglia haverebbe potuto mancar all' armata, si levò con buon vento, navigando sei giorni per ponente; ma voltatosi il tempo à garbino, e ingagliarditosi perciò il mare, scorse l'armata quattro dì con vento in poppa, et discoprendo finalmente terra con non picciolo timore si appressammo à quella per essere il mar gonfio, et la terra discoperta da noi non conosciuta. Nondimeno Dio ci aiutò, chè mancato il vento, ci pose in bonaccia. Onde alcuni de l'armata andando à terra con i navigli da remo, dopo non molto ritornarono e ci riferirono, con molto nostro piacere, che havevano trovato buonissimo paese, e miglior porto. Per laqual nuova, rimorchiate noi le navi ed i navigli, andammo à terra ed, entrati in un buon porto, vedemmo dalla lunga un gran monte, che gettava fummo; il che ci diede speranza, che nell' isola ci sarebbero trovate genti; nè con tutto che fosse assai lontano, restò Zichmni di mandar cento buoni soldati, che riconoscessero il paese, et rapportassero quai genti l'habitavano; e fra tanto l'armata si fornì d'acqua e di legna, e prese di molto pesce ed uccelli marini; et vi si trovarono tante uova di uccelli che se ne satiarono le genti mezzo affamate. Mentre noi dimoravamo quì entrò il mese di giugno, nel qual tempo l'aere era nell' isola temperato e dolce più che si possa dire. Tuttavia, non vi si vedendo alcuno, entrammo in suspittione che un sì bel luogo fosse dishabitato, e ponemmo nome al porto ed alla punta che usciva in mare, Trin e Capo di Trin. I cento soldati andati dopo otto dì ritornarono, e riferirono essere stati per l'isola et al monte, e che quel fummo nasceva, perchè dimostrava che nel suo fondo v'era gran fuoco, e che era una fontana, dalla quale nasceva una certa materia come pegola, che correva al mare; e che v' habitavano molte genti intorno, mezzo selvatiche, riparandosi nelle caverne, di picciola statura e molto paurose, perchè subito che ci videro fuggirono nelle caverne, e che v' era un gran fiume ed un porto buono e sicuro.

(*r*) "Di che informato Zichmni, vedendo il luogo con aere salubre e sottile, e con miglior terreno, e fiumi, e tante altre particolarità, entrò in pensiero di farlo habitare, e di fabbricarvi una città; quando la sua gente, stanca hoggimai di un viaggio così pien di travagli, cominciò a tumultuare ed a dire che volevano ritornare à casa, perche il verno era vicino, e che, se lo lasciavano entrare, non s' haverebbeno poi potuto più partire, se non la state che veniva. Per laqual cosa egli, ritenuti solamente i navigli da remo et quelli che vi volevano restare, rimandò gli altri in dietro tutti con le navi, ed volle che contra mia voglia io fossi lor Capitano. Partitomi dunque, poi che altro non si poteva fare, senza mai veder terra navigai verso levante venti giorni continui; voltandomi poi verso siloco, doppo cinque dì scopersi terra, trovandomi arrivado nell' isola Neome, e conosciuto il paese, mi accorsi di haver passato Islanda; perchè presi rinfrescamenti da gli isolani, che erano sotto l'imperio di Zichmni, navigai con buon vento in tre dì in Frislanda; dove il popolo che credeva di aver perduto il suo principe, per sì lunga dimora che nel viaggio havevano fatto, ci raccolse con segni di grandissima allegrezza.

(*s*) "Doppo questa lettera non trovo altro, se non che per congettura giudico, come posso trar da un'altro capo di un' altra lettera, che porrò quì di sotto, che Zichmni fece una terra nel porto dell'Isola da lui novellamente discoperta, e che datosi meglio a cercar il paese, la discoprì tutta, insieme con le riviere dell' una ed altra parte di Engroneland; perche la veggo particolarmente descritta nella carta da navigare. Nondimeno la narratione è perduta. Il capo della lettera dice così: quanto a sapere le cose, che mi ricercate de' costumi degli huomini, degli animali, e de' paesi convicini, io ho fatto di tutto un libro distinto, che, piacendo a Dio, porterò con meco; nel quale ho descritto il paese, i pesci mostruosi, i costumi, le leggi di Frislanda, di Estlanda, del Regno di Norvegia, di Estotilanda, di Drogio, ed infine la vita di Nicolò il Cavaliere nostro fratello, con la discoperta da lui fatta, e le cose di Grolanda. Ho anche scritto la vita e le impresse di Zichmni, Principe certo degno di memoria immortale, quando mai altro sia stato al mondo per il suo molto valore, e molta bontà; nella quale si legge lo scoprimento di Engroviland da tutte due le parti, e la città edificata da lui, però non vi dirò altro in questa lettera, sperando tosto di esser con voi, e di soddisfarvi di molte altre cose con la viva voce.

(*t*) "Tutte queste lettere furono scritte da M. Antonio a M. Carlo suo fratello, e mi dolgo che il libro, e molte altre scritture pure in questo medesimo proposito siano andati, non sò come, miseramente di male; perche io ancor fanciullo, e pervenutomi alle mani, ne sapendo ciò che fossero, come fanno i fanciulli, le squarciai e mandai tutte a male, il che non posso, se non con grandissimo dolore, ricordarmi hora. Pur, perchè non si perda una sì bella memoria di cose, quel che ho potuto havere in detta materia, ho posto per ordine nella narratione di sopra, acciò che se ne soddisfaccia in qualche parte questa età, che, più che alcun' altra mai passata, mercè di tanti scoprimenti di nuove terre fatte in quelle parti dove à punto meno si pensava che vi fossero, è studiosissima delle narrationi nuove, e delle discoperte de' paesi non conosciuti fatte dal grande animo e grande industria dei nostri maggiori."

DOCUMENT LV., *a*.

ADAM OF BREMEN MENTIONS VINLAND.[1]

"Præterea unam adhuc insulam[2] recitavit a multis in eo repertam oceano, quæ dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges ibi non seminatas habundare non fabulosa opinione, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum."

DOCUMENT LV., *b*.

ODERIC VITAL MENTIONS VINLAND.[3]

"Orcades insulæ et Finlanda, Islanda quoque et Grenlanda, ultra quam ad septentrionem terra non reperitur, aliæque plures usque in Gollandam regi Noricorum subjiciuntur."

DOCUMENT LVI.

FAROESE BALLAD MENTIONING VINLAND AND ITS KINGS.[4]

"Hail Ingeborg, thou royal maid!
Both fair and beautiful art thou;
Wilt thou this prince elect, they said,
And take him for thy husband now?

"Then Ingeborg doth answer make:
This matter is most hard to do;
But if the Vinland kings you'll take,
An answer, sure, I'll give to you.

"Then powerful Holdan thus replied:
''Twill grief and sorrow bring to all;
For who shall reach the Vinland tide,
Him perils dire shall sure befall.'

"Then Finn the Fair, with rapid stride,
The palace quits and seeks the shore!
To Vinland straight my course I'll guide,
Though Ingeborg I ne'er see more.

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[1] Adam Bremensis, Historia Ecclesiastica ecclesiarum Hamburgensis et Bremensis, cap. ccxlvi. (Ref. to p. 297.)

[2] Or, better, "regionem;" Rafn, Antiq. Amer., p. 338.

[3] Odericus Vitalis, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, lib. x. (Ref. to p. 297.)

[4] Joshua Toulmin Smith, Northmen in New England, ap. Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xiii. p. 234. (Ref. to p. 298.)

"His silken sails he raises then,
On yards of gold extended wide;
His sails he never furls again,
Till Vinland from the helm he spied.

"Then Finn, within the garden nigh,
His costly robe he o'er him threw;
And, so attired, with bearing high,
Straight to the palace halls he drew.

"And, so attired, with bearing high,
Straight to the palace halls he drew:
Five hundred men were standing nigh
The Vinland kings before his view.

"Then entered Finn the palace hall,
And stood before them face to face;
The kings sat on their thrones, and all,
Unmoved and silent, kept their place.

"It was the morning of the day,
Scarce yet Aurora's light appeared,
When there the Vinland kings, they say,
Twelve hundred armed men prepared.

"And there the Vinland kings, they say,
Twelve hundred armed men prepared,
'Gainst these brave Finn the Fair, that day,
To try his strength, unaided, dared!

"And in the midst Finn now is seen,
Active in fight before them all;
Loud clang their arms that time, I ween:
Now two, now three, before him fall.

"And in the midst Finn still is seen.
In strength he far surpasses all.
Loud clang their arms again, I ween:
Now five, now six, before him fall.

"For two whole days the fight did last,
From clashing swords the lightnings played,
Nor on the earth his footsteps passed—
His slaughtered foes his path had made.

"And in the midst Finn still is seen,
Nor dares, for honor's sake, to flee.
And now, 'tis said, that there remain
Of all that host but only three.

"And in the midst Finn still is seen.
Full well his deeds are known to fame.
And Vinland king the first, I ween,
By his good sword is hewn in twain.

"And in the midst Finn still is borne,
Nor dares, for honor's sake, to flee.
The second Vinland king, that morn,
His sword hath hewn in pieces three.

"Just then a dragon, o'er his head,
His fatal venom pouring, flew;
And Finn himself, at length, lay dead,
Whom poison, and not arms, subdue.

"When Finn thus Holdan, furious, saw,
By poison, not by arms, subdued,
Then Vinland king the third, straightway
With his good sword in twain he hewed."

DOCUMENT LVII.

ALEXANDER III. LIMITS THE GREENLANDERS' LIBERALITY.[1]

"1161, Julii 6. Alexander [III.] etc. . . . Ad hæc nunciatum nobis est, quod sunt aliqui inter vos, qui exheredatis legitimis filiis, bona sua omnia Ecclesiis derelinquunt; quod quidem nullo jure permittitur: Sed qui habet unum filium, si vult, alterum faciat Christum, dimidium Ecclesiæ relinquendo; qui habet duos, faciat tertium Christum; et sic in cæteris: quoniam Ecclesia, exheredatis filiis, recipere totum non debet; quod nimirum fratres vel sorores, fratribus vel sororibus prætermissis, facere possunt, ut sine filiis decedentes, totum Ecclesiis derelinquant."

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[1] Liljegren, Diplomatarium Suecanum, Bd. i. S. 61. (Ref. to p. 340.)

DOCUMENT LVIII.

INNOCENT III. CONFIRMS THE AUTHORITY OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF DRONTHEIM.[1]

[Innocentius etc.] Nidrosiensi Archiepiscopo eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum.

"Licet omnibus [Apostolis eadem] ligandi et solvendi sit concessa potestas, licet unum preceptum ad omnes idemque pervenerit predicandi evangelium omni creature; velut quedam tamen inter eas [*for* 'eos'] habita est discretio dignitatis, et dominicarum ovium curam, que omnibus imminebat, unus singulariter suscepit habendam, dicente ad eum domino: Petre, amas me? pasce oves meas; qui etiam inter omnes apostolos principatus nomen obtinuit, et de fratrum confirmatione singulare a domino preceptum accepit, ut in hoc secuture posteritati daretur intelligi, quoniam, quamvis multos ad regimen ecclesie contingeret ordinari, unus tamen solummodo supreme dignitatis locum fastigiumque teneret, et unus omnibus, et potestate gubernandi et iudicandi onere presideret. Unde et secundum hanc formam in ecclesia distinctio servata est dignitatum, et, sicut in humano corpore, pro varietate officiorum, diversa ordinata sunt membra, ita in structura ecclesie, ad diversa ministeria exhibenda, diverse persone in diversis sunt ordinibus constitute. Aliis [*for* 'alii'] enim ad singularum ecclesiarum, aliis [*for* 'alii'] autem ad singularum urbium dispositionem ordinatis [*for* 'ordinati'] ac rerum constituti sunt in singulis provinciis, alii quorum prima inter fratres sententia habeatur et ad quorum examen subiectarum personarum questiones et negocia referantur. Super omnes autem Romanus pontifex tamquam Noe in archa primum locum noscitur obtinere, qui ex collato sibi desuper, in apostolorum principe, privilegio, de universorum causis iudicat et disponit et per universum orbem ecclesie filios in christiane fidei firmitate non desinit confirmare, talem se curans iugiter exhibere, qui vocem dominicam videatur audisse, qua dicitur: et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Hoc nimirum postmodum [*for* 'post beatum'] Petrum illi apostolici viri qui per successiones temporum ad gerendam curam Sedis apostolice surrexerunt, indesinenti curaverunt studio adimplere, et per universum orbem, nunc per se nunc per legatos suos, corrigenda corrigere et statuenda statuere summopere studuerunt. Quorum quoque vestigia subsecutus fe. me. Eugenius pp. antecessor noster de corrigendis hiis que in regno Norweie correctionem videbantur exposcere, et [de] verbo ibi fidei seminando, juxta sui officii debitum sollicitus extitit, et quod per seipsum, universalis ecclesie cura obsistente, non potuit, per legatum suum Nicholaum tunc sedis Albanensis episcopum, qui postea in Romanum Pontificem est assumptus, executioni mandavit. Qui ad partes illas accedens, sicut a suo patrefamilias acceperat in mandatis, talentum sibi creditum largitus est ad usuram, et tamquam fidelis servus et prudens, multiplicatum inde fructum studuit reportare. Inter cetera vero que ad laudem illic nominis dei et ministerii sui commendationem implevit, juxta quod predictus antecessor noster ei preceperat, palleum Johanni antecessori tuo indulsit. et, ne de cetero provincie Norweie metropolitana cura possit deesse, commissam gubernationi sue urbem Nidrosien. ejusdem provincie perpetuam metropolim ordinavit. et ei Asloen., Amatripien. [*or* 'Hammarcopiensem'], Bargen. [*or* 'Bergensem'], Stavangrien., Insulas Orcades, Insulas fareie, Suthraie et Islanden. [sium] et Grenelandie episcopatus, tamquam sue metropoli, perpetuis temporibus constituit subjacere, et eorum episcopos, sicut metropolitanis suis, tam sibi quam suis successoribus obedire. Ne igitur ad violentiam [*or* 'violationem'] constitutionis ipsius ulli unquam liceat aspirare, Nos fe. me. predicti Eugenii, et Alex. atque Clementis predecessorum nostrorum romanorum pontificum vestigiis inherentes, eandem constitutionem auctoritate apostolica confirmavimus et per seriem presentium confirmamus, Statuentes ut Nidrosien. civitas supradictarum urbium perpetuis temporibus metropolis habeatur, et earum episcopi tam tibi quam tuis successoribus sicut suo metropolitano obediant, et de manu vestra consecrationis gratiam sortiantur; successores autem tui ad Romanum pontificem tamen percepturi donum consecrationis accedant, et ei solummodo et Romane ecclesie subjecti semper existant. Porro concesso tibi palleo, pontificalis scilicet officii plenitudine, infra ecclesiam tantum, ad sacra missarum sollempnia, per universam provinciam tuam hiis solummodo diebus uti fraternitas tua debebit, qui inferius leguntur inscripti: Nativitate domini, Epiphania, Cena domini, Resurrectione, Ascensione, Pentecoste, in sollempnitatibus beate dei genitricis semperque virginis marie. Natalicio beatorum

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[1] Archivium Secretum Vaticanum, Regestum 7: Innocentii III. Bullarium, An. VIII., IX., t. iv., Ep^a 214, fo. 66; Migne, Patrologia Latina, t. clxxxviii. col. 1081. (Ref. to p. 378.)

Petri et Pauli, Inventione et Exaltatione Sancte Crucis, Nativitate beati Joannis Baptiste, festo beati Johannis evangeliste, Commemoratione omnium Sanctorum, in consecrationibus ecclesiarum vel episcoporum, benedictionibus abbatum, ordinationibus presbyterorum, in die consecrationis ecclesie tue ac festis sancte trinitatis et sancti Olavi et anniversario tue consecrationis die. Studeat ergo tua Fraternitas, plenitudine tante dignitatis suscepta, ita strenue cuncta peragere, quatinus morum tuorum ornamenta eidem valeant convenire. Sit vita tua subditis exemplum, ut per eam cognoscant quid debeant appetere, quid cogantur vitare. Esto discretione precipuus, cogitatione mundus, actione purus, discretus in silentio, utilis in verbo; cura tibi sit magis prodesse hominibus quam preesse; non in te potestatem ordinis sed equalitatem oportet pensare conditionis. Stude ne vita doctrinam destituat, nec rursum vite doctrina contradicat. Memento quod est ars artium regimen animarum. Super omnia studium tibi sit, apostolice sedis decreta firmiter observare et, tamquam matri et domine tue, ei humiliter obedire. Ecce, frater in christo karissime, inter multa alia hec sunt pallei, hec sacerdotii, que omnia facile, christo adiuvante, adimplere poteris, si virtutum omnium magistram, caritatem, habueris et humilitatem, et quod foris habere ostendis habebis. Decernimus ergo. . . .

"Datum Rome apud s. petrum per manum Jo. S. Marie in Cosmedin Diac. Card. Sce. Roman. ecclesie Cancellarii Id. febr. Indict. VI. Incarnationis dominice anno M°CC°V°. Pontificatus vero domini Innocentii pp. III. anno octavo."

• From, as above:

The bull of Anastasius IV. is as follows:

"Anastasius etc. Venerabili fratri Johanni Trudensi Archiepiscopo ejusque successoribus etc.," as just above, with a few unimportant variations.

"Datum Laterani per manum Rolandi S. R. E. presbyteri Cardinalis et Cancellarii [. . . kal.] Decembris, indictione III., Incarnationis Dominicæ anno 1154, pontificatus vero domni. anastasii papæ IV. anno II."

DOCUMENT LIX.

GREGORY IX. ENFORCES PRIESTLY CELIBACY IN NORWAY.[1]

"Gregorius Ep^{us}. [Sigurdo] Archiep. Nidrosiensi. Sicut ex parte tua fuit propositum coram nobis, tam in diocesi quam provincia Nidrosiensi abusus detestande consuetudinis inolevit, quod videlicet sacerdotes inibi existentes matrimonia contrahunt et utuntur tanquam laici sic contractis. Et licet tu juxta officii tui debitum id curaveris artius inhibere, multi tamen pretendentes excusationes frivolas in peccatis, scilicet quod felicis recordationis Hadrianus papa predecessor noster, tunc epus. Albanensis, dum in partibus illis legationis officio fungeretur, hoc fieri permisisset, quamquam super hoc nullum ipsius documentum ostendant, perire potius eligunt quam parere, longam super hoc nichilominus consuetudinem allegando. Cum igitur disturnitas temporis peccatum non minuat sed augmentet, mandamus quatinus, si est ita, abusum hujusmodi studeas extirpare, et in rebelles, si qui fuerint, censuram ecclesiasticam exercere. Datum Viterbii XVII. kal. Junii Anno undecimo."

DOCUMENT LX.

GREGORY IX. FORBIDS SIMULATING HOLY COMMUNION IN CHURCHES WANTING BREAD AND WINE.[2]

"Gregorius Ep^{s}. [Sigurdo archiepiscopo] Nidrosiensi. Tue fraternitati querenti, an deficienti in quibusdam ecclesiis suffraganeorum tuorum Eucharistia propter frumenti penuriam, simplex oblata undecumque confecta populo, ut sub quadam decipiatur pietatis specie, cerevisia vel potus alius loco vini, cum vix aut nunquam vinum reperiatur in illis partibus, sint tradenda, taliter respondemus, quod neutrum est penitus faciendum, cum in hujusmodi sacramento visibilis panis de frumento et vini

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[1] Lange und Unger, Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vol. i. p. 15, no. 19, Efter Marinis Afskr. af Orig. Regest í Vatikanets Arkiv: Greg. IX., An. XI., Ep^{a}. 77. (Ref. to p. 387.)

[2] Lange und Unger, Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vol. i. p. 14, no. 16, Efter Marinis Afskr. af Orig. Regest í Vatik. Arkiv: Gregorius IX., An. XI., Ep^{a}. 70. (Ref. to p. 388.)

de uvis debeat esse forma in verbo creatoris per sacerdotis ministerium consecrata, quod veritatem carnis et sanguinis non est dubium continere; quamquam dari possit populo panis simpliciter benedictus, prout in quibusdam partibus fieri consuevit. Datum Viterbii V. Idus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno undecimo."

DOCUMENT LXI.

ICELANDIC APOSTLES' CREED.[1]

"Kristindoms-bálkr. Capituli I.

"That er upphaf laga varra Islendinga, sem upphaf er allra godhra luta: at vaer skulom hava oc hallda Kristelega tru. Vaer skulom trua a Gudhfadhur almatkan scapara himens oc iardhar. Vaer sculom trua a varn drotten Jesum Krist oc Hans einga Sun, er getinn er af crapte heilags Aunda, oc faeddez af Marrio mey, pindr unnder Pilatz vallde, crosfestr, deyddr oc gravenn, for nidhr til helvites, at leysa thadhan alla sina menn. Thridhia dag epter er hann var deyddr, reis hann upp af daudha, oc var sidhan medh laerisveinnom sinom XL. daga, fra pasca degi oc til helga Thorsdags, oc steig tha til himna upp; oc thadhan scal hann koma a efzta degi thessa heims, at daema hvern aepter Sinom verdleika. Vaer skulom trua a Helgan Aunda, at hann er sannr Gudh, sem fadher oc sunr, oc thaer thriar skilningar er einn Gudh. Vaer skulom trua a that allt sem truir oll cristeleg thiodh, oc heilaga manna samband, oc heilog kirkia hever samdhyct medh obrigdhelegre stadhfesto. Vaer skulom trua syndher fire lataz medh sanne idhran oc skriptagang medh hollde oc blodhe vars drottens, er i messune helgaz medh boenahallde oc olmosu gerdhom oc fostom, oc medh ollom odhrom godhom lutum er menn gera, hugsa edha maela. Vaer skulom trua at hvers manz likamr, er i er komenu heimenn, edha koma kann til doma dags, skal tha upprisa, oc thadhan af skalo their, er illa gera thessa heims, hava enda lausan ufagnat medh diocflenom oc hans englom i helvite; en their, sem gott hava gort thessa heims, skulo tha af oc hava eilivan fagnat medh Gudhe oc ollom helgom i himinriki."

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[1] Finn Magnussen et al Hin., forna Lögbók Islendinga sem nefnist Járnsida edr Hákonarbók, p. 10. (Ref. to p. 398.)

DOCUMENT LXII., *a.*

BISHOP ALFUS GIVES THE USUFRUCT OF A HOUSE TO HIS NEPHEW.[1]

"Ollum monnum theim sem thetta bref sea oedhir hoeyra, sendir brodhir alfuir medh gudz nadh biscopp i groenlande O. gudz; oc sina kunnukt gerande at wer uitom medh rettom sannindom uarom oc eidh then sem wer sworedh hafuom heilagre kirkiu oc herra olafue medh gudz nadh erchibiscope i nidaroff, firir erlighom herrom, herra gisbrókte medh gudz nadh biscope i bergwin, herra oghmunde findzsone droksoeta i noreghe, oc herra thorsteine profasta at postola kirkiu; at thau tuft er liggir om kirkiuna j nordnoese vttan at kirkiugardenom, eghir guth sancte mikiall oc klaustrit at Munklifui, En thau hws er ther standa hafwm wer uppbygt af varom eignom poeningom medh therre hielpp er wer fengom af klaustrino. thy medh radhe oc samthykte for nempdra herra gerdhom. wer thessa skipan a i erkebiscops gardhenom i bergwin at thau adhirnempd hws skal tidhekir nicholassun var systursun hafwa swa lenge sem han uil, en sidhan falli undir klaustrit. Oc till sanninda her om settom wer uart incigle fire thetta bref er gort war i bergwin olafs uoku aftan fyrre. anno domini M°CCC°LX° sexto. Oc til sandz vitnisburdhar herom settom wer var incigle firir thetta transcriptum er gort var i bergwin."

DOCUMENT LXII., *b.*

CLEMENT VII. APPOINTS PETER STARAS BISHOP OF GARDAR.[2]

"Dilecto filio Nicholao tit. Sete. Marie in Transtiberim presbytero Cardinali, Salutem etc. Romani Pontificis, quem pastor ille celestis et episcopus animarum potestatis sibi plenitudine tradita ecclesiis pretulit universis, plena vigiliis solicitudo requirit, ut ipse circa cujuslibet statum ecclesie sic vigilanter excogitet sicque prospiciat diligenter, ut per ejus providentiam circumspectam ecclesiis singulis pastor accedat ydoneus et rector providus deputetur, per quem ecclesie ipse superni favoris auxilio suffragante votive prosperitatis successibus gratulentur. Dudum siquidem bone memorie Georgio Episcopo Gradensi regimini Gradensis ecclesie presidente, Nos, cupientes eidem ecclesie cum vacaret utilem et ydoneum per apostolice sedis

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[1] P. A. Munch, Codex Diplomaticus Monasterii Sancti Michaelis, vulgo Munkalif, p. 12. (Ref. to p. 419.)

[2] Archiv. Secr. Apostol. Vatican. Regest Avenion. Clementis VII., t. iii. fo. 258. (Ref. to p. 425.)

providentiam presidere personam, provisionem ipsius ecclesie ordinationi et dispositioni nostre duximus ea vice specialiter reservandam; decernentes extunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari. Cum itaque postmodum ecclesia predicta per dicti Georgii Episcopi obitum, qui extra Romanam curiam diem clausit extremum, vacaverit et vacet ad presens, Nos ad provisionem ejusdem ecclesie celerem et felicem, de qua nullus præter Nos hac vice se intromittere potuit neque potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne longe vacationis exponatur incommodis, salubriter intendentes ac sperantes indubie, quod ecclesia ipsa per dilectum filium Petrum Staras, ordinis fratrum Minorum professorem, qui in presbyteratus ordine constitutus existit, quique [*for* cuique] apud Nos [de] religionis zelo, vite ac morum honestate, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspectione ac aliis virtutum meritis fidedigna testimonia perhibentur, dirigente Domino poterit utiliter et prospere dirigi atque regi grataque suscipere in spiritualibus et temporalibus incrementa: Circumspectioni tue per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus de persona dicti Petri eidem ecclesie auctoritate predicta hac vice provideas, preficiendo ipsum eidem ecclesie in episcopum et pastorem sibique curam et regimen et administrationem ejusdem ecclesie in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, ac faciendo a suis subditis obedientiam et reverentiam debitas exhiberi, contradictores auctoritate nostra appellatione postposita compescendo. Et nichilominus eidem Petro, postquam de persona sua prefate ecclesie provideris, ut prefertur, per aliquem Catholicum Antistitem gratiam et communionem dicte Sedis habentem munus consecrationis impendi facias et procures. Volumus autem quod idem Antistes, qui prefatum munus impendet, a dicto Petro nostro et Romane ecclesie nomine fidelitatis debite solitum recipiat juramentum juxta forman quam sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusam; ac formam juramenti, quam idem Petrus prestabit, Nobis de verbo ad verbum per eius patentes litteras suo sigillo signatas procuret per proprium nuncium quamtocius destinare. Per hoc autem ven^li^. fratri nostro Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi, cui prefata ecclesia metropolitico iure subesse dignoscitur, nullum volumus imposterum preiudicium generari. Datum Avinione VII. idus Aprilis Anno undecimo. [April 7, 1389.]

"R[egistratum] II. Kal. Maii Anno XI°.

"Ja. de Firmitate."

DOCUMENT LXII., *c*.

TRANSFER OF HENRY, BISHOP OF GREENLAND, TO THE ORKNEYS.[1]

"Bonifacius etc. Venerabili fratri Henrico Episcopo Orkadensi Salutem etc. Romani pontificis quem pastor ille celestis et Episcopus animarum potestatis sibi plenitudine tradita ecclesiis pretulit universis, plena vigiliis solicitudo requirit, ut circa cujuslibet statum ecclesie sic vigilanter excogitet sicque prospiciat diligenter, quod per ejus providentiam circumspectam—nunc per simplicis provisionis officium, quandoque vero per ministerium translationis accomode, prout personarum, locorum et temporum qualitas exigit et ecclesiarum utilitas persuadet—ecclesiis singulis pastor accedat ydoneus et rector providus deputetur, qui populum sibi commissum per suam circumspectionem providam et providentiam circumspectam salubriter dirigat et informet ac bona ecclesie sibi commisse non solum gubernet utiliter sed etiam multimodis efferat incrementis. Hodie siquidem te Gardensis et venerabili fratre nostro Johanne Episcopo Gardensi Orkadensis ecclesiarum regiminibus presidentibus, Nos considerantes quod tu Orkadensi et dictus Johannes Gardensi ecclesiis antedictis preesse utilius poteratis, te apud sedem apostolicam constitutum ab eo quo Gardensis et Johannem predictum ab eo quo Orkadensis ecclesiarum prefatarum vinculis tenebamini, ut te ad Orkadensem et Johannem predictum ad Gardensem ecclesias predictas transferremus, de fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine duximus absolvendos; ac deinde ex jugo apostolice servitutis, quo sumus universis ecclesiis obligati—attendentes solicite quod, si predicte ecclesie Orkadensis provisio differretur, ecclesia ipsa posset diversis subjacere periculis et gravia in spiritualibus et temporalibus detrimenta subire, ac considerantes munera gratiarum, quibus personam tuam Dominus earum largitor multipliciter illustravit, et quod tu qui hactenus regimini dicte Gardensis ecclesie in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus laudabiliter prefuisti, dictam Orkadensem ecclesiam scies et poteris, auctore Domino, feliciter gubernare—deliberatione cum eisdem fratribus nostris super hoc habita diligenti, te ad dictam Orkadensem ecclesiam de ipsorum fratrum consilio apostolica auctoritate transferimus teque illi preficimus in episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius Orkadensis ecclesie tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo ac liberam tibi tribuendo licentiam [te] ad dictam Orkadensem ecclesiam transferendi: firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod prefata Orkadensis ecclesia per tue circumspectionis et industrie fructuosum studium gratia tibi assistente divina regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur grataque in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Quocirca fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus ad prefatam Orkadensem ecclesiam cum gratia nostre benedictionis accedens curam et administrationem predictas sic diligenter geras et solicite prosequaris, quod ipsa Orkadensis ecclesia gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam ac bone fame tue odor ex tuis laudabilibus actibus latius diffundatur tuque preter eterne retributionis premium nostram et dicte sedis gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum Septimo idus Martii Anno quinto" (*i.e.*, March 9, 1394).

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[1] Archiv. Secret. Apostol. Vaticanum. Regestum Lateranense. Bonifacii IX., t. xxxiv. fo. 67. (Ref. to p. 428.)

DOCUMENT LXII., *d*.

BERTHOLD APPOINTED SUCCESSOR OF ALVERUS AS BISHOP OF GARDAR.[1]

"Bonifacius etc. Dilecto filio Bertoldo Electo Gardensi salutem etc. Suscepti cura regiminis cor nostrum continua pulsat instantia, ut solicitudinis debitum, ad quod universis orbis ecclesiis nos apostolice servitutis necessitas obligat, eorum singulis, prout nobis ex alto conceditur, exsolvamus in eo potissime, ut earum regimina, quæ propriis destituta sunt pastoribus, talibus committantur, per quorum solertiam circumspectam et solertem circumspectionem ecclesie ipse in spiritualibus et temporalibus valeant adaugeri. Dudum siquidem bo. me. Alvero Episcopo Gardensi regimini ecclesie Gardensis presidente, Nos, cupientes ipsi ecclesie cum vacaret, per apostolice sedis providentiam utilem et ydoneam presidere personam, provisionem ejusdem ecclesie ordinationi et dispositioni nostre ea vice duximus specialiter reservandam, Decernentes extunc irritum et inane, si secus super hiis per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari. Postmodum vero dicta ecclesia per obitum ipsius Alveri Episcopi, qui extra Romanam curiam diem clausit extremum, vacante, nos vacatione hujusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellecta ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie celerem et felicem, de qua nullus præter nos hac vice se intromittere potuit neque potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longe vacationis exponeretur incommodis, paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem quam de preficiendo ecclesie prefate personam hujusmodi cum fratribus nostri habuimus diligentem, demum ad te, fratrem ordinis Minorum professorem, in sacerdotio constitutum, literarum scientia preditum, vite ac morum honestate decorum, in spiritualibus providum et in temporalibus circumspectum, et aliis multiplicium virtutum meritis, prout ex fidedignorum testimoniis percepimus insignitum, direximus oculos nostre mentis: quibus omnibus attenta meditatione pensatis de persona tua, nobis et eisdem fratribus nostris ob dictorum tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eidem ecclesie de dictorum fratrum consilio, auctoritate apostolica providemus teque illi preficimus in Episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesie tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo; in illo qui dat gratias et largitur premia confidentes, quod dirigente Domino actus tuos, prefata ecclesia per tue industrie et circumspectionis studium fructuosum regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Jugum igitur Domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam et administrationem predictas sic exercere studeas fideliter et prudenter, quod ipsa ecclesia gubernatori provido et administratori fructuoso gaudeat se commissam tuque preter eterne retributionis premium nostram et sedis apostolice benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum Quinto Kal. Martii. Anno duodecimo." (February 25, 1401.)[1]

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[1] Archivium Secret. Apost. Vaticanum. Regestum Lateranense. Bonifacii IX., t. xcvi. fo. 267. (Ref. to p. 429.)

DOCUMENT LXII., *e.*

PETER, BISHOP OF STRENGNÄS, HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO GARDAR.[2]

"Bonifacius etc. Dilecto filio Nicolao Jacobi Lrunghen Electo Strengniensi salutem etc. . . . Sane ecclesia Strengnien sis ex eo pastoris solatio destituta, quod nos nuper venerabilem fratrem nostrum Petrum Gardensem tunc Strengniensem Episcopum licet absentem a vinculo quo dicte ecclesie, cui tunc preerat, tenebatur, de apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolventes ipsum ad ecclesiam Gardensem tunc vacantem auctoritate apostolica fratrum nostrorum consilio transtulimus ipsumque illi prefecimus in Episcopum et pastorem, Nos ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie Strengniensis . . . paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes . . . ad te archidiaconum Trubecensem in ecclesia Zwerinensi . . . direximus oculos nostre mentis, . . . de persona tua . . . eidem ecclesie Strengniensi . . . providemus teque illi preficimus in Episcopum et pastorem . . . Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum decimo Kal. Februarii anno tertiodecimo." (January 23, 1402.)

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[1] Upon the record of these bulls follows that of a pontifical letter by which Berthold is recommended to the good-will and protection of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Drontheim.

[2] Archivium Secret. Apostol. Vaticanum. Regestum Lateranense. Bonifacii IX., t. cii. fo 153 vo. (Ref. to p. 430.)

DOCUMENT LXIII., *a.*

JAMES PETERS APPOINTED BISHOP OF GARDAR.[1]

"D. Joannis PP. XXIII. Anno Primo, Sexto kalend. Aprilis [1411]. . . . Item providit Ecclesiæ Garden. in Getlandia vacan' per mortem N. de persona fratris Jacobi Petri Ordinis Minorum Professoris."

DOCUMENT LXIII., *b.*[2]

"An. 1411, Die Mercurii 27 Martii D. N. [Joannes XXIII.] . . . Item providit Ecclesie Garden, in Gerlandia vacanti per mortem etc. de persona fris. Jacobi Petri Ord^{is} Minorum professoris."

DOCUMENT LXIII., *c.*

APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP JAMES TREPPE.[3]

"Johannes etc. Dilecto filio Jacobo Treppe Electo Gardensi, Salutem etc. Apostolatus officium, quamquam insufficientibus meritis nobis ex alto commissum, quo ecclesiarum omnium regimini presidemus, utiliter exequi coadiuvante Domino cupientes soliciti corde reddimur et solertes, ut, cum de ipsarum regiminibus agitur committendis, tales eis in pastores preficere studeamus, qui commissum sibi gregem dominicum sciant non solum doctrina verbi sed etiam exemplo boni operis informare commissasque sibi ecclesias in statu pacifico et tranquillo velint et valeant dante Domino salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare. Dudum siquidem in nostri apostolatus primordiis per nos intellecto quod ecclesia Gardensis, cui bone memorie Eskillus Episcopus Gardensis presidebat, per ipsius Eskilli Episcopi obitum, qui in partibus illis decessit, pastoris erat solatio destituta, Nos, cupientes ei ecclesie per apostolice sedis providentiam circumspectam utilem et ydoneam presidere personam, provisionem ipsius ecclesie ordinationi et dispositioni nostre ea vice duximus specialiter reservandam, decernentes ex tunc irritum et inane, si secus super hiis per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari; et ne dicta ecclesia ultioris vacationis detrimenta subiret, ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie celerem et felicem, de qua nullus preter Romanum pontificem se intromittere potuit sive potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem, quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te ordinis fratrum Minorum professorem, in sacerdotio constitutum, cui de religionis zelo, litterarum scientia, vite munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspectione aliisque multiplicium virtutum donis apud nos fidedigna testimonia perhibentur, direximus oculos nostre mentis: quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis, de persona tua, nobis et eisdem fratribus nostris ob dictorum tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, prefate ecclesie (etiamsi ejus provisio ex quacumque alia causa dispositioni apostolice generaliter vel specialiter reservata existat) de ipsorum fratrum nostrorum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus teque illi preficimus in Episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesie tibi in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, in illo qui dat gratias et largitur premia confidentes, quod dextera domini tibi assistente propitia, prefata ecclesia sub tuo felici regimine prospere dirigetur et grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Volumus

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[1] Archivium Consistoriale: Acta Consistorialia, ab Anno 1409 ad 1433, fo. 28. (Ref. to p. 442.)

[2] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium XII., no. 121 (Acta Consistorialia), p. 46. (Ref. to p. 442.)

[3] Archivium Secret. Apostol. Vaticanum. Regestum Lateranense. Joannis XXIII., t. cxlii., or Joannis XXIII., Anno I., lib. vii. fo. 288. (Ref. to pp. 432, 442.)

autem quod, quamprimum presentes litteras habueris expeditas, ad eandem ecclesiam te transferas et resideas personaliter in eadem quodque extra tuas civitatem et diocesim Gardensem pontificalia officia nequeas exercere. Jugum igitur Domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens curam et administrationem prefatas sic exercere studeas, quod ipsa ecclesia gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, tuque proinde preter eterne retributionis premium nostram ac sedis predicte benedictionem et gratiam uberius consequi merearis. Datum Bononie sexto Kal. Aprilis anno primo." (March 27, 1411.)

DOCUMENT LXIV., *a*.

ENGLISH AND SCANDINAVIAN PIRATES.[1]

In 1411 the king of England is obliged to resort to severe decrees . . . "attentis diversis injuriis, murdris et interfectionibus intollerabilibus, cæterisque quampluribus oppressionibus, dampnis et gravaminibus diversis ligeis nostris per quosdam de Hansa, ad partes de Berne in Norwegia confluentes et ibidem conversantes a jam diu irrogatis, factis et perpetratis."

DOCUMENT LXIV., *b*.[2]

In 1489 Henry VII. stated that, after a long peace between England and Denmark, . . . "Postea tamen æmulorum quorumdam et temporum successu perversorum, quorum totus conatus ad turbandam pacem anelat, inter prefatorum Regum homines atque subjectos, tam per terram quam per mare, rapinæ, bella, cædes, navium mercatorum atque hominum captiones, et bonorum deprædationes, hincinde suscitari et exerceri ceperunt; paxque, liga, amicitia et confœderatio prædictæ eo pacto usque in hæc tempora omnino exulabant."

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[1] Rymer, Fœdera, t. viii. pp. 700, 736. (Ref. to p. 447.)

[2] Ibid., t. xi. p. 374. (Ref. to p. 447.)

DOCUMENT LXV., *a.*

BISHOP RYNGMAN'S PROMOTION.[1]

"Eadem die (1425, Die Mercurii, 3. kl. Junii, provisum est) Ecclie. Graden. in Prov^a^ Nidrosien. vacanti per mortem fris. Jacobi Ord^is^ Minorum, de persona fr^is^ Roberti Ryngman Ord^is^ Minorum."

DOCUMENT LXV., *b.*[2]

"Eadem die (D. Martini PP. V. Anno Octavo, 1425, Die Mercurii, tertio Kalendas Junii) provisum est Ecclesiæ Graden. in Provincia Nidrosien. vacan' per mortem fratris Jacobi Ordinis Minorum, de persona fris. Roberti Ryngmann Ordinis Minorum."

DOCUMENT LXV., *c.*

BULLS OF BISHOP RYNGMAN'S PROMOTION.[3]

"Martinus etc. Dilecto filio Roberto Ryngman Electo Gradensi [*sic*] salutem etc. Apostolatus officium, quamquam insufficientibus meritis nobis ex alto commissum, quo ecclesiarum omnium regimini presidemus, utiliter exequi coadiuvante Domino cupientes soliciti corde reddimur et solertes, ut cum de ipsarum regiminibus agitur committendis, tales eis pastores preficere studeamus, qui commissum sibi gregem Dominicum sciant non solum doctrina verbi sed etiam boni operis exemplo informare commissasque sibi ecclesias in statu pacifico et tranquillo velint et valeant duce Domino salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare. Dudum siquidem bone memorie Jacobo Episcopo Gradensi regimini Gradensis ecclesie provincie Nidrosiensis presidente, Nos, cupientes eidem ecclesie cum vacaret per apostolice sedis providentiam utilem et ydoneam presidere personam, provisionem ipsius ecclesie ordinationi et dispositioni nostre ea vice duximus specialiter reservandam, decernentes extunc irritum et inane, si secus super hiis per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari. Postmodum vero prefata ecclesia per obitum ejusdem Jacobi Episcopi, qui extra Romanam curiam diem clausit extremum, pastoris solatio destituta, Nos vacatione hujusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellecta et ad provisionem prefate ecclesie celerem et felicem, de qua nullus preter nos hac vice se intrommittere potuit sive potest reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longe vacationis exponeretur incomodis, paternis et solicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem quam de preficiendo eidem ecclesie personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te ordinis fratrum Minorum professorem, in sacerdotio constitutum, cui de religionis zelo, litterarum scientia, vite munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspectione aliisque multiplicium virtutum donis apud nos fidedigna testimonia perhibentur, direximus oculos nostre mentis: quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis, de persona tua, nobis et eisdem fratribus nostris ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, prefate ecclesie Gradensi de dictorum fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus teque illi preficimus in Episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, in illo qui dat gratias et largitur premia confidentes, quod dirigente Domino actus tuos prefata ecclesia per tue industrie et circumspectionis studium fructuosum regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur, ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Jugum igitur Domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens curam et administrationem predictas sic exercere studeas solicite, fideliter et prudenter, quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium benivolentie nostre gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Datum Rome apud sanctos apostolos tertio Kal. Junii anno octavo." (May 30, 1425.)

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium XII., no. 121 (Acta Consistorialia), p. 188. (Ref. to p. 449.)

[2] Romæ in Cancellaria, Archivium Consistoriale, ab anno 1409 ad 1433, fo. 156. (Ref. to p. 449.)

[3] Archivium Lateranense: Martini V., t. cclv., or Martini V., Ao. VIII., lib. cviii. fo. 265. (Ref. to p. 449.)

"*Simili modo* dilectis filiis Capitulo ecclesie Gradensis salutem etc. Apostolatus officium etc. Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eidem Electo tanquam Patri et Pastori animarum vestrarum humiliter intendentes ac exhibentes sibi obedientiam et reverentiam debitam et devotam eius salubria monita et mandata suscipiatis devote et efficaciter adimplere curetis, alioquin sententiam, quam idem Electus rite tulerit in rebelles, ratam habebimus et faciemus auctore Domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum ut supra.

"*Simili modo* Dilectis filiis Clero civitatis et diocesis Gradensis Salutem etc. Apostolatus officium etc. Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus eidem Electo tanquam patri et pastori animarum vestrarum humiliter intendentes ac exhibentes sibi obedientiam et reverentiam debitam et devotam eius salubria monita et mandata suscipiatis devote et efficaciter adimplere curetis, alioquin sententiam quam idem Electus rite tulerit in rebelles ratam habebimus et faciemus auctore domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Datum ut supra.

"*Simili modo* Dilectis filiis Populo civitatis et diocesis Gradensis salutem etc. Apostolatus officium etc. Quocirca universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus et hortamur attente per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes quatenus eumdem Electum tanquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum suscipientes ac debita honorificentia prosequentes ejus monitis et mandatis salubribus humiliter intendatis, ita quod ipse in vobis dilectionis filios, et vos in eo per consequens patrem invenisse benivolum gaudeatis. Datum ut supra.

"*Simili modo* Ven^{li} fratri Archiep^{o} Nidrosiensi Salutem etc. Ad cumulum etc. Cum igitur, ut idem Electus in commissa sibi prefate ecclesie Gradensis cura facilius proficere valeat, tuus favor sibi noscatur esse plurimum oportunus, fraternitatem tuam rogamus, monemus et hortamur attente per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes quatenus eumdem Electum et prefatam ecclesiam sibi commissam suffraganeam tuam habens pro nostra et apostolice sedis reverentia propensius commendatos in ampliandis et conservandis iuribus eiusdem ecclesie sic eum tui favoris presidio prosequaris, quod ipse per tue auxilium gratie se possit in commisso sibi eiusdem Gradensis ecclesie regimine utilius exercere, tuque divinam misericordiam et nostram ac eiusdem Sedis benivolentiam valeas exinde uberius promereri. Datum ut supra.

"*Simili modo* Carissimo in Christo filio Erico regi Dacie illustri Salutem etc. Gratie divine etc. Cum itaque, fili carissime, sit virtutis opus Dei ministros benigno favore prosequi ac eos verbis et operibus pro Regis eterni gloria venerari: Serenitatem regiam rogamus et hortamur attente quatenus eumdem Electum et prefatam ecclesiam Gradensem sue cure commissam habens pro nostra et apostolice sedis reverentia propensius commendatos, ipsos benigni favoris auxilio prosequaris, ita quod idem Electus tue Celsitudinis fultus auxilio in commisso sibi pastoralis cure officio possit Deo propitio prosperari, ac tibi exinde a Deo perennis vite premium et a nobis condigna proveniat actio gratiarum. Datum ut supra."

DOCUMENT LXV., *d*.

BISPOP RYNGMAN OBLIGES HIMSELF TO THE PAYMENT OF THE CUSTOMARY DUES.[1]

"Die Mercurii XX. dicti Mensis Junii [MCCCCXXV.] Rev^{dus} in Xro. Pater dns. Robertus Ryngmann Electus Graden. provincie Nidrosien. personaliter obtulit Camere Apostolice et collegio dnorum. Cardinalium pro suo communi servicio debito floren. ducentos quinquaginta auri de Camera et plus vel minus, prout dicta ecclesia reperietur taxata, Et quinque minuta servitia consueta, quorum medietatem infra octo menses proxime venturos et reliquam medietatem infra octo alios menses ex tunc immediate sequentes solvere promisit obligavit submisit renunciavit et juravit etc. Et Dns. B., locumtenens tulit summas in scriptis. Actum in domo habitationis prefati domini locumtenentis, presentibus ibidem ven^{li} viro dno. guillelmo de latinis de prato, clerico Apostolice Camere et Dno. Enio de lambardis notario et me A. de Pisis. . . . . II^{c}L."

DOCUMENT LXVI., *a*.

GOBELINUS VOLANT, BISHOP OF GARDAR.[2]

"Die Lune [VIII kal. 8^{bris}, 1431, provisum est] Ecclesie Graden. [vacanti] per mortem ultimi Episcopi, de persona D. P. Lobelini Volant in Theologia Baccalaurei Ord^{is} fratrum Eremitarum Sti. Augustini in Basilica Principis Apostolorum Minoris Penitentiarii."

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Obligationes no. 595, alias 60: Martini V. obligation. S. Collegii ab anno 1422 ad 1428, fo. 106vo. (Ref. to p. 450.)

[2] Archivium Pontificale Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium XII., no. 121 (Acta Consistorialia), p. 267. (Ref. to p. 450.)

DOCUMENT LXVI., *b.*[1]

"Die Lunæ (between 13. kl. Oct. and 6 kl. Oct.) Dni Eugenii PP. IV. Anno primo (1431) ad relationem Dni L. Cardinalis de Comite provisum est Ecclesiæ Graden. vacan' per mortem bo. me. Dni Joannis ultimi Epi etc. de persona R^{di} Pris. Dni Gybelini Volant in Theologia Baccalaurei Ord. frum. Eremitar. Sancti Augustini in Basilica Principis Apostolorum Minoris Pænitentiarii, et super hoc prout missa cedula per ipsum Dnum. Cardinalem suo signetto sigillata."

DOCUMENT LXVII.

BISHOP VOLANT TRANSFERRED TO AALBORG.[2]

"Eadem die 19 Martii (A° 1° Eugen. IV.) provisum fuit Ecclesiæ Burglanen. Provinciæ Londonen. de persona fris. Gobelini Belant Colonien. dioc. Ord^{is} Eremitarum S. Aug. Baccal. in theologia."

DOCUMENT LXVIII., *a.*

JOHN ERLER DE MOYS, BISHOP OF GARDAR.[3]

"1432. Die Veneris IIII^{a} Julii pr. Ecclesie Garden. Prov. Nidrosien. [vacanti] per translationem D. Gibelini de persona D. Joannis Erlei de Moys Misnen. Dioc. Ord^{is} Minorum, in Theologia Licentiati et Penitentiarii."

DOCUMENT LXVIII., *b.*[4]

"D. Eugenii PP. IV. Anno Secundo, 1432.

"Die Veneris 4 Julii videlicet 4° Non. ad relationem Dni Cardinalis de Comite provisum fuit Ecclesiæ Garden. Provinciæ Nidrosiæ vacan' per translationem Dni Gebelini ad Ecclesiam Bierglanen. de persona Dni Joannis Erler de Moys Misnen. diœc. de ordine Minorum in Theologia Lectoris et Pænitentiarii."

---

[1] Romæ in Cancellaria, Archivium Consistoriale, Acta Consist., ab anno 1409 ad 1433, fo. 224. (Ref. to p. 450.)

[2] Ibid., fo. 227 ^{vo}. (Ref. to p. 451.)

[3] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium XII., no. 121 (Acta Consistorialia), p. 272 or 274. (Ref. to p. 451.)

[4] Romæ in Cancellaria, Acta Consistorialia, ab anno 1409 ad 1433, fo. 232. (Ref. to p. 451.)

DOCUMENT LXVIII, *c*.[1]

" Rome dicta die (August 6, 1432) dns. Joannes Ep^{us} Garden. solvit flor. XVIII. fuit promotus Rome IIII° Non Julii Pontificatus Dni Eugenii ppe. IIII^{ti} anno secundo. fuerunt in ejus promotione cardinales xiii. videlicet:

Ursin.
Bononien.
de Cipro
Rothomagen.
Sancti Petri,
Arelaten.
Sci Marcelli
Veneciarum Novus
Sancti Marci novus
De comitibus
de Monteforti
Santi Sixti
Novarien.

Capit clericus Collegii............	Sc. VIIII
Restant flor......................	XVII. sc. XLI
Capit quilibet dnorum	Flor I sc. XVIII. d. VI."

DOCUMENT LXVIII., *d*.[2]

" 1432. Die XIII. Augusti Rev^{dus} in xro. pater dns. Jo. Herler demonis electus Garden. obtulit camere apostolice et collegio Rev^{morum} dnorum. Card. pro suo communi servitio flor. auri de Camera sexaginta sex et quinque minuta servitia consueta pro familiar. et offi^{bus} Dni. nri. ppe, ad quos dicta ecclesia taxata reperitur. Eorumdem autem communis et minutorum medietatem in octo menses proxime futuros et aliam medietatem in alios sex menses ex tunc immediate sequentes solvere promisit submisit obligavit juravit et pronuntiavit etc."

DOCUMENT LXIX., *a*.

BARTHOLOMEW DE STO. YPOLITO, BISHOP OF GARDAR.[3]

" 1433. Eadem die (Mercurii, VIII° kl. Octobris) ad relacionem dni Cardinalis de Comitibus provisum fuit ecclesie Greneladien. provincie Nidrosien. vacanti per obitum quondam dni Michaelis ipsius ecclesie ultimi episcopi extra curiam Romanam defuncti de persona fris. bartholomei de sco Ypolito in sacra pagina lectoris Or. Predicatorum."

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Obligationes 604 (alias 65): Martini V. et Eugen. IV. Divisionum a. 1428 ad 1437; fo. 137 ^{vo}. (Ref. to p. 451.)

[2] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Obligationes no. 306 (alias 55): Primus Obligationum Eugenii pp. quarti, 1431–1439, fo. 39 ^{vo}; cf. ibid., Obligationes Collegii, Liber sub. Mart. V., Eug. IV., ab an. 1427 ad 1443, no. 596 (alias 64), fo. 130. (Ref. to p. 451.)

[3] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Obligationes no. 566 (alias 65 vel 66): Eug. IV., Nic. V., Cal. III., Pii II. et Pauli II. Provisiones, An. 1433 ad 1468, fo. 6. (Ref. to pp. 451, 452.)

DOCUMENT LXIX., *b.*[1]

"Floren[tiæ] Die XXVIII mensis Octobris dns Bartholomeus Ep^{us} Greneladien. solvit flor. VIIII. sc. XL. Fuit promotus Rome VIII° kl. Octobris Pont. dni Eugenii ppe IIII^{ti} anno III° fuerunt in ejus promocione cardinales VII, videlicet: Ursinus, Sci. Marcelli, Veneciarum, Sci. Marci, Comitibus, Novarien, Columpna.

Capiunt clerici collegii	sc. IIII d. VIIII
Restant	flor. VIIII sc. XXXV d. III
Capit quilibet dnorum	flor. I sc. XXX d X."

DOCUMENT LXX.

PECUNIARY STRAITS OF JOHN, BISHOP ELECT OF HOLAR.[2]

"1438. Rex [Angliæ] etc. . . . Supplicavit nobis Venerabilis Pater, Joannes Episcopus Holensis, in regno Norwegiæ ut, Cum ipse ad triennium jam elapsum ad Episcopatum prædictum per Dominum Summum Pontificem promotatus fuisset, et possessionem in eodem episcopatu ac Bullas suas inde, ob defectum primorum fructuum in Camera Apostolica, hucusque obtinere non potest. Quæ quidem Bullæ in civitate nostra Londoniæ in manibus certorum mercatorum existunt de præsenti,

"Et nisi eas extra manus eorumdem Mercatorum infra mensem Januarii proximo sequentem ceperit, Bullæ illæ usque Curiam Romanam remittentur, et alius Episcopus ad Episcopatum prædictum providebitur infra breve,

Velimus licentiam eidem Episcopo quod ipse omnimodos fructus Episcopatus illius a dictis partibus Norwegiæ, in una navi sive pluribus cariare et traducere valeat, concedere gratiose. . . ." (Conceditur.)

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[1] Archivium Pontificale Secretum Vaticanum, Obligationes 604 (alias 65): Martini V. et Eugen. IV. Divisionum, a. 1428 ad 1437, fo. 183vo. (Ref. to p. 452.)

[2] Rymer, Fœdera, t. x. p. 711. (Ref. to p. 453.)

DOCUMENT LXXI.

DESTITUTION OF THE CLERGY IN ICELAND.[1]

"Pro Episcopo Islandico de Providendo. A.D. 1440.

"Rex omnibus ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod Cum per quamdam supplicationem, Nobis per Johannem secheford et Joannem Candeler exhibitam, acceperimus qualiter confessor carissimi fratris nostri Regis Daciæ, qui in Episcopum de Scalhelte in Islandia nuper est creatus, panem, vinum, servisiam, neque alium liquorem, nisi lac et aquam, ad manducandum et bibendum, seu pannum ad se et servientes suos induendum non habeat,

"Pro qua quidem causa idem Episcopus dictos Johannem et Joannem, ad licentiam pro duabus navibus, extra regnum nostrum Angliæ in terram prædictam cum victualibus et panno (solutis prius costumis et aliis deveriis nobis debitis) libere transeundis, habendam, penes nos prosequi desideravit.

"Nos præmissa considerantes, ac etiam quod Divinum servitium Communionemque, et Baptismum in terra prædicta, absque relevamine et auxilio nostris in hac parte, verisimile est deficere et cessare, eo quod in dicta terra neque frumentum, vinum neque sal existant, ut informamur, de Gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam dedimus eisdem Johanni et Johanni, quod ipsi duas naves cum mercatoribus et marinariis eisdem necessariis, in dicto Regno nostro, cum centum quarteriis frumenti, in utraque videlicet navium prædictarum, ac aliis victualibus et panno onerare et carcare, ac extra dictum regnum nostrum in terram prædictam (solutis prius costumis ac aliis deveriis Nobis debitis) libere transire ac ibidem easdem naves ad usum dicti Episcopi exonerare et discarcare, ac ab eodem Episcopo et deputatis suis hujusmodi mercandisas, prout in eadem terra existunt, recipere, et cum eisdem mercandisis naves prædictas onerare, et in Regnum nostrum prædictum cariare valeant licite et impune; aliquo statuto sive ordinatione in contrarium factis, non obstantibus. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud Castrum suum de Wyndesore, XXVI die Februarii [1440.]"

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[1] Rymer, Fœdera, t. x. p. 762. (Ref. to p. 454.)

DOCUMENT LXXII., *a*.

JAMES BLAA MADE BISHOP OF GARDAR.[1]

"Sixtus IV etc. Dilecto filio Jacobo Blaa electo Garden. etc. Apostolatus officium etc. Dudum siquidem b. m. Andrea episcopo Garden. regimini ecclesiæ Garden. præsidente, Nos . . . provisionem ejusdem ecclesiæ ordinationi ac dispositioni nostræ duximus ea vice specialiter reservandam etc. Postmodum vero dicta ecclesia, cui dudum tunc certo modo vacanti de persona ejusdem Andreæ episcopi providimus, per obitum ipsius Andreæ qui possessione vel quasi regiminis et administrationis ac bonorum dictæ ecclesiæ per eum non habita extra Romanam curiam debitum naturæ persolvit, pastoris regimine destituta, Nos . . . ad te Ordinis Prædicatorum professorem in theologia lectorem et in presbyteratus ordine constitutum . . . direximus oculos nostræ mentis ac de tua persona . . . eidem ecclesiæ providemus teque illi præficimus in episcopum et pastorem etc. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno incarn. Domini MCCCCLXXXI decimo septimo Kal. Julii a. X.[2]
Simili modo populo civ. et diœc. Garden.
Simili modo archiepiscopo Nidrosien.
Simili modo Johanni regi Daciæ illustri."

DOCUMENT LXXII., *b*.

RESIGNATION OF BISHOP BLAA AND PROMOTION OF MATTHIAS CANUTSON TO THE SEE OF GARDAR.[3]

"Die lune VIIII mensis Julii 1492 S^{mus} d. nr. in suo consistorio secreto, ut moris est ad relationem R^{mi} d. Vicecancellarii admisit resignationem ecclesie Gaden. in manibus sue S^{tis} factam per R. patrem dnum. Jacobum blaa illius ultimum ep^{um} Et illi de persona Dni Mathie Canuti providit."

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[1] Archivium Lateranense, Sixti IV. Anno X., lib. i. fo. 17. (Ref. to p. 461.)

[2] June 15, 1481.

[3] Romæ, Cancellaria, Archivium S. Consistorii: Provisionum Innocentii VIII. et Alexandri VI., or Acta Consistorialia an. 1489–1503, fo. 24. (Ref. to p. 461.)

DOCUMENT LXXIII.

ALEXANDER VI. ORDERS ALL BULLS TO BE EXPEDITED FREE OF CHARGE TO MATTHIAS CANUTSON.[1]

[*In the margin :*] "Mandatum de expediendo gratis ecclesiam Gadensem etiam quoad minuta servitia."

"Cum ut accepimus Ecclesia Gadensis in fine mundi sita in terra Gronlandia in qua homines commorantes ob defectum panis vini et olei siccis piscibus et lacte uti consueverunt et ob id ac propter rarissimas navigationes ad dictam terram causantibus intentissimis aquarum congelationibus fieri solitas navis aliqua ab ottuaginta annis non creditur applicuisse et si navigationes hujusmodi fieri contingeret profecto has non nisi de mense augusti congelationibus ipsis resolutis fieri posse non existimentur Et propterea eidem ecclesie similiter ab ottuaginta annis vel circa nullus penitus episcoporum vel presbiterorum apud illam personaliter residendo prefuisse dicitur Unde ac propter presbiterorum catholicorum absentiam evenit quamplures diocesanos olim catholicos sacrum per eos baptisma susceptum proh dolor regnasse [*for* renegasse] et quod incole eiusdem terre in memoriam xpiane. religionis non habent nisi quoddam corporale quod semel in anno presentetur super quo ante centum annos ab ultimo sacerdote tunc ibidem existente corpus xpi. fuit consecratum hiis igitur et aliis consideratis considerandis fe. re. Innocentius ppa. VIII. predecessor noster volens dicte ecclesie tunc pastoris solatio destitute de utili de [*for* et] ydoneo pastore providere de fratrum suorum consilio de quorum numero tunc eramus Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Mathiam electum Gadensem ordinis sancti benedicti de observantia professum ad nostri instantiam dum adhuc in minoribus constituti eramus proclamatum ad dictam ecclesiam summopere ac magno devotionis fervore accensum pro deviatorum et renegatorum mentibus ad viam salutis eterne reducendis et erroribus hujusmodi ericandis vitam suam periculo permaximo sponte et libere submictendam navigio etiam personaliter profisci intendentem Eidem episcopum prefecit et pastorem Nos igitur eiusdem electi pium et laudabile propositum in domino quamplurimum commendantes sibique in premissis aliquo subventionis auxilio propter eius paupertatem qua ut similiter accepimus gravatus existit succurrere cupientes Motu proprio et cetera et ex certa nostra scientia de fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu Dilectis filiis Rescribendario Abbreviatoribus nec non sollicitatoribus ac plumbatoribus illarumque registratoribus Ceterisque tam cancellarie quam Camere nostre apostolice officialibus quibuscunque sub excommunicationis late sententie pena ipso facto incurrenda commictibus [*for* committimus] et mandamus ut omnes et singulas literas apostolicas de et super promotione dicte ecclesie Gadensis pro dicto Electo expediendas in omnibus et singulis eorum officiis gratis ubique pro deo absque cuiuscunque taxe solutione seu exactione expediant et expediri faciant omni contradictione cessante Necnon camere apostolice clericis et notariis ut literas seu bullas huiusmodi dicto electo absque solutione seu exactione alicujus annate seu minutorum servitiorum et aliorum iurium quorumcunque in similibus solvi solutorum [*for* solitorum] libere tradant et consignent motu et scientia similibus ac sub penis predictis commictimus et mandamus in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque.

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium 29, no. 50: Alex. VI. Diversa Cameræ, 1492 and 1495, lib. i. fo. 23. (Ref. to pp. 462, *seq.*)

"Fiat gratis ubique quia pauperrimus etc.

"As[canius] Ma[ria Sforza] vicecan^{rius} Jo. datarius."

DOCUMENT LXXIV., *a.*

VINCENT PETERS (KAMPE), BISHOP OF GARDAR.[1]

"Rome die Lune XX. mensis Junii MDXIX. . . . Providit in titulum D. Vincentio Petri ord^{is} Minor. de observantia de Ecc^{a} Gadden., quæ est in Insula Gronlandia suffr. Metropoli Nidrosien. ab Infidelibus detenta certo modo vacan', ad instantiam et preces Regis Daciæ cum assignatione pensionis ducentorum Ducatorum auri de Camera, centum viginti super fructibus monasterii Monialium B. Nicolai, Ripen. ord^{is} Sancti Benedicti per clericos seculares teneri soliti, et aliorum octuaginta super certis prepositnris et Ecclesiis parrochialibus per modernos prepositos et successores suos integre persolvendorum.

"Redditus ignorantur cum sint in partibus Infidelium."

---

[1] Romæ, Cancellaria, Archivium S. Consistorii, Acta Consistoralia, 1492–1523, fo. 138vo. (Ref. to p. 467.)

DOCUMENT LXXIV, *b.*[1]

"Romæ die Lunæ, 20 Junii 1519 fuit consistorium. . . . Providit in titulum d. Vinc^{o} Petri Ord^{is} Min. de Observantia de Ecc^{a} Gadden. quæ est in Insula Gronlandia sub Metrop. Nidrosien. ab Infidelibus detenta certo modo vacante, ad instantiam Regis Daciæ, cum pensione 200 duc. super nonnullis aliis beneficiis etc."[2]

DOCUMENT LXXV.

TESTIMONIES TO THE VOYAGES OF THE CORTERREAL.[3]

Tafel VIII.: On a map drawn shortly after 1502 (anonymous) are noted "Terra de Corte Reall" and "Terra Lavorador."

Tafel IX., No. 1: In 1503–1504 Salvat de Pilestrina notices "Terra de Cortte Reall."

Tafel IX., No. 2: In 1505 Pedro Rainel notes at the right location "Y[sla] dos bacalhas."

Tafel XI., No. 3: Leonardo da Vinci, about 1515, marks down the Spanish discoveries, together with a northern island, "Bacalar."

Tafel XII., No. 2: A Portuguese map anterior to 1520 locates, southwest of Iceland, "Do Lavrador," with the legend: "Terram istam portugalenses viderunt atamen nom intraverunt." To the Southwest of Labrador is "Bacalnao," with the legend: "Terram istam gasparcorte Regalis portugalemsis primo invenit et secum tulit hoies. silvestres et ursos albos. In ea este maxia. multitudo animalium et avium nec non et pescium. qui anno sequenti naufragium perpessus nunqm. rediit, sile. et fratri ejus Micaeli anno sequenti contigit."

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[1] Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum, Armarium XII., no. 122: Anno 1517 usque ad 1534, Acta Consistorialia Diversa, fo. 36. (Ref. to p. 467.)

[2] This memorandum was lately published in the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, vol. ix. p. 390, as found in the Pontifical Secret Archives, "Armadio II."—the number of the volume should have been added—"fo. 50vo," as follows:

"*Last Bishop of Greenland.*

"Consistory 20 June, 1519.

"Diocese Gardar in Greenland under Metropol. Drontheim [Norway], Vincent of Peter, O. S. Franc., elected, presented from the king of Denmark [Christian II.].

"Providit in titulum D. Vincentio Petri Ord. Min. de Observantia, de Ecclesia Gaden. quæ est in insula Gronlandiæ sub Metropolit. Nidrosien., ab Infidelibus detenta, certo modo vacanti, ad instantiam Regis Daniæ, cum pensione 200 ducatorum super nonnullis beneficiis.—Redditus ignorantur.

"Cf. Gams, p. 344: '1520 [*sic*] nom. tant. Vincentius Kampe.'"

[3] Kretschmer, Die Entdeckung Amerikas (und Atlas). (Ref. to p. 488.)

Tafel XIII.: Johannes Schöner, in 1520, marks down an island, "Terra Corte Realis," with the legend: "Hec terra inventa est ex mandato regis portugalliæ per capitania. Gaspar Cortereali Anno Christi 1501."

Tafel XV.: Diego Ribero sets down, 1529, "Tiera Dellabrador," with the legend: "Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses no ay en ella cosa de provecho;" and "Tierra de los baccalaos la qual descubrieron los corte reales y aqui si perdieron hasta aora no an allado cosa de provecho mas de la pescaria de bacallaos q. son de poca estima."

On the celebrated map of America which John Ruysch has inserted in the Roman Ptolemy edition of 1508, we find not only "Gruenland," but also Newfoundland and the "Baccalauræ" altogether separated from the "Mundus Novus" or "Terra Sanctæ Crucis," and added to the northern portion of the Asiatic continent, or to the land of "Gog," to the coasts of the "Plisacus Sinus," and the country of "Erigai," The existence of the Pacific Ocean was not yet suspected.

DOCUMENT LXXVI., *a*.

REJOICINGS IN ROME AT COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY.[1]

"Despacharon luego un correo a Roma, con la Relacion de las tierras nuevamente halladas. El Pontefice en estremo so holgó con la nueva, junctamente con los Cardenales, corte y pueblo Romano."

---

[1] Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana, t. iii. lib. xviii. cap. iii. p. 288. (Ref. to p. 516.)

DOCUMENT LXXVI., *b*.[1]

"Fue grandissimo el contento que con esta nueva recibio el Pontifice, y mucho glorificó a Dios, porque huviesse querido, que aquellas gentes, por mano de los Reyes Catolicos, y por el medio e industria del Almirante don Christoval Colon, con el ayuda de la nacion castellana, no estuviessen en su infidelidad, y pudiessen participar de sus bienes. Y en la corte Romana se recibio gran alegria, y admiracion de tan gran novedad."

DOCUMENT LXXVI., *c*.[2]

"Alexandre VI., après avoir rendu de solennelles actions de grâces à Dieu, pour un évènement si singulier, et qui ouvrait une si belle porte à la publication de l'Evangile, accorda tout ce qu'on lui demandait."

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[1] Herrera, Historia General de los Hechos de los Castelanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano, dec. i. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 51. (Ref. to p. 516.)

[2] Charlevoix, Histoire de l'Ile Espagnole, t. i. p. 143. (Ref. to p. 516.)

END OF VOL. II.

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